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MEMORIALS OF LIVERPOOL

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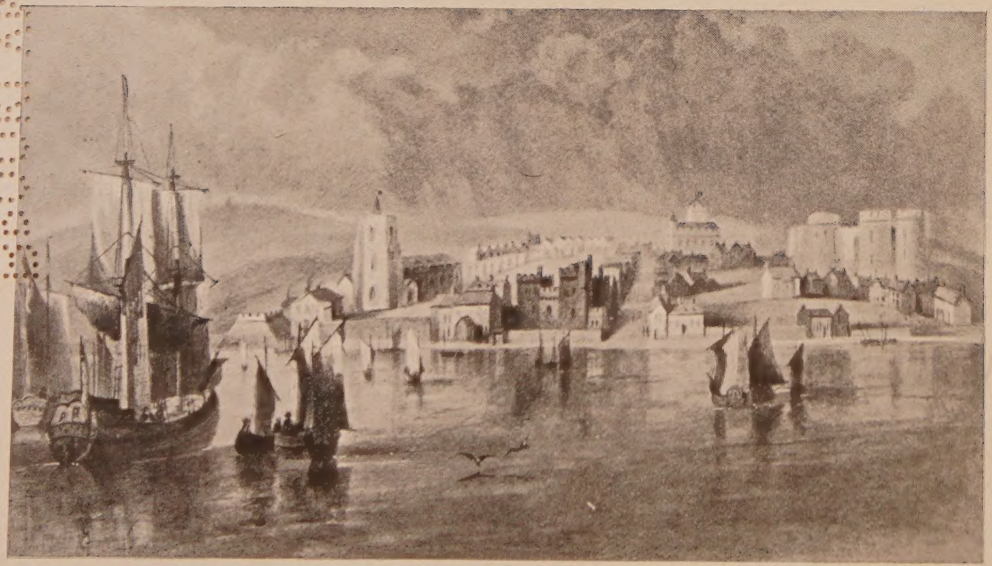

LIVERPOOL IN 1650.

MEMORIALS OF LIVERPOOL

HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL

INCLUDING

A HISTORY OF THE DOCK ESTATE

BY

J. A. PICTON, F.S.A.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED, WITH ADDITIONS

CONTINUED

TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA

BY

J. ALLANSON PICTON, M.A.

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.—HISTORICAL

LIVERPOOL:
EDWARD HOWELL, 83 CHURCH STREET
1907

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

The first edition of this work met with more favour from the public than I could have ventured to anticipate; the entire impression having been exhausted within a few months.

I considered it desirable to allow some time to elapse before the issue of a second edition; to afford opportunity for the correction of errors, and the incorporation of any additional information which might present itself. The errors pointed out are, I am happy to say, extremely few, and almost entirely of a very trivial character. In the somewhat extensive correspondence to which the publication has led, a few interesting facts have been brought to light which have been introduced into this edition. The principal source has been a series of MSS. in the possession of the Corporation, which had been overlooked and almost forgotten. This collection, which occupies thirty volumes, has a curious history. It was commenced about 1791 by Mr. John Holt of Walton, who intended to write a history of Liverpool, and issued a prospectus with that object. Very little, however, was written, and the project proved abortive. At his decease, in 1808, the MSS. were bequeathed to Matthew Gregson the antiquary, upon certain conditions, with a view to ultimate publication. At Mr. Gregson's decease the collection was purchased by the Corporation. To this has been added a further series of MS. illustrations made by Mr. Charles Okill, quondam clerk of committees to the Council. The quantity of new matter is not large, but considerable light is thrown on the condition of the

town during the eighteenth century, of which I have availed myself in the following pages.

The changes in the topography of Liverpool are so rapid and extensive, that even the short interval since the first edition of this work was issued has required much of the descriptive portion to be rewritten. What further changes may supervene time alone can show. That they will be in the direction of improvement can hardly be doubted. I have endeavoured to exhibit a faithful picture of our past local history and present outward condition, and must leave to a future historian the task of continuing the record of what I trust will be a long period of prosperity.

J. A. P.

Sandyknowe, Wavertree,
August, 1875.

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MEMORIALS OF LIVERPOOL.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAP. I. Pre-historic.

THE TOWN of LIVERPOOL is generally regarded by strangers as something akin to the parvenu who never had a grandfather:

> Genus et proavos et quæ non fecimus ipsi
> Vix ea nostra voco.

Whatever our claims to respect may be, they are usually identified with the modern and recent. The expansion of our commerce, and the spirit of modern improvement, have done much to obliterate our ancient landmarks, and, almost with the facility of Aladdin's genii of the lamp, have substituted palaces for hovels, stone for brick, and spacious thoroughfares for narrow tortuous lanes. Like honest Dogberry, we have got—metaphorically speaking—two new coats, and everything handsome about us.

Notwithstanding all this, Liverpool is not quite reduced to the condition of the undemonstrative knife-grinder. We have a story to tell; a story of small beginnings and great results; of early feebleness, long stagnation approaching to decay; with a reaction to progress almost unparalleled. Nor are we quite destitute of the elements of mediæval romance. We have had a feudal castle, with its donjon, moat, and subterranean passages. We have possessed an embattled tower, one or more ancient manor-houses, and chantry chapels in our church. We have been protected by walls and gates, and have stood the brunt of three sieges. Our charter of incorporation is one of the oldest in the kingdom, and we have returned members to

Incidents.

Charters.

CHAP. I.

Parliament, with some intervals, from the time when the first Royal Writ of Summons gave a "local habitation and a name" to the Commons of England.

We have only to scratch beneath the surface anywhere to find relics of the foundations of past ages, and we have only to perambulate our streets with an observant eye and a little research, to call up memories of bygone days, not perhaps of the mediæval period, but interesting, as illustrating the growth and progress of the town, and the manners and customs of the olden time.

The part of the country in which Liverpool is situated was not very distinguished in the earliest periods of our history. The south-western district of Lancashire, comprising the hundred of West Derby, was exceedingly slow in development, remaining in a state of rusticity and barbarism long after the southern and eastern counties had become flourishing seats of wealth and commerce. The natural surface of the land had much to do with this. Composed almost entirely of members of the great triassic formation, the undulating sandstone ridges were generally barren heaths, the depressions occupied by peat mosses, and the intermediate portions where land of moderate quality existed, were covered with wild forests.

Natural surface.

Estuary.

The estuary of the river Mersey is of course the great feature of Liverpool. Its course is here nearly due north and south. Into these tidal waters a small stream, fed by a peat moss on the elevated land to the eastward, ran in an oblique line from north-east to south-west, forming at its mouth an open pool or sea-lake, of which many similar existed on both sides of the river. The triangular piece of land thus separated rose near its extremity to an elevation of about fifty feet above the river, where the sandstone protruded through the boulder clay which covered the lower levels.

Primeval relics.

No relics of primeval man have been discovered within the precincts of the borough, but in the immediate neighbourhood there are indications of settlements of a very high antiquity. About three and a half miles from Liverpool Exchange, at the meeting point of three townships, stand five unhewn upright stones, the remains of a circle, called from time immemorial the "Calder Stones."[1] These stones are noteworthy, not only as a

Calder stones.

[1] *Galdar* signifies in Anglo-Saxon a wizard, an enchanter, a term not unlikely to have been applied by the rude Saxon immigrants to a structure of whose mysterious import they were ignorant.

specimen of the stone circles to be seen in many other parts of the kingdom, but as offering remarkable examples of the cup and ring carvings occasionally to be met with, presenting almost every known and recognised type of these cuttings. Professor Sir James Y. Simpson, of Edinburgh, who has written a very interesting memoir on the subject,[1] ascribes these remains to the early stone period, before the introduction of metallic tools, and asserts that the chisellings and carvings can be all easily imitated even on granite rocks, by flint weapons and a mallet. He maintains that this and similar structures, with the relics found in connection with them, "point to a race different from, and seemingly anterior to the appearance of the Celtic race in our islands."

Aboriginal inhabitants.

If this view (a view held by some of our first archæologists) ultimately prove to be correct, then we have in the Calder stones, within hail, as it were, of the busy mart and great modern city of Liverpool, a stone structure erected and carved by a Turanian race, who dwelt in this same locality, and lived and died in this same home, many long centuries before Roman or Saxon, Dane or Norman, set his invading foot upon the shores of Britain; and possibly anterior to that far more distant date, when in their migrations westward the Cymry and Gael first reached this remote "Isle of the Sea."

Ancient cemetery.

In July 1867, in sinking the foundations for some villas at Olive Mount, Wavertree, about a mile from the site of the Calder stones, the workmen came upon the site of an ancient cemetery, in which were found a number of earthenware urns, containing ashes and burnt bones. The pottery was of an extremely rude and archaic type, the paste coarse and thick, abounding in pounded stone; the only ornamentation the impression of a thong or cord whilst the paste was moist. The only implements found were a few flint arrow and spear heads. Most of the urns were destroyed by the workmen in digging. Two have been preserved with their contents, and are deposited in the Liverpool Public Museum. There can be little doubt that these relics belong to the same pre-historic age as the Calder stones.

Another relic of antiquity, of a somewhat later period, formerly existed on Childwall Common previous to its enclosure. This was a stone cist or coffin, formed with a flat slab below,

[1] *Historic Society's Transactions*, vol. xvii. (1864-5), p. 257.

CHAP. I.

and four upright ones on edge. The cover and contents had disappeared. This probably belonged to the Celtic age.

Cymric period.

Under the Cymric or British occupation, the site of Liverpool was on the southern margin of the territory of the Brigantes; the opposite shore of Cheshire being the northern boundary of the Cornavii. The reminiscences of the ancient Britons are extremely scanty in this part, consisting principally of references in the names of places to natural features, such as the river Douglas (black and blue), Tew (muddy) brook, etc.

Roman roads.

Under the Roman dominion this part of Lancashire was included in the province of "Maxima Cæsariensis," but it appears to have been entirely neglected by the great conquerors. The nearest Roman road crossed the Mersey at Warrington, west of which I am not aware that any authentic Roman remains have been found.[1] The strangest fact connected with the Roman occupation is that the estuary of the Mersey appears to have been entirely unknown at that period. It is not mentioned either in the Geography of Ptolemy (the second century), nor in the Itinerary of Antonine (probably the third century), though the Dee, the Wyre, and the Ribble, are all noticed. Had the noble estuary of the Mersey then existed in anything like its present volume, it would have been impossible to have overlooked it, and in the highest degree improbable that it should not have been utilised.

Rivers.

"In the time of the Romans, the Ribble seems to have been the chief port of this district, and Ribchester (Rigodunum) is said to have been a city as great as any out of Rome: the port was Poulton, below Preston, at the Neb of the Naze, so vastly inferior at the present time to various situations on the Mersey and the Dee, that it is impossible not to admit that some extraordinary change has taken place in their physical condition since that period. Tradition says that the port of the Ribble was destroyed by an earthquake, and also that there were tremendous inundations in Cheshire and Lancashire about the termination of the Roman dominion in Britain. Various phenomena we have seen point to some such catastrophe."[2]

[1] It is stated that in 1866 a sestertius of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161) was found in Parliament Fields, and in the same year two Roman coins were found at Formby village, one a silver denarius of late consular date, the other a brass of the Emperor Constantine.

[2] Report of Messrs. Telford, Stevenson, and Nimmo, on the Rivers Dee and Mersey, in May 1828.

River Mersey.

This opinion is strongly confirmed by the frequent occurrence of submarine forests on the shores, and of peat mosses extending under the sands below the level of the sea. It seems probable that the broad sheet of water from the Sloyne up to Runcorn was originally a fresh-water lake, the overflow of which found its way to the sea by a comparatively small outlet through low marshy lands, and that either by the subsidence of the coast line, or from some other natural cause, the sea broke in and formed the present narrow portion of the estuary. If this were so, as there would be no harbour, the insignificant stream might well be overlooked by the Roman geographers.

In the absence of all historical evidence it would be an impossible attempt to fix the exact period at which this incursion of the sea, fraught with such important consequences, occurred. It may, however, be inferred approximately. It could not have taken place before A.D. 400, or we should most probably have had a notice of it in some Latin author; and it must have been an accomplished fact before the incursions of the Danes in the ninth century, as they sailed up the estuary and settled at various points on the coast.

Anglo-Saxons.

The Anglo-Saxons obtained possession of the district in the latter half of the sixth century, and founded the petty kingdom of Deira—so called in all probability from the wild state of the country, abounding in game—which included all the lands north of the Mersey and Humber as far as the Tees. In A.D. 617, Deira and Bernicia were united under Edwin, forming the kingdom of Northumbria. We still retain in Liverpool some reminiscences of this period of our history, before the conversion of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers to Christianity. Two eminences on the east side of the town are called respectively Low Hill and Brown-Low Hill. *Low* is a corruption of A.-S. *hlâw*, a tumulus or grave-mound, which in the times of Saxon heathendom it was customary to throw up over the remains of distinguished persons. As these tumuli were usually erected on eminences, the hill and the mound became associated together under the same name, of which we find numerous instances in all parts of the country. The grave-mounds in the present case have disappeared ages ago, but there can be little doubt that in the names Low Hill and Brownlow Hill, we preserve the faint memory of the interment of chief men of our own race, more than twelve hundred years since.

Low Hill. Brownlow Hill.

Danish names.

In the ninth century, the Danes, after ravaging the country,

CHAP. I.

began to establish themselves along the coast. Hasting, the Viking or pirate, sailed up the Dee, and took the city of Chester, A.D. 894.

The nomenclature of the district round Liverpool exhibits a curious mixture of Anglo-Saxon and Danish; Toxteth, Walton, Everton, Bootle, belonging to the former, and Kirkdale, West Derby, Crosby, Roby, to the latter. The Danish names are limited to the curved line of coast between Birkdale (Southport) and Widnes, and the chord line connecting the two extremities.

That the Danish settlement near Liverpool was of some importance may be inferred from the existence of the "Thing-Wald," or hill of counsel—the forum and place of justice, which remains to this day under the same name, "Thingwall," about four miles from Liverpool.[1]

Northumbria.

The kingdom of Northumbria was converted to Christianity about A.D. 627, and it is only reasonable to infer that soon after this date churches began to be erected, and some kind of ecclesiastical jurisdiction established, but the present divisions of the parishes and townships are of much later origin. They date from a period subsequent to the Danish invasion, and are probably referable to the reign of Alfred the Great (849-901). The sparseness of the population and its rude state in contrast with the southern and eastern parts of the island may be illustrated by a single example. The counties of Lancaster and Norfolk contain nearly equal areas. In the original division of the counties into hundreds and parishes, it is natural to suppose that the amount of population formed an important, if not the sole element. Norfolk is divided into thirty-three hundreds and 740 parishes. Lancashire, with the same extent of territory, has only six hundreds and sixty-six parishes. We may thus fairly infer that at the time of their formation, say the end of the ninth century, Norfolk was ten times as populous as Lancashire.

Hundreds and parishes.

River Mersey.

The earliest mention of the river Mersey is in a deed of the reign of Ethelred, A.D. 1004. The origin of the name it is not easy to determine, but it seems only reasonable to conjecture

[1] One of the largest discoveries of ancient coins ever made was at Cuerdley, near Widnes, at the eastern extremity of the Danish settlements in Lancashire. About 7000 pieces in all were found, 3000 of which were Danish; the remainder Cufic, Italian, Byzantine, Gaulish, and Anglo-Saxon. Another deposit was disinterred near Crosby, containing Danish coins of a later date down to the reign of Canute.

that it has some connection with the name of the kingdom of Mercia (A.-S. Myrcnaric) of which it formed the northern boundary.

So matters remained until the period of the Norman Conquest. We have glimpses during the Saxon times of good King Oswald residing at his pleasant retreat at Winwick, and being there defeated and slain in battle by the heathen Penda, King of Mercia, in A.D. 642, the locality being called "Mackerfield," the field of slaughter, to this day. We find, subsequently, that Edward the Confessor had a manor and an aerie of hawks at West Derby. All this time we have no mention of *Liverpool.* When the Domesday survey was made in 1086, we find a record of the manor of *Esmedune*, occupying at least a portion of the site of modern Liverpool. Of this I shall have to speak more fully by and by.

King Oswald.

Domesday survey.

The land on which Liverpool stands was part of the fief (inter Ripam et Mersham) granted by the Conqueror to Roger de Poitou, one of the great family of Montgomery. After losing it once during the reign of the granter, he regained and held it during the life of William Rufus, but was finally ejected by Henry I. after the great battle on the Severn. The fief was then conferred on Stephen de Blois, afterwards King Stephen, and on his fall it passed to his successor Henry II. It was possessed for about twelve years by William de Blois, brother of Stephen, and on his decease again reverted to the Crown.

Roger de Poitou.

Attempts have been made to show that charters were granted to Liverpool before the end of the twelfth century. Enfield mentions one by Henry I. in 1129, and there is a dubious entry in the corporation records under the date of 1581, alluding to two supposed charters of Henry I., which are not given or quoted. Another charter is given in full by Troughton in his history, ascribed to Henry II., A.D. 1173. This is also quoted by Mr. E. Baines in his *History of Lancashire*,[1] on the authority of a copy which he says "is preserved in the handwriting of the late Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke." Not the slightest proof is attempted of the authenticity of these documents, which may safely be pronounced clumsy forgeries.[2]

Henry I.

Henry II.

[1] Vol. iv. p. 57.

[2] The spurious charter of Henry II., given by Troughton, is said to have been fabricated by a Mr. James Williamson, for the purpose of selling it to the Corporation, who were anxious to show that Liverpool

CHAP. I. John.

There can be no question that King John was the real founder of the borough and port of Liverpool. He is not usually considered a model prince; nor is it customary to pour out libations to his "pious, glorious, and immortal memory," yet I confess to feeling, something like Burns in his "Address to the De'il," rather a sneaking sort of regard for him. The "ancient and loyal" borough of Liverpool acknowledges him as her municipal founder, and perhaps on that account he is as well worthy of notice as many of the "founders" whose memory Oxford delights annually to celebrate. It must be admitted that in his selection of the site for the castle and the port he showed the eye of a strategist and the foresight of a statesman.

A.D. 1170.

The circumstances which led to this event were the following:—After the expedition of Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, in 1170, and the partial conquest of Ireland, the communication between the two countries became an object of great importance, and the attention of the ruling powers was directed to the provision of suitable ports of arrival and departure. The south-west of England was well supplied by Bristol and Milford Haven, but the north-western district was by no means so well provided for. The Ribble had lost its ancient prestige, and the "Portus Setantiorum" of the Romans was silted up and abandoned. The river Dee at Chester, which during the Roman and Saxon periods had been the great port of the district, had become in consequence of the shallowing of its channel almost useless for the embarkation of troops. At Shotwick, about eight miles lower down the Dee, on the Cheshire shore, a quay was constructed and a castle built to protect it from the incursive Welsh neighbours. Further accommodation was still wanting, and it was not long in being provided.

Gilbert de Furnesis.

In the early part of the reign of Henry II., Gilbert de Furnesis or Furness, Baron of Kendal, was appointed the King's receiver for the honour of Lancaster, and his youngest son

Warine.

Warine or Warren was made keeper of the castle and prison of Lancaster. As a reward for his services, Warine received from the Crown, amongst other possessions, the manors of Litherland, French Lea, and *Liverpool*. The deed of grant is not extant,

had been a borough by prescription long before the time of King John. To show this he inserted the phrase "Lyrpul quondam vocata Litherpul," which Troughton has absurdly travestied by "Lyrpul *quondum vocant* Litherpul," which conveys no meaning whatever.

but its existence is proved by a subsequent deed executed by King John when Earl of Mortaigne, about the year 1190, confirming the possession of the property to Henry Fitzwarine, the son of the Warine above mentioned, in which the previous deed is alluded to and the name of Liverpool first occurs. The grant runs as follows :— 1190.

"Know ye that we have granted, and by this our deed confirmed, to Henry, the son of Warine de Lancaster, the lands which King Henry our father gave to Warine his father, that is Ravensmeols, Ainsdale, Litherland, *Liverpool*, and French Lea, and eight pence (rent) in the borough of Preston." [1] Grant to Fitzwarine.

It is almost certain that the attention of John, whilst regent in his brother's absence in the Holy Land, had been called to the advantageous site of Liverpool for a port. Very early in his reign he executed another deed of confirmation to Henry Fitzwarine of the lands above mentioned, with the exception of Liverpool, which is omitted from the list. By the accounts in the Pipe Rolls, and the statements in the Testa de Neville of offices held under the Crown, it appears that large sums were expended in West Derbyshire in the third and fourth years of John's reign in strengthening the castles in that district. Toxteth was at the same date formed into a royal park.

In the Charter Rolls in the Tower of London, under the head of vi. Johannis (1205), Henry Fitzwarine is entered as possessed of Ravensmeols, Ainsdale, French Lea, and 8d. rent in the borough of Preston, but no mention is made of Litherland or Liverpool.

In the year 1206 John visited Lancashire. On February 26th he was at Lancaster, and on the 28th at Chester. It cannot absolutely be proved that he passed through Liverpool on his journey, but all the probabilities lie that way, as his subsequent proceedings indicate his interest in the locality. On the 28th of the following August (1207) he formally entered into possession of Liverpool by a deed of confirmation and exchange with the aforesaid Henry Fitzwarine as follows :— A.D. 1206. A.D. 1207.

"John, by the grace of God, etc. Know ye that we have granted, and by our present charter have confirmed to Henry Fitzwarine of Lancaster, the lands which King Henry our father gave to Warine his father, for his services; to wit, Ravensmeols, Ainsdale, and the French Lea, and eight pence Exchange with Fitzwarine.

[1] I quote the translation from Mr. T. Baines (*Liverpool*, p. 73), not having access to the original.

CHAP. I. 1207.

rent in the borough of Preston—*and the English Lea which we have given to him in exchange for Liverpool*—and Up-Litherland, which the aforesaid Henry our father had given with the aforesaid lands, to the aforesaid Warine his father, *and which the said Henry hath remised to us and our heirs;* to be holden to him and his heirs, etc."[1]

This document was signed at Winchester, witnessed by a number of the earls and barons of the day, and countersigned by the Archdeacon of Wells.

At the same time and place was executed the first charter constituting the borough of Liverpool. From its language it may be fairly inferred that the burgages alluded to had already been commenced, which would confirm the inference of John's personal visit some eighteen months previously. The following are the exact terms of the charter in the original, supplying the contractions :—

CARTA REGIS JOHANNIS.

John's charter.

"Rex omnibus qui burgagia apud villam de Liverpul habere voluerint, etc. Sciatis quod concessimus omnibus qui burgagia apud Liverpul cepint quod habeant omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines in villa de Liverpul quas aliquis liber burgemotus super mare habet in terra nostra. Et nos vobis mandamus quod secure et in pace nostra illuc veniatis ad burgagia nostra recipienda et hospitanda. Et in hujus rei testimonium has litteras nostras patentés vobis transmittimus. Teste Simon de Pateshill apud Winton xxviii die Aug. anno regni nostri nono."

CHARTER OF KING JOHN.

John's charter.

"The King to all who may be willing to have burgages at the town of Liverpul, etc. Know ye that we have granted to all who shall take burgages at Liverpul, that they shall have all liberties and free customs in the town of Liverpul, which any free borough on the sea hath in our land. And we command you that securely and in our peace you may come there to receive and inhabit our burgages. And in testimony hereof we transmit to you these our letters patent. Witness Simon de Pateshill at Winchester the 28th day of August, in the ninth year of our reign."

[1] The remainder of the deed it is unnecessary to quote.

The "burgages" mentioned in the charter were tenements or dwellings which must have been constructed by the King's order before the charter was granted.[1] 1207. Burgages.

The original form of the town was dictated by the necessities of the case. The castle occupied the most prominent position, commanding the slope to the beach on three sides. On the fourth or north side a street ran from the castle gate. There were two approaches to the town from the land side. One from the east crossed the Pool brook at the end of Dale Street, and crossing Castle Street approached the sea by the line of Water Street. The other approaching from the north curved westward, forming the line of Tithebarn Street and Chapel Street. Between these two cross streets ran the High Street, and at each intersection our pious ancestors set up a cross, one called the High Cross, the other the White Cross.[2] Castle. Streets.

These burgage tenements were no doubt humble enough in their construction, probably for the most part built with oak framing from the wood of West Derby, filled in with wattle and clay. As trade prospered, here and there a stone house would be erected, a town hall for the meetings of the burgesses, and by and by a chapel of ease to the mother-church at Walton.

After granting the charter to the new borough, King John ordered the Hundred or Wapentake Court of West Derby to be removed to Liverpool, where we find it recognised in a Pipe Roll of 1208. A.D. 1208. Hundred Court.

From the Patent Rolls and the sheriffs' accounts we learn that use was made of Liverpool in the reign of John for shipping stores and reinforcements to Ireland and to Wales. In 1215 the town was garrisoned for the king during the rising which took place after the granting of the Great Charter.

The borough and port seems to have commenced its career prosperously. In the 6th Henry III. (1222), fifteen years after its foundation, a tallage or subsidy was levied on all the A.D. 1222.

[1] Littleton, sect. 162, says of burgage, "Tenure en Burgage est lou attiennement Burgh est, de que le Roy est Seignior, et ceux que ont tenements deins le Bourg teignont del Roy leur tenements, doit payer al Roy un certain rent par an."

[2] The extent of the old borough and existing parish of Liverpool is 2300 yards from east to west, and 4420 yards from north to south. The area comprises 2102 acres, of which about 900 acres belong to the corporation. There is, however, considerable doubt whether the original borough included any lands beyond the Pool. See below in the chapter on Toxteth Park.

CHAP. I. 1222.

king's manors, according to a valuation. Liverpool was assessed at five marks, equal to £50 at the present day. West Derby had fallen to one mark or £10.

A.D. 1229. Charter.

In the 13th Henry III. (1229) a new charter was granted to Liverpool, which presents some points very significant of the progress of the borough and of the tendencies of the times. The charter of John was based on the widest principles of free trade. The king offered his burgages to all who chose to come and settle at Liverpool, with liberties and free customs to all alike. In the course of twenty-two years, vested interests had grown up. The burgesses in possession wished to keep the good things to themselves, and we see in the charter obtained at this date symptoms of a protectionist and exclusive policy. Henry does not, like his father, grant "to all who shall take burgages at Liverpul" liberties and free customs; but he enacts "that the burgesses of the same borough shall have a mercatorial guild (*gildam mercatoriam*) with a *hanse* and other liberties, and free customs to the same guild pertaining; *and that no one who is not of the same guild shall transact any merchandise in the said borough, unless by consent of the same burgesses.* We have also granted to the same burgesses and their heirs, that they shall have sac and soc, and thol and theam, and infangenethef, and that they shall be quit throughout our whole land, and through all seaports, of toll, lastage, passage, pontage, and stallage; and that they shall do no suit of counties and wapentakes for their tenures which they hold within the borough aforesaid," etc.

Privileges.

Guild merchant.

Some of these terms will probably require a little explanation. The first privilege granted is that of a mercatorial *guild*. The word is of Teutonic origin, and originally signified a rateable payment, which was made by the members of the societies for mutual help, which were a prominent feature of the Anglo-Saxon polity. English guilds are noticed as recognised institutions in the laws of Alfred, Ina, and Athelstane. They survived the Norman conquest, and were frequently confirmed in their privileges by the two Williams and Henry I. They are typical of the self-reliance and power of combination which has always distinguished the English character. Municipal corporations are only one type out of a variety of forms which the guilds assumed — the guild merchant — an association for mutual protection in matters of trade—in fact a trades' union. The charter of Henry III. gave power to the burgesses of Liver-

pool to form such an association, and so led to the incorporation of the borough.[1] King John's so-called "Charter" was not in reality a charter at all; it was merely a Letter Patent, offering to all his subjects who chose to accept them, certain inducements to settle at the new borough of Liverpool. King Henry's charter gave power to the persons who had taken up the burgage tenures to form themselves into a "communitas," guild, or corporation of an exclusive character. The guild so formed was to have a *hanse*. "Hansa" was originally a duty levied on ships and goods. It is also employed in the sense of union or assembly, as in the Hanse Towns. In the charter granted by Archbishop Thurstan to the Great Guild of St. John of Beverley (temp. Henry I.), he grants permission to the burgesses of that town to have their *Hans-house*, in order that therein they may transact their business (ut ibi sua statuta pertractent). The *Hanse* at Liverpool must have been a place for the receipt of custom or for assembly; very probably for both purposes. "*Soc* and *sac*" was the privilege of holding courts and inflicting penalties.

1229.

Hanse.

Soc and sac.

Thol was a tax upon seamen's wages received on coming ashore. *Theam* was the right of pursuing serfs or "nativi" who might have escaped from bondage. *Infangenethef* was the right to capture a thief found on the premises. Toll, lastage, passage, pontage, and stallage, were payments exacted in the "good old times" from traders under the pretexts of taking in or putting out ballast, passing rivers, crossing bridges, or exposing goods for sale, from all of which the burgesses of Liverpool were to be free in every town of His Majesty's dominions. The sum paid for procuring this charter is not endorsed on the face of the document as in many subsequent instances, but in the Pipe Rolls there is an entry of the same date: "Burgenses de Livrepol receptum de x marcis pro habenda carta regis quod villa de Livrepol liber Burgus sit in perpetuum. Et quod habeant Gildam mercatoriam cum aliis libertatibus in carta illa contentis."

Thol.

Toll, etc.

[1] Charters of Incorporation do not and cannot *create* corporations. They have always depended and still depend, even for their validity, upon the pre-existence of the "Communitas," and upon their assent and acceptance of the charter. Charters, therefore, do not "incorporate." They merely *record*. They may declare the form and shape of certain municipal titles, offices, or functions within the corporation, but they do not touch the inherent characteristics of it."—Toulmin Smith's *English Guilds*, Introduction, xxii. London, 1870.

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The power of incorporation carried with it the right of electing municipal officers. In Saxon times the head of the community was called the *reeve* or steward, shire-reeve or sheriff, borough-reeve, or port-reeve, as the case might be. Under the Norman dominion he took the title of bailiff or provost (*prepositus*). In Liverpool it appears probable that two bailiffs were annually appointed from the commencement, though we have no names of earlier date than 1309 (3d Ed. II.) The appointment of mayor is later still.

Common seal.

To this period of the charter of Henry III. there can be little doubt must be ascribed the origin of the common seal of the borough. As previous to this time no incorporation existed, there could have been no seal required, but with the grant of the guild, a common seal was essential to give validity to their documents, at a period when the art of writing was so rare an accomplishment as to confer immunity from punishment for felony upon its possessor. The common seal of the borough of Liverpool (still in use) has been a *crux antiquariorum*, giving rise to controversy amongst the cognoscenti as animated as that between Jonathan Oldbuck and Sir Arthur Wardour respecting the famous Pictish inscription.

Present seal.

The present seal is of silver of the *vesica piscis* form, two inches and a quarter in length, and an inch and five eighths in breadth, bearing a bird with elevated wings, a sprig in its beak, and a scroll below. On the extreme right is the symbolic crescent and star. The inscription round the margin is in rudely-shaped Lombardic capitals as follows :

SIGILLVM COMMVNE ✶ DE LIVERPOOL ✶

On the scroll

IODIS

Of this jargon it would be impossible to make any sense without such conjectural emendations as would almost destroy its identity. Fortunately, however, we are not left in this condition of dim obscurity. Much has been written on the subject by persons well qualified from the study of ancient documents to pronounce an opinion. Not to weary the reader by wading through a discussion which would be somewhat tiresome, I will briefly give the conclusions arrived at by a careful comparison of the various views of the writers.

Original seal.

The original seal was lost or destroyed at the time of the siege in 1644. It is stated in an order of the Long Parliament in 1646, relative to a dispute between the corporation and Lord Molyneux, that "all the wrytings and ancient records belonging to y^e^ said corporation were taken away when that Towne was taken by the Enemy." Impressions of this ancient seal are extant, bearing the inscription as follows:

SIGILLCOMMVNE BORGESID'LEVERPOL

Or, supplying the contractions, Sigillum commune Borgensium de Leverpol (the common seal of the burgesses of Leverpol). Mr. Gough Nichols has conclusively shown from analogy with other examples that the so-called liver or cormorant was intended to represent the symbolic eagle of St. John the Evangelist, to whom the inscription on the scroll, **IOHIS**, a contraction for

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Johannis, referred.[1] The crescent and star were adopted by Richard Cœur de Lion, and are found on his great seal. They are found also on the Irish penny of King John, and on the first great seal of Henry III., and are very common as a device during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The sprig is probably intended for the fleur-de-lis. The modern seal is a rude and barbarous copy of the original, imitated by an unpractised hand from an impression, and the enigmatical letters are simply blunders.[2]

The usual translation of the motto round the seal is "The common seal of the burgesses of Liverpool." Mr. Toulmin Smith, in his work on the English guilds, maintains that the word *commune* in similar cases is not to be taken as an adjective, but as intended for the genitive of the word *commune* (French, *commune*), which was used as identical with guild or corporation. It would then read, "The seal of the guild (or corporation) of the burgesses of Liverpool."

The seal of antiquity has expanded into the heraldic shield of modern times, which is thus described: "The Borough of Liverpool beareth argent, a Lever azure, and has for its motto, 'Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.' The supporters were granted when Charles Jenkinson was created Earl of Liverpool."

Name.

The name of Liverpool is even more enigmatical than the seal, and has hitherto baffled all investigators in endeavouring satisfactorily to account for its origin. That the name was originally applied to the water rather than to the land appears to be agreed on all hands. The *embouchure* of the small stream was called "the Pool" down to the time of the formation of the Old Dock, and the name was perpetuated until recently in Pool Lane (now South Castle Street). It is the first portion of the name which constitutes the difficulty. Many conjectures and etymologies have been hazarded, but none has hitherto

[1] The guilds or corporations had almost always their patron saint, and St. John was rather a favourite. Out of 600 English guilds, the records of which were examined by Mr. T. Smith, scarcely any were found without this appendage.

[2] Anyone who wishes further information on this subject may consult with advantage the following articles: *Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1847. *Archæologia*, vol. xxi. p. 543, paper by Mr. Hamper. *Transactions of the Liverpool Historic Society*, vol. i. pp. 56, 105, by Mr. H. C. Pidgeon; vol. i. p. 76, by Mr. Rd. Brooke, F.S.A.; vol. iii. p. 52, by Mr. John Gough Nichols, F.S.A.; vol. xix. p. 217, by Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith; and in the *Liverpool Mercury*, April 25, 1828, a paper by Mr. Barron Field.

been found which meets with general acceptation. The spelling has been tortured into a variety of forms, no less than forty variations being given in Mr. E. Baines's *Lancashire;* but it has ultimately settled down into very nearly the original orthography in the charter of John, where it is spelled *Liverpul.*

Bailiff.

The royal charters of the olden time were usually matters of bargain and sale. Under the Norman monarchs the *bailiff* of a borough was the king's officer, who had to account to the exchequer for the customs and rents received. It became the practice with the monarchs when wanting money to farm these bailiwicks to the highest bidder, and hence arose a system of rapacity and extortion declaimed against by the contemporary chroniclers. The burgesses, in order to free themselves from this scourge, found it advantageous to farm the royal dues themselves, giving, no doubt, the highest price in the market. Hence the frequent charters of the Plantagenet period, granting the revenues in fee-farm to the burgesses themselves. Some such transaction evidently took place at the granting of the Liverpool charter of incorporation, for by a deed, bearing date the day following that of the charter (March 25, 1229), Henry declares that "we have granted to our honest men of Liverpool, our town of Liverpool, to be held at farm from the feast of St. Michael, in the thirteenth year of our reign, unto the end of four complete years, rendering therefore unto us in each of the aforesaid years, at our exchequer, by the hands of the Sheriff of Lancaster, at two terms, £10; to wit, at Easter in the thirteenth year of our reign, £5; and at the feast of St. Michael, in the same year, £5; and so from year to year, at the same terms, £10, as is aforesaid." It will be seen that his Majesty gives no credit; he takes care to provide for payment in advance.

Fee-farm lease.

Grant to Ranulf.

On October 19, in the same year (1229), all the lands between the Ribble and the Mersey were transferred by the king to Ranulf, Earl of Chester, including, as the document states, "the Borough of Liverpool with the appurtenances."

A.D. 1232.

William de Ferrers.

Three years after this (1232) the Earl of Chester died without issue, and in the division of his property Liverpool fell to the share of William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, who had married the deceased earl's sister Agnes. This venerable couple died in 1247, at the age of ninety-four years, within a month of each other, having lived together as man and wife seventy-five years, and left behind them a memory long respected for justice and good conduct. A second William inherited the

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1232. Robert de Ferrers.

title and estates, from whom they passed in succession to his son Robert de Ferrers, a minor at the time. The unprincipled rapacity of the period is manifested in the grant by the king to his son Prince Edward, of the wardship of the young earl and his estates during his minority, for the express purpose of making good the deficiency in a previous settlement which had been made by the king on his son.

A.D. 1257.

In the 41st Henry III. (1257) a return was made of the revenues on these estates, by which it appears that the fee-farm rent of Liverpool still continued at the sum of £10. The lessees are not stated, but very probably the lease remained in the hands of the burgesses.

Earl Robert de Ferrers, who had no great reason for gratitude to his royal master, on attaining his majority joined the popular party under the leadership of Simon de Montfort, and

A.D. 1264.

was present at the battle of Lewes (May 14, 1264), by which the power of the Crown was for a time shattered and almost destroyed. In the convention of burgesses, usually called the first Parliament, summoned by De Montfort in 1264, Liverpool was not represented. On the fall of De Montfort, at the battle of Evesham, De Ferrers for a time escaped ruin by making his submission to the Crown.

A.D. 1266.

On February 5, 1266, at Liverpool, he signs an "Inspeximus" of the charter of the borough, by which he confirms all the existing privileges. The same year he again rebelled, joining the sons of De Montfort, and raising his standard in Derby-

Fall of De Ferrers.

shire, where he had large estates and influence. He was defeated and captured, and, although his life was spared, all his property was confiscated to the Crown, and immediately regranted to Edmund Plantagenet, younger son of the king, created Earl of Lancaster. On July 11, in the same year, the king issued an order to his niece, Maria de Ferrers, wife of the earl, to deliver up the castle of Liverpool to Adam de Gosmuth, who was appointed keeper of the lands and tenements of the quondam earl.

Edward I.

On the accession of Edward I. (1272) the wars in which he engaged led to continual pecuniary difficulties, to supply which extraordinary means had to be resorted to. One of these was the issue of writs of Quo warranto, to test the titles of corporations and landed proprietors, and wherever a flaw could be found to seize on the property as lord paramount. Hugh de Cressingham, the king's treasurer—the man who a few years

afterwards made himself so hateful to the Scotch that after the battle of Stirling (September 11, 1297) they flayed his dead body and cut the skin into straps—was sent down with others to hold the inquiries in Lancashire. He held his court at Lancaster in the octaves of the Holy Trinity, 1292, where the bailiffs and commonalty of Liverpool were summoned to appear "to show by what warrant they claim to be quit of common fines and amercements of the county and suits of counties and wapentakes, and of toll, stallage, through-toll, passage, pontage, and lastage, throughout the whole kingdom of England, etc., which belong to the Crown and dignity of our lord the king, without the license and will of the lord the king, or of his progenitors." It is on the record that "certain men of the borough of Liverpool came for the commonalty, and say that they have not at present a bailiff of themselves, but have been accustomed to have, until Edmund the king's brother" (the then earl) "impeded them, and permits them not to have a free borough, wherefore at present they do not claim the aforesaid liberties, except that they may be quit of common fines and amercements of the county, etc., and of toll, stallage, etc., through the whole kingdom."

1292.

Quo warranto.

Edmund, Earl of Lancaster.

They proceed to complain that as to the other liberties they have been accustomed to have them, but the aforesaid Edmund now has them. They then quote the charters of John and of Henry III. to show that the liberties of which they have been deprived were held direct from the Crown.

The court came to the conclusion that, "whereas it appears by their evidence that the aforesaid Edmund hath usurped and occupied the aforesaid liberties, the sheriff is commanded that he cause him to come here on Monday next, to answer for himself," and the commonalty were directed to be present to prosecute for our lord the king, together with William Inge, one of the king's council. The deputies of the Liverpool commonalty were John de la More, Adam Walsemann, and Richard Liverpol.

It appears from these proceedings that the new Earl of Lancaster had carried things with a high hand, and had revoked on his own authority most of the privileges conferred by the royal charters. Notwithstanding the peremptory bearing of the commissioners, there is no record of any action being taken against the earl. The king's brother was too exalted a personage to deal with summarily, and he and his successors went on collecting the tolls for forty years subsequently. Several other

Edmund, Earl of Lancaster.

CHAP. I.

inquiries were heard at the same time, in which Liverpool was concerned, touching wreck cast on the shore, respecting prisoners escaping from the castle of Liverpool, etc.

A.D. 1296.

In the year 1296, urged by pecuniary difficulties, the king imitated the example of Simon de Montfort, and summoned the

Burgesses to Parliament.

boroughs of the kingdom to send representatives to a Parliament at Westminster. This was the first Parliament called by writs of the Crown, and in this Liverpool was represented by two honest and discreet burgesses, Adam Fitzrichard and Robert Pinklowe. They were paid their travelling expenses and wages for their services. They had the honour of taking part in the passing of the celebrated statute "De tallagio non concedendo," which established the principle of the right of the Commons to control the public purse.

Death of Earl Edmund.

Edmund Plantagenet, the first Earl of Lancaster, died in 1296. From the "Inquisitio post mortem" we learn that his income from Liverpool amounted to £25 per annum, equal to £375 of our currency. This was a large increase from the fee-farm rent of £10 in 1229 and 1257. No doubt the town had progressed in the interim, but one main reason probably consisted in the earl's usurpation of the town's privileges, setting aside the terms of the charters and collecting the tolls by his agents.

We have now reached the close of the thirteenth century, the first in the existence of Liverpool. The materials for recording the progress of the town are few and far between.

Population in 1272.

In 1272, at the accession of Edward I., a census was taken of the inhabited houses, amounting to 168, which at five persons to a house would give a population of 840. The issue of a writ to Liverpool to send representatives to the first Royal Parliament, indicates that the town was considered at least a place of some promise; but when we compare its fee-farm rent of £10 with the corresponding lease of the Crown rights at Bristol at the same period of £266 : 13 : 4 per annum, the insignificance of our northern port is strongly shown by the contrast.

Fourteenth Century.

A.D. 1306. Edward II.

On the accession of Edward II., 1306, a new Parliament was called, to which Liverpool sent as its representatives Richard

Writs suspended.

More and John More. No further writs of summons were issued to Liverpool for the next 240 years, which is sufficient

testimony to the poverty of the town and its slow rate of increase.

1306.

In various orders issued during the reign of Edward I. for the regulation of the ports, such as prohibiting the export of bullion, supply of vessels for transporting troops to Scotland, etc., Liverpool is not thought worthy of notice.

Earl Thomas.

Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, was succeeded by his son Thomas, who by his own wealth and his alliances was probably the most powerful noble in the kingdom. He seems to have had a kindly feeling towards the town. In the 3d of Edward II. (1309), he made over by deed to "our burgesses of our town of Lyverpole" six large acres of moss land to the east of the town, to which I shall have occasion hereafter to refer.

A.D. 1309.

Bailiffs.

In the same year we first find official mention of the names of the bailiffs. It occurs in a deed relating to the estates of Crosse, of Crosse Hall in Liverpool, which is witnessed by John de la More and Adam Walsemann, bailiffs. These are the same names which occur as deputies in 1292 to the Quo warranto inquiry at Lancaster.

A.D. 1314.

In 1314 the royalty of the castle and borough was valued at £30 : 10 : 0 per annum.

A.D. 1322. Fall of Earl Thomas.

In 1322 came the ruin of the proud Earl Thomas. He raised an insurrection against his royal cousin, but was encountered and overthrown at Boroughbridge, and brought to the block at Pontefract, his own fortified castle. His estates, and Liverpool along with them, passed into the possession of his brother Henry. Soon after the execution of Earl Thomas the unfortunate Edward II. made a progress through the northern parts of England, and visited Liverpool, where he lodged in the castle, from whence a deed, quoted in Rymer's *Fœdera*, is dated.[1]

A.D. 1325.

In 1325 the bailiffs and commonalty received a royal order to allow no persons to pass through Liverpool unless they were proceeding to Flanders. Another order required them to arrest all vessels; and to send them round to Portsmouth; and a third directed them to examine all letters, and to arrest all suspicious persons. All these precautions proved in vain. The king's vacillating, weak, treacherous conduct had so disgusted his adherents, that his ruthless queen and her paramour carried public opinion with them, and brought his reign to an ignominious end in 1327.

A.D. 1327.

Ravages of the Scots.

At the accession of Edward III. the Scots were ravaging

[1] See below, vol. ii. chap. i.

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the north of England, wasting the country, and driving the inhabitants before them. The governors of Liverpool and other fortified castles received orders to open their gates to receive the fugitives. The male inhabitants of Lancashire capable of bearing arms were required to join the king at Newcastle. The northern part of the county was reduced to great distress. Many of the townships petitioned to be relieved from their taxes on account of their miserable condition. Every man had to arm himself at his own expense, according to his state and condition of life. Even the poorest were required to provide a bow and arrows, or a cross-bow and bolts. In Liverpool the archers were accustomed to exercise at a place called Shooters' Green, the locality of which it is not possible now to identify.

Earl Henry.

The unfortunate state of the times prevented Liverpool from making progress. At the time of Earl Henry's accession to the estates of the honour of Lancaster, of which Liverpool formed a part, a jury was impanelled to inquire into, and report on, the value of the earl's property in the borough. They report "that there is at Lyverpoll a certain castle whose trench and herbage are of the value of 2s. per year; and that there is a certain dovecote under the castle of the value of 6s. 8d.; and that there is a certain borough in which are divers free tenants holding in burgage, and paying yearly £8 : 8s.;[1] and that there is a certain market held on Saturday whose tolls are worth £10; and that there is a certain ferry beyond the Mersey which is worth 40s.; and that there is a windmill of the value of 26s.; and a watermill of the value of 24s.; and that there is a certain fair held on the day of St. Martin, whose toll is of the value of 13s. 9d.; and that there is a certain park which is called Toxteth, whose herbage in summer is of the value of £11; sum total, £35 : 0 : 5." If we deduct the value of Toxteth Park, the amount of revenue from Liverpool is £24—equal to £360 against £25 in 1296. It must be remembered that the customs duties are not included in this estimate. The burgesses were free, and it is probable that the duties levied on strangers passed to the Crown. The summary presents rather a pleasing picture of a small mediæval town with its wind and water mills, and its annual fair, which was no doubt a gala time for the inhabitants. The weekly market, producing a revenue of £10 per annum, equal to £150 modern, must have been rather important to the surrounding district.

Report on Liverpool.

[1] 168 burgage tenements at 1s. each.

During Earl Thomas's possession of the honour of Lancaster, he had made considerable grants of land and manors in Liverpool and elsewhere to a follower named Robert de Holland. The family took their designation from the township of Up-Holland, near Wigan, where they settled soon after the Conquest. Sir Robert de Holland was secretary to Thomas, the second Earl of Lancaster, and was endowed by him with large estates. In the 35th Edward I. (1307) he built and endowed a collegiate church at Up-Holland for a dean and twelve secular priests, which was subsequently (in 1319) converted into a Benedictine priory.

1327. Robert de Holland.

Sir Robert was not quite faithful to his patron on his last unfortunate expedition; but he seems, nevertheless, to have been looked upon with considerable suspicion by the new king (Edward III.). In the first year of his reign a writ of inquiry was issued, and a jury impanelled at Wigan, before Simon de Grimsby, to examine the title of Sir Robert to the lands which Earl Thomas had bestowed on him, and which were now claimed by the new Earl Henry. The jury consisted of lords of manors, or what would in Scotland be called lairds. Amongst the names we find several closely connected with Liverpool, as John le Norreys of Speke, John de la More of Lyverpoll, Adam Clerk of Lyverpoll, Galfrey de Waleton, Richard de Walton, etc. The jury found that seven years before the decease of Earl Thomas, Sir Robert de Holland had been in possession of the castle and borough of Lyverpoll, worth £30 : 16s. per annum, of the park of Toxteth, of the manors of Everton, Wavertree, Great Crosby, and others, but that he produced no charter or deed proving the grant from the late earl, nor had the free tenants on the estates attorned themselves either from their homages or fealties to the aforesaid Robert de Holland. They therefore refused to deliver a verdict between the contending parties. The issue is left in obscurity by the existing records; but as we find that in the 46th of Edward III. a considerable portion of the property was in possession of Sir Robert's descendants, and as we hear no more of him in connection with Liverpool, it seems probable that a compromise was effected, by which Liverpool was handed over to Earl Henry.

Inquiry.

It will be seen that the revenue from Liverpool had increased from £25 in 1296 to £30 : 10s. (equal to £457 : 10s.) in 1327. It is in the reign of Edward III. that we first find any reference to the streets of Liverpool by name. Castle Street,

Revenue from Liverpool.

Streets.

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Dale Street, Chapel Street, Moore Street (now Tithebarn Street), and Banke Street (now Water Street) are mentioned in deeds of this date. To these I shall have occasion again to refer. In the 2d Edward III. (1328) authority was granted to the burgesses to levy tolls on all articles of merchandise in aid of the paving of the town. Similar grants were repeated at various times in the succeeding reigns; but paved streets had not become general in the towns of England until long afterwards, for we find Leland, writing in the reign of Henry VIII., describing Liverpool as "a pavyd towne," indicating thereby that there were many towns at that time which were not "pavyd."

A.D. 1333. Inspeximus charter.

In the 6th Edward III. (1333), the first of the "Inspeximus" charters was granted to Liverpool. Under the Plantagenet monarchs this was a favourite mode of wringing from the reluctant traders a contribution to the exhausted exchequer of the king. During the early reigns succeeding the Conquest, charters and grants were looked upon rather as a personal act of grace from the feudal superiors, than an official grant from the sovereign. At the decease of a noble his successor was frequently called on to produce the title by which he held his estates, and on the accession of a new monarch the cities and boroughs were summoned to produce their charters for inspection and renewal.

A money payment was always demanded as an equivalent for the royal sanction. The present instrument merely records the inspection of the two previous charters of John and Henry III., and after reciting them verbatim, concludes thus: "We moreover, the grants and confirmations aforesaid holding firm and valid, do for us and our heirs, as much as in us is, grant and confirm them to the aforesaid burgesses and their heirs and successors, as the charters aforesaid do reasonably testify, and as the same burgesses and their ancestors the liberties aforesaid have hitherto reasonably used and enjoyed. These being witnesses; the venerable father W. Archbishop of York," and others. The fine of forty shillings is stated at the foot as the price of the confirmation.

A.D. 1335.

In 1335, on the occasion of the king's invasion of Scotland, Simon de Beltoft and Henry de Kendall, were commissioned to

Impress of ships.

impress six ships of war of the larger and stronger kind which may happen to be found on the coast, and to fit them out with mariners and soldiers, and to be provided with victuals and

other things necessary for war; to proceed from the port of Liverpool to the port of Skynburnness on the Solway, and to cruise against any Scotch vessels they might find on the seas. The expense to be paid by orders on the king's exchequer.

A.D. 1338. A letter is extant, bearing date the 11th Edward III. (1338), from Earl Henry to the Sheriff of Lancaster, William le Blount, stating that he had forwarded certain leases (*cartas*) for his tenants in Liverpool, and charging him to take good security that he might receive the fines for increase in value. The amount stated, five marks, or £3 : 6 : 8, for each acre (equal to £50 in modern currency), is so large as to raise a suspicion of an error, either in the document itself, or in the transcription.[1]

Leases.

A.D. 1342. Subsidy. In the 15th Edward III. (1342), a subsidy of a ninth on all personal property having been granted by the Parliament in aid of the Scottish war, an inquiry was made into the value of the property in each locality. The tax produced £12 : 5 : 11 in Liverpool. This being one-ninth of the value, the personalty of the burgesses of Liverpool amounted at that period to £110 : 13 : 3, or £1659 : 18 : 9 in modern money.

At this time there were 168 burgesses holding burgage tenements in the town. The average personalty of each burgess was therefore assessed at one mark (equal to £10), which does not give a very exalted idea of the wealth of the place.

It is probable, however, that the valuation was very low, and that it did not include merchandise, which paid the tax in a different form. The furniture and chattels of the *bourgeoisie* of the period were of the simplest possible description, as we may read in the pages of Chaucer and Piers Plowman. Wearing apparel and arms were the only objects on which expense was indulged except amongst the upper classes.

A.D. 1348. In 1348, at the siege of Calais, Liverpool contributed one bark and six men. London sent twenty-five, Bristol twenty-four, Hull sixteen, and Portsmouth five ships.

Two Liverpool men, William de la More and William Molyneux, distinguished themselves in these wars under the Black Prince, and were duly knighted, one at the battle of Poitiers, the other at Navarrete.

A.D. 1346. Duke Henry. In the 20th Edward III. (1346), Henry, Earl of Lancaster, died and was succeeded by his son the second Henry, not long

[1] See T. Baines, *History of the Commerce and Town of Liverpool*, p. 149.

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1346. Inquisitio post mortem.

subsequently created first Duke of Lancaster. From the "Inquisitio post mortem," and from a subsequent return, we learn some particulars of the state of the town in the middle of the fourteenth century. The original burgage-tenements in passing from hand to hand by purchase or inheritance had become divided sometimes into very minute portions, as we read of a third of a burgage, an eighth part, and a forty-eighth part. The ordinary quit-rent of a burgage was 12d. payable at Lady-day, and 2d. at the feast of St. Michael. One burgage in the possession of Dionysius Keelynge was held by service of finding stabling for twelve horses on every visit of the lord within the borough. Forty acres of land on Salthouse Moor are recorded as let at 68s. 6d. per annum, or 1s. $8\frac{1}{2}$d. per acre (equal to £1 : 5 : $7\frac{1}{2}$). There was a horsemill and two windmills let to John de la More. The rental of land and buildings amounted to £12 : 7 : $1\frac{3}{4}$; the tolls, markets, etc., including the ferry-boat, were leased at the rent of £26. The total revenue, therefore, was £38 : 7 : $1\frac{3}{4}$, against £30 : 10s. in 1327.

A.D. 1350. In 1350 a mandate was issued to the ports of Liverpool and Chester to arrest a sufficient number of ships to convey to Ireland the king's justiciary, Sir Thomas Rokeby, with his retinue of thirty men-at-arms, and thirty archers, to embark at Liverpool.

First mention of mayor. A.D. 1356. In this reign we first find mention of the mayor. It occurs in a letter patent from the king, dated May 19, 1356, authorising Richard de Aynsargh, "mayor of the town of Liverpool," to invest £10 in land, and to assign it to the performance of divine service for the souls of the faithful deceased in the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Nicholas, at Liverpool—the Statute of Mortmain notwithstanding.

The assumption of the title is enveloped in obscurity. The charters throw no light upon it, as they make no mention of either mayor or bailiffs. Both titles are French in their origin. The reeve under the Saxon *regime* took the name of bailiff under the Norman dominion. It is supposed that one of the two elected when appointed to preside was called sometimes "prepositus" or provost, and sometimes "majeur" or mayor. In England the latter name prevailed, in Scotland the former. From the fourteenth century in Liverpool a mayor and two bailiffs were ordinarily appointed annually, down to the Municipal Reform Act of 1835.

The lord duke not improbably found the collection of the

rents and dues attended with inconvenience, for on March 24, 1357, he executed a lease in fee-farm for ten years to the following persons on behalf of the burgesses: Richard de Aynsargh, mayor, William de Liverpull (*clericus*), probably the priest of the chapel, William Fitzadam, John de More, Alexander Cumming, William de Grenelf, Adam Fitzrichard, and Robert Fitzthomas. The lease included all the burgage rents, tolls, mills, and the ferry, reserving to the lord the castle and its precincts, and any escheats or forfeitures. The rent to be 50 marks per annum, or £33 : 6 : 8. As the entire produce ten years before was only £38 : 7 : 1, there was a very small margin left for profit, unless we suppose, what was probably the case, that the revenue was improving.

1357. Lease from Duke Henry.

In 1360 the king (Edward III.) confirmed to John Barrett, along with the manor of Everton, a messuage and six sellions of land in Liverpoole at a rent of 6s. 8d., and twenty acres of moss "in parco de Toxteth," super le mossa de Liverpoole, at a rental of 10s.

A.D. 1360.

Henry, styled the good Duke of Lancaster, died on March 24, 1361, leaving two daughters; the younger, Blanche, married to John of Gaunt, fourth son of the king, who was promoted to the title of his father-in-law, and endowed with his estates in the county palatine and elsewhere. The "Inquisitio post mortem" contains no particulars beyond the mere mention of the castle of Liverpool amongst the late duke's possessions.

Death of Duke Henry. John of Gaunt.

About this time the port of Liverpool is mentioned in several documents as being used for collecting ships to transmit troops and stores to Ireland and elsewhere.

In 1362 a proclamation was issued directing the seizure, in the ports on the west coast, of 80 ships of 30 tons burden and upwards, to be sent to Liverpool to assist Prince Lionel in carrying on the war in Ireland.

A.D. 1362.

The middle of this century is memorable for the awful visitation of the plague or black death, which swept over Europe like the destroying angel. "From the heart of China this pestilence, sweeping across the desert of Cobi and the wilds of Tartary, found its way through the Levant, Egypt, Greece, Italy, Germany, France, and at last embraced the western coast of England, whence it soon spread all over the land. It appeared in London in November 1348, and there committed the most frightful ravages. According to some historians, one-

Black death.

CHAP. I.

half of the whole population of England was swept away, and the dreadful malady affected the cattle in an equal degree. The poor suffered most, and at the end of the great pestilence there were not hands enough left to till the soil."[1] The gloomy shadow of this pestilence passed over Liverpool about

A.D. 1360.

1360. The number of deaths was so great that the carrying out the bodies to the parish graveyard at Walton became impracticable, and permission was obtained from the Bishop of Lichfield to form a cemetery round the chapel of Our Lady and St. Nicholas (since one of the parish churches).

After the expiration of the fee-farm lease for ten years, granted in 1356, John of Gaunt appears to have kept the revenues of the town in his own hands for some years. In

A.D. 1373.

1373 he gives an order on the receiver of the county of Lancaster in favour of William de Bradshagh, "constable of our castle of Liverpool, and keeper of our parks of Toxtat and Croxtat," etc., for an annuity of 13 marks, payable from the issues of the lordship of Liverpool. In the same year he enters into a contract with a Flemish esquire, Rankyn d'Ipres, whom

Rankyn d'Ipres.

he had retained in his service on the following terms: "That the said Rankyn is retained and dwelling with our said lord for peace and war, for the term of his life, in manner following: that is to say, in time of peace the said Rankyn will board at court in the manner as other esquires of the household of our said lord; and for his fees in time of peace" . . . he had a donative of 100 shillings down, and a rent charge on the manor of Skerton of 17 marks, and 25 marks sterling from the farm of the town of Liverpool; and in time of war he was to have by the year twenty pounds sterling from the latter source. "And further, that should the annuity be in arrear, in part or in whole for one month from the stipulated term of payment, it should be lawful for the said Rankyn to distrain in the said town or in any part thereof, until full satisfaction be made. The engagement for life in this document, without any reservation, seems a little remarkable.

A.D. 1373.

In 1373 Liverpool was appointed the place of rendezvous for ships arrested between Bristol and Liverpool to convey Sir William de Windsor, Governor and Warden of Ireland, across the Channel.

A.D. 1374. Lease renewed.

In 1374 the duke renewed the lease to the burgesses for ten years, on the same terms as before, but at a rent increased

[1] *Pictorial History of England*, vol. i. p. 771.

by two marks, making the entire fee-farm rent £35 (equal to £525 in modern currency).

Edward III. died, and Richard II. succeeded in 1377. Five years after this (June 11, 1382) another "Inspeximus" charter was granted, reciting and confirming the three previous ones, with one very notable exception. In the charter of Henry III. the burgesses had managed to introduce a clause, "that no one who is not of the same guild (or corporation) shall transact any merchandise in the aforesaid borough, unless by consent of the same burgesses."

A.D. 1382. Charter of Richard II.

In the charter of Richard II. this clause is expressly excepted: "Illa clausula superius expressa quod nullus qui non sit de gilda illa mercandisam aliquam in predicto burgo faciat nisi de voluntate eorumdem burgensium, penitus excepta."

Whether this was "proprio motu" on the part of the king's advisers, or, what is more probable, whether representations had been made of the injustice and injurious effect of the monopoly, it is pleasant to see, at a period not remarkable for sound political economy, a recurrence to the common principles of justice and equity.

On this Mr. T. Baines remarks with great truth,[1] that the insurrection of the commons under Wat Tyler a short time previously, in which one of the chief demands was "full liberty of buying and selling in all fairs and markets," may have had some influence on the conclusions of the government.

The fine for the grant of this charter was rather heavy, being £5 sterling, equal to £75 in modern money.

Contemporary documents give occasional peeps into the domestic economy and mode of life of bygone periods. William Fitzadam was a prosperous and well-to-do burgher in Liverpool in the middle portion of the fourteenth century. In 1357 we find his name amongst those to whom the lease of the fee-farm was granted on behalf of the burgesses by Henry, Duke of Lancaster. He filled the office of mayor in 1378. In 1380 he executed his last will and testament, of which the following is a copy:[2]—

William Fitzadam.

A.D. 1380.

"Last Will and Testament of William Fitzadam of Lyverpull. In the name of God. Amen. I, William, the son of Adam, being of sound mind, though weak in body, make my last will in this manner. Imprimis, I bequeath my soul to God,

His will.

[1] *History of the Commerce and Town of Liverpool*, p. 172.

[2] Given by Mr. Baines from the muniments of the Crosse family.

CHAP. I. 1380.

and to the blessed Virgin Mary and all the saints; and my body to be buried in the chapel of Lyverpull, before the face of the white image of the Virgin, which is my perpetual place of burial. I leave to be distributed in bread on the day of my burial three quarters of wheat. I leave six pounds of wax to be used about my body. I leave to every priest in the chapel of Liverpool 4d. I leave the rest of all my goods to Katherine my wife and our children. To perform my will I appoint as my executors, John le Fuller, and William Parker, chaplain. Given at Lyverpool on the Tuesday next after the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist, in the presence of Thomas de la More, the Mayor, and John de Eccleston, and others of my neighbours, in the year 1380."

Inventory.

The worthy ex-mayor's goods were appraised as follows: "Inventory of the goods of William Fitzadam of Liverpull. Imprimis, in grain, 10 marks. In seven oxen and cows, each 10s. In two cows, two horses, and a mare, each half a mark. In three horses, 1 mark. In eighteen pigs, 30s. In twenty-four sellions of wheat sown on the ground, £7. In domestic utensils, 11 marks. Sum total, £28 : 6 : 4 (equal to £429 : 10s. modern)." This is of course independent of any real estate the testator had left. It would have been interesting to know the locality of the honest burgher's residence and farm, but on this point the documents are silent.

A.D. 1383.

In 1383 a precept was issued by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, to the sheriff of the county, commanding him to distrain on certain persons in Liverpool, having in their possession a number of casks of wine, purchased from parties who had wrongfully taken them from the port of Inchgalle, contrary to the truce which the duke had concluded with Scotland the year before. A penalty was levied on the merchants in possession of the wine of ten marks for each cask.

A.D. 1386.

In 1386, amongst the forces raised to accompany John of Gaunt in his expedition to Spain, we find the name of John Eccleston, Esquire, mentioned above.

A.D. 1394. Lease.

In 1394 another lease was granted by the duke to the corporation, represented by Thomas de la More, twelve times mayor between 1374 and 1406; Robert de Derby, six times mayor; Richard de Hulme, bailiff in 1397, and William de Raby. In addition to the burgages, tolls, markets, ferry, mills, etc., the lease includes "the common pasture lying between our said town and our park of Toxteth, and any portions of the

turbary which had reverted to the lord by the death of the tenants. The rent was 57 marks of silver or £38, being an advance of £3 on the previous lease."

John of Gaunt died in 1399, and was interred in old St. Paul's. His son, Henry of Bolingbroke, united the Duchy of Lancaster to the Crown, where it has ever since remained. A.D. 1399.

Fifteenth Century.

The progress of the port and town continued very slow. The time had not yet come for the development of the latent capabilities of the northern districts, and the foreign wars, and the internecine contention with which the country was distracted during the greater part of this century, checked and subdued every attempt at industrial improvement.

In the first year of his reign King Henry IV. granted a new "Inspeximus" charter, which repeats in the same words the recitals of the previous ones, restoring the obnoxious monopoly of the burgesses, struck out by Richard II. For this the corporation paid 6 marks (equal to £60) into the royal treasury. At the same time the king renewed the lease to the corporation on the same terms as before. Henry IVth's charter.

In the 7th Henry IV. (1406) we first meet with the name of the Stanley family as connected with Liverpool. In this year Sir John Stanley obtained the royal license to fortify a house he had built or enlarged in Liverpool. To this I shall have occasion again to refer. A.D. 1406. Sir John Stanley.

Nicol de Atherton, early in this reign, receives a pension of £20 per annum, one half of which is charged on the fee-farm of Liverpool. In 1410 Robert Bickerstath is granted two-pence per day out of the proceeds of the ferry. Nicol de Atherton. A.D. 1410.

The charters hitherto granted conveyed to the burgesses the privilege of *sac* and *soc*, that is, of holding their own courts and inflicting penalties, and likewise exempted them from suit and service in the county and wapentake (or hundred) courts. The jurisdiction of these courts sometimes clashed, and led to disputes. In the 1st Henry V. (1413) a petition was presented by the burgesses, complaining that their privileges were infringed upon, by the county officers coming into the borough and holding courts by force, by which "the said burgesses are grievously molested, vexed, and disturbed, to the great hindrance and detriment of the said borough, and the disinheriting Jurisdiction of courts.

CHAP. I. 1413.

of the said burgesses." The king's officer met this attack by a countercharge that the mayor and bailiffs had held the king's courts without authority, and received the tolls and profits. On this representation a warrant was issued by the Crown, authorising the wapentake stewards to distrain upon the mayor and bailiffs for all the toll and profits received by them from the time of the king's coronation. How the dispute was terminated there is no record to show.

A.D. 1421. Lease.

In July 1421, the king granted the fee-farm for one year to the corporation, pending an inquiry into the value of the property, and its tenure since the time of John of Gaunt. The king's death soon after put a stop to the proceedings.

From this time the system of "inspeximus" charters was suspended, so far as relates to Liverpool, until the reign of Philip and Mary.

A.D. 1424.

In the 3d Henry VI. (1424) a circumstance occurred which illustrates the lawless manners of the times. The noble and knightly families of Stanley of Lathom and Molyneux of Sefton were the *dii majores* who predominated in the narrow sphere of Liverpool affairs. In rank and position they were pretty equally matched, and each had their stronghold in the locality; the custody of the castle being frequently in the hands of the Molyneuxs, whilst the Stanleys possessed their own fortified tower on the edge of the river. Generally adopting the same political party, and not unfrequently connected by marriage, they nevertheless indulged in jealousy and rivalry to a degree which sometimes disturbed the peace of the neighbourhood. About Midsummer, 1424, a gathering took place in Liverpool of the followers of the two parties, it is not stated with what object. The result is described in a report given in Dodsworth's MSS. from "Ralph of Ratcliffe and James of the Holts, Justices of the Peace," to the chancellor of the duchy, dated July 16, 1424, wherein it is certified that "on Monday next after Midsummer day . . . . Sir Richard Ratcliffe, sheriff of the county of Lancaster, showed us a writ directed to him from our lord the king, making mention that there was great rumour and congregation of routes between Sir Richard Molyneux, sometimes dwelling at Sefton, Kt., on the one part, and Thomas Stanley the younger of Liverpull, Esq.,[1] on the other part. . . . . Wherefore the said sheriff charged us and many other gentry of the king's behalfe . . . . that we should go

Molyneuxs and Stanleys.

Disturbance.

[1] Grandson of the first Sir John.

CHAP. I. 1424.

with him to Lierpull, then as the said congregation and riots were ordained to be; and the said sheriffe and we gede to Lyerpull on Wednesday next after, and there we found the said Thomas of Stanley in his father's house, and with a multitude of people in the town to the number of two thousand men or more;" his pretext being "that the said Sir Richard will come hither with great congregations, riots, and great multitude of people, to slea and beat the said Thomas, his men, and his servants, the which he would withstand if he might." Thereupon "y^e^ sheriffs arrested the said Thomas, and committed him to ward." Having secured one combatant, the sheriffs and their *posse comitatus*, "that there was, yadden up to the West Derby fen, and there on a mow within the said town we saw the said Sir Richard with great congregations, route, and multitude to the number of a thousand men and more arrayed in manner as to go to battle, and coming in fast towards Lierpull town; and the said sheriff arrested the said Sir Richard and committed him to ward." The two belligerents were ordered by the king to withdraw, one to Windsor, the other to Kenilworth Castle.

Disturbances.

The unsettled state of the times during the Wars of the Roses gave great encouragement to deeds of violence and wrong. A very brutal outrage of this kind was perpetrated in 1437 by a Liverpool man, William Poole, one of the family of Poole, of Poole Hall in Wirral, Cheshire, connected by marriage with the Stanleys of Hooton, upon Isabella, widow of Sir John Butler, of Bewsey Hall, near Warrington. The circumstances are quaintly set forth in a petition to the House of Commons praying for redress, an abstract of which is as follows:—"That where Isabel that was the wife of John Botiller of Bewsey, Knight, was in God's peace, and our sovereign lord's the king, at the town of Burtonwood, in her manor of Bewsey aforesaid, in the county of Lancaster, the Monday next after the feast of Saint James the Apostle last past; there came one William Poole, sometime of Leverpoole in the county of Lancaster, gentleman, with many other felons and disturbers of the peace of our said sovereign lord the king, unknown, harnessed and arrayed in manner of war, at v of the clock in the morning the said Monday, and there feloniously as felons of our said sovereign lord, in await lying, by assault prepense, against God's peace and our sovereign lord, his crown and his dignity, the said Isabel feloniously there then took and ravished, and from thence led the said Isabel unto Birkhede, in the county

A.D. 1437. Outrage on Dame Butler.

CHAP. I. 1437.

of Chester, and there by subtle imagination of such counsel as him list take to him, to the intent to exclude her of her suit and lawful remedy of the said ravishment, her imprisoned, and in prison her held unto the Tuesday then next following; that the aforesaid William Poole, the aforesaid Isabel drew and led against her will to the parish kirk of Bidstone, in the same county of Chester, within his own strength, having with him a priest of his own assent, to wed them together; at which time it was asked of her by the priest if she would agree her to have the said William Poole to husband, and she said, nay, never by her will; whereupon the said William menaced her that she should be dead, unless she would say the words of matrimony; and thereupon the priest against her will wedded them; which wedding by coercion so done, the said William led and drew the said Isabel again to the said Birkhede the same Tuesday, and there put her in a strong chamber till night; and then there the said William feloniously and fleshly knew and ravished the said Isabel.

"Wherefore please it your said wise discretions these premises to consider, and thereupon to ordain by authority of this present Parliament that the said Isabel may have pursue by attorney an effectual appeal within the county of Lancaster of the said ravishment against the said William and other parties to the said felony; and thereupon to have due and lawful execution, the espousals had betwixt the said Isabel and the said William notwithstanding. And that any matter that is or shall be to be tried in the said appeal be tried within the said county of Lancaster, considering that the two shires be counties palatine and adjoining; and neither having power within the other nor jurisdiction."

Nothing could more clearly illustrate the deplorable condition of the country in the fifteenth century than the fact that a ruffianly act of this kind could be committed openly in the face of day, and that the ordinary tribunals were so powerless or incompetent to deal with it that a special application to Parliament was necessary before any attempt at redress could be undertaken. Parliament passed an act that unless William Poole surrendered himself after proclamation made against him, he should be taken as a traitor attainted. What ultimately came of the matter we are not informed. The case attracted considerable attention, and is mentioned by Sir Edward Coke in his *Institutes* under the article "Rape."

In 1440 the Lady Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester, having been banished on a charge of witchcraft, whilst on her passage to the Isle of Man, was temporarily confined in the tower of Liverpool, under the charge of Sir Thomas Stanley. 1440.

Liverpool in the fifteenth century.

The fifteenth century was a disastrous period in the history of England. War, pestilence, and famine, desolated the land, and carried off the population by myriads. The advancing tide of industry and prosperity, so promising at its commencement, was pushed back at least for a century at its close. No part of the country suffered more than Lancashire. The district was poor, and the people rude and turbulent. Whilst their leaders carried off the able-bodied to fight in the ranks of the rival Roses, the land was left untilled, and the population perishing. Goaded almost to frenzy, the people rose in 1463 in Lancashire and Cheshire to the number of 10,000, but no redress could be obtained. Liverpool suffered grievously under this state of things. Its trade fell off, and its population diminished. It is very difficult to ascertain the precise facts, but several circumstances concur in showing the deplorable condition of the town from the middle to the latter part of this century. With respect to the population we have no records whatever at this period, nor for a long time after. We have a return of the number of burgages in 1272, 1342, and 1346, being 168 at the two former dates, and 164 at the latter. There is reason, however, for thinking that these burgages were a fixed quantity, representing the original tenements established by King John, which had become divided and subdivided frequently into very minute portions, and which, therefore, give no kind of clue to the number of inhabitants. A much better test is afforded by the fee-farm rents and leases granted from time to time, the amounts varying with the prosperity of the place. From the year 1229, when the first lease was granted at £10 per annum, there had been a progressive increase in the annual amount, until, in 1394, it reached the respectable sum of £38 (equal to £570 in modern money). The disastrous fifteenth century exhibits a manifest decline.

A.D. 1463.

Decay of the town.

Burgages.

Fee-farm rents.

A.D. 1444.

New lease.

In the 22d Henry VI. (1444) a new lease was negotiated by the mayor and burgesses, in which they were aided by the good offices of Sir Thomas de Lathom of Parbold. The instructions for this lease are written on the back of the previous lease of 1394, granted by John of Gaunt, now in the possession of the Earl of Derby, and are curious as showing the points

CHAP. I. 1444.

deemed worthy of attention by the "honest and discreet men" who then managed the affairs of the town. "These be the points and the articles that the mayor of Liverpoole, with assent of all the good men and commoners of the same town, praying Thomas of Lathom to sue to the Council of the Duchy: in the first, to take the town to farm to as easy a rent as he can get it by his good labour; the second article, to get the annual fair on one day; the third article is, to get us power to take a man by his body; the fourth article is, to get us a recognizance of . . . . ,[1] and with the seal that belongs thereto; and these three last articles must be in a patent, both to ourselves, to the mayor, and to the bailiffs, and to their successors for evermore. Half in mind to take the castle orchard in our taking, and the meadow in anywise. Half in mind also to speak to my lord Sir Thomas for the Moldkirke. Half in mind also to get a privy seal direct to the mayor, charging all those that hold of the king in Liverpool[2] to appear before the council in London, else they will agree" (query disagree?) "with the mayor."[3]

The rent under this lease was at the reduced rate of £21 per annum.

Decline.

The decline, however, still continued, and in the 33d Henry VI. (1455) another lease was granted at the further reduction of £17 : 16 : 8 a year, being less than one-half the amount in the time of John of Gaunt.

A.D. 1461. Edward IV.

On the fall of the Lancastrian dynasty, the Stanleys and Molyneuxs, who had fought under the banner of the White Rose, received valuable grants from the conqueror Edward IV. The Stanleys held the borough of Liverpool and other estates formerly belonging to the duchy. Sir Richard Molyneux received the chief forestership of the royal forest and parks in the wapentake of West Derby, with the office of sergeant or steward of that wapentake and the wapentake of Salford, and the constableship of the castle of Liverpool.

The Molyneux family did not suffer by the fall of the line of York, for in the Act of Resumption passed in the 1st Henry VII. (1485) a provision was made that nothing in the Act contained should be "hurtful or prejudiciall unto Lawrence

[1] Defaced in MS.

[2] These were probably the holders of the burgage tenements.

[3] See Gregson's *Fragments*, App. lxiv.

Molyneux, of or in the office of Constable of our Castell of Lyverpool, within the Countie Palatyne of Lancaster." 1485.

Another fee-farm lease was granted in the reign of Edward IV., when the amount had dropped to £14, being little more than a third of the revenues eighty years previously.

The "crook-backed tyrant," Richard III., bid high for the support of the Stanleys and Molyneuxs. To the former he granted numerous manors in Lancashire, including Bolton and Chorley, 1000 marks per annum, and the rangership of Macclesfield forest. The latter he confirmed in the previous grants made by his predecessor.

In the second year of his reign (1484), the king made a grant to an unknown person, Richard Cook, in consideration of "the good and grateful service which our beloved servant hath performed and shall perform for us in time to come," of the ferry over the water of Mersey between the town of Lythepole and county of Chester for his life, without any account therefor to be rendered, or anything therefor to be paid. A.D. 1484. Richard III.'s grant to Richard Cook.

Sixteenth Century.

The lowest point of depression had been reached towards the close of the previous century, and from this time the affairs of the town began slowly to revive. With the establishment of settled peace, the resources of the district began gradually to develope. King Henry VII. upon his accession lost no time in A.D. 1485. securing to himself the possessions of the Duchy of Lancaster. In the first year of his reign an Act was passed vesting in the monarch the estates of the duchy and all its ancient royal and manorial rights, "all toll, pannage, passage, pickage, stallage, lastage, tallage, tollage, and carriage, which the tenants, inhabitants, and residents had been accustomed to pay in all lands, market-towns, and places whatsoever belonging to the duchy." Liverpool of course passed with the rest.

The rapacity and greed of the new monarch pressed very heavily on his subjects. Everything capable of being turned into money was made merchandise of. Richard Cook, the grantee of the ferry under Richard III. was compelled to surrender his gratuitous lease, and to receive a new one, subject to an annual payment of 60s. (equal to £45).

In 1495 a lease of the fee-farm of the borough was granted A.D. 1495. for seven years to a Welshman, David ap Griffith, at the annual

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1495. Lease to David ap Griffith.

rent of £14, the same rent which was paid under the previous lease from Edward IV. Ap Griffith is said to have been one of the followers of the Tudor family from the principality. However this may be, he settled in Liverpool and filled the office of mayor; and it seems likely that it was in this capacity that he became lessee as the representative of the burgesses.

The avarice of the king sometimes overreached itself. During the unsettled times of the Wars of the Roses, the titles to much of the property in the kingdom fell into confusion. This gave a splendid opportunity to the Government to issue writs of Quo warranto, compelling the parties summoned to come forward and prove their titles, or submit to the forfeiture or a fine, as the circumstances might be. Three years after granting the fee-farm lease to David ap Griffith, a Quo warranto was issued against the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of Liverpool. As under the depressed and ruined state of the town there was nothing to be extracted, the proceeding was abandoned.

A.D. 1502. In the 17th Henry VII. (1502) the lease to David ap Griffith was renewed, he being mayor at the time.

A.D. 1515. Decay of the town. In the sixth year of the reign of Henry VIII., the decayed condition of Liverpool attracted the attention of the Government, not so much from any sympathy with the misfortunes of the inhabitants, as from the fact of the reduced amount of their contributions to the exchequer; and a commission was sent down to investigate and report. It was alleged that the mayor had in great measure caused this decline in the customs revenue, by the enfranchisement of strangers resident in the borough, thus liberating them from the payment of the dues which were the property of the Crown. There is no record of the report—if any—presented by the commissioners.

A.D. 1525. In the 16th Henry VIII. (1525) the fee-farm lease was renewed to Alice Griffith, widow of David, and to Henry Ackers, supposed to have been her son-in-law, for the term of

A.D. 1529. Lease to Griffith and Ackers. twenty-one years. In the 20th Henry VIII. (1529), another lease was granted to the same parties for a further period of twenty years. On March 15, 1531, Henry Ackers sub-leased

A.D. 1531. to the mayor and burgesses one moiety of the fee-farm of the town for six years, at the rent of £10, the mayor undertaking to collect the whole of the dues and pay over one-half.

A.D. 1525. A list is extant, prepared in 1525, of the rental yielded to the corporation out of the common lands within the borough. It is recorded in the town's books under the date of 1558, Robert Corbett, mayor:

The true copy of the rental that is found written in these words following by the hand of Wm. More, Esquire, deputed, due at Michaelmas anno regni 16 Henrici VIII. etc.—

Sir Wm. Molyneux, Knight, for the new Tythebarn . .	6d.
Rd. Barker for certain common ground lying betwixt St. Catherine's Hey and his croft	20d.
John Smyth, Mariner, for common ground	8d.
Gilbert Cooke for common	10d.
Robert Dobbe for common	20d.
Adam Dandye for mill dam	10d.
Jenkey Baxter for common	4d.
Thomas Wynstanley for common	12d.
Sum total	7s. 6d.

A.D. 1533. In the year 1533, just on the eve of the Reformation, a return was made of the royal property in Liverpool. It is headed "The Kings Rentally of Leverpoole made the viij day of October in the xxiiij yeare of the Reign of Kinge Henry the Eight (1533)."[1]

Rent-roll. The number of tenants is eighty-six, the total amount of quit rent, £10 : 1 : 4. The localities are given in very few instances, but mention is made of Castle Street, Castle Hey, Moore Street, and Chapel Street. Many of the names are familiar in the annals of Liverpool, and some of the families are still connected with the town. We have "my Lord of Derby," Sir John Stanley, Sir William Molyneux; the Mores, Crosses, Fazakerleys, Blundells, Halsalls, Seacomes, Tatlocks, Bolds, Houghtons, Johnsons, etc. A proportion of the entries are for burgages, half and quarter burgages, each of the burgages bearing a uniform quit rent of xij^{d}, but the majority make no reference to burgage tenure. The fair inference to be drawn is that in the course of three centuries the burgage system had become rather obsolete. Many were no doubt forfeited, and regranted independent of the burgage tenure, and other lands had been granted not included in the original scheme. The largest payment on a single property is xlix^{s} vj^{d} for the lands of William More, Esquire, the smallest iii^{d} for several quarter burgages. There is an entry for "half a burgage in Chappel Streete, occupyed by the parson of Sefton." Another entry to "William More for the rent of an howse in Castle Streete, built upon a vacant ground of the said William letten unto the

[1] The rent-roll is given at length in Gregson's *Fragments*, App. lxv.

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King's Farmers; to discharge the said William of the rent of iiij^{s} by the yeare, soe long as the said William and his heires, and the sayd farmers should be contented, iiij^{s}.

Value of money.

A passing remark may here be made on the enormous difference between the olden times and the present in the value of money. In order to assimilate the mediæval currency to the modern, it is usual, as a rough approximation, to multiply by 15. This may serve for ordinary use, but it is far from an accurate estimate. There is no more difficult problem to solve than that of estimating the purchasing power of money in the mediæval period as compared with our own times. The fluctuations in prices were so great, the tampering with the currency so frequent, the habits of life so different, and the laws of supply and demand so frequently interfered with, that the greatest discrepancies are met with, and inferences from one class of facts are continually falsified by reference to others of the same period.

The elements of any inquiry of this kind consist mainly of the following particulars:—

1. The intrinsic value of the coinage—that is, the nominal value of the ounce of silver at any particular period.
2. The rate of wages of the ordinary labourer.
3. The price of the necessaries of life in the currency of the period, taking wheat and cattle as the main articles.
4. The rent of land at the time.

By comparing these particulars, inferences may be drawn as to the purchasing power of money at any point in our history, and conversely of the condition of the people.

Let us take, as an example, Liverpool in the early part of the sixteenth century, before the Reformation. At this time the ounce of silver was worth 3s. 4d., or, in other words, six ounces of silver were coined into 20s. As silver now bears the value of 5s. 2d. per oz., the shilling of Henry VIII.'s time was worth 1·55 times the modern coin in intrinsic value. The price of wheat fluctuated from 1350 to 1500 from 4s. 6d. to 6s. 8d. per quarter, but 6s. 8d. was considered the standard price. In the 30th Edward I. (1302) a quarter of wheat was worth 4s., a bull, 7s. 6d., a cow, 6s., a fat sheep, 1s.

Value of commodities

In the Inventory of William Fitzadam, inserted above, prime cattle are quoted at 10s. each; pigs at 1s. 8d.; as the ounce of silver was at that time worth only 2s. 1d., the value

in money of the sixteenth century would be cattle 16s., and pigs 3s. 2d. each.

The wages of an ordinary labourer were throughout the sixteenth century about 6½d. per diem.

The rent of land in the neighbourhood of Liverpool was on the average about 2s. per acre, as given in the returns of the chantry property at the time of the dissolution. The rents of cottages are quoted at 3s., 4s., 2s. 8d., etc.

Let us now see what inferences we can draw from these facts.

Wages of labour.

A labourer earning 6½d. per day, would earn in twelve days the value of a quarter of wheat at 6s. 8d. ; in six days he might purchase a pig, or in thirty days he would have wherewith to purchase a fat beast. Compare this with the present day. 2s. 6d. may be considered a high average for agricultural labour. With wheat at 45s. per quarter, it takes eighteen days of labour to earn the price, whilst to obtain the amount to purchase a fat cow or pig it would take at least three times the extent of labour it cost the peasant of the sixteenth century.

Price of wheat.

Rent.

Let us now look at the rent the labourer pays for his cottage. In the sixteenth century from six to eight days' labour paid the rent. At the present day, with a cottage at £5 per annum, no less than forty days' labour are required for the purpose. Even at £3 per annum, twenty-four days' labour are taxed for the payment.

The contrast would be still more striking in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. The conclusion is inevitable, that the cottager and labourer of the sixteenth century obtained the necessaries of life on much easier terms than his descendant of the nineteenth.

Rent of land.

As to the rent of agricultural land, if we estimate the present annual value of fair arable land at 30s. per acre, it will be about ten times the rent before the Reformation, allowing for the difference in the standard of coinage. Or, comparing the rent with the produce :—In 1533 a quarter of wheat represented the rent of 3¼ acres of land ; at the present day it only represents 1½ acre. At the same time it is only fair to state that the 1½ acre on the modern farm will produce larger and better crops than the 3¼ acres of the olden time.

Monetary values.

In comparing the monetary values of the figures given in mediæval documents from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, we may consider that the purchasing power of the neces-

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saries of life in wheat, cattle, and rent will be about fifteen times the nominal value as compared with our own time, but as the labouring class nominally received one-fifth of the present rate of pay, it follows that their command of the prime elements of subsistence was three times greater than at the present day.[1]

It is proper, however, to make the qualifying remark that the employment at the rate of wages mentioned above was not a constant quantity. At harvest and seedtime there was a great scarcity of hands, of which the peasantry naturally took the advantage by increasing their demands, against which the "statutes of labourers" vainly strove by prohibitory enactments.

Mr. Froude's views.

The reign of Henry VIII. has of recent years become a battle-field for the theories of rival historians. One school, of which Mr. Froude may be considered the exponent, look upon this period as the golden age of England, in which the nobles and gentry were liberal and open-handed, and the people faithful and obedient, where want was unknown, and peace and plenty scattered their blessings around.

Westminster Review.

Another school, the views of which are ably summarised in the *Westminster Review* for January 1871, have drawn conclusions the very opposite. According to them no period in our history was more disastrous or disorganised. Disorder and discontent prevailed on every side. Famine and pestilence stalked through the land, and crime was only restrained within bounds by punishments of the most sanguinary and cruel character.

The inquiry is by no means foreign to our present history, as the fortunes of Liverpool were closely bound up with the events passing in the country and the results which flowed from them.

Reign of Henry VIII

The fact is, there is considerable truth both in the optimist and pessimist view of this portion of our annals. The early years of the reign of Henry VIII. were on the whole prosperous. The land had rest from the harassing wars of the previous century, and, though impoverished, was slowly recovering itself. Labour was in demand, and the necessaries of life were cheap and abundant. The feudal system was dying out, and the burghers and middle class were assuming an importance never known before.

[1] See, on this subject, Tooke's *History of Prices*, and Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.

This progressive state of things continued to about the middle of King Henry's reign, when it received a rude shock from two causes. The first arose from what might and ought to have been a national benefit, the demand for English wool abroad. This led to the aggregation of farms, the enclosure of commons, and the conversion of arable land into pasture.

1533. Demand for wool.

"The cultivation of the land, which heretofore had employed and maintained, not in affluence but with all necessaries, the great bulk of the people, was suddenly suspended. Thousands, most likely millions, of acres, which had been under the plough from time out of mind, were all at once converted into pasture to meet the new and increasing demand for English wool."[1] Even so early as 1518, Sir Thomas More writes that "the sheep were devourers of men, women, and children; villages decaying, tenants evicted, commons enclosed." It was publicly asserted that 50,000 ploughs were thrown out of use, and 675,000 persons rendered destitute of employment.

Sir Thomas More.

In the 7th Henry VIII. (1516) a proclamation was issued, commanding the land thrown out of tillage to be again brought under the plough. In 1534 a statute was passed (25 Henry VIII. c. 13) for the same purpose, in the preamble of which it is stated, that "a good sheep for victual that was accustomed to be sold for 2s. 4d. or 3s. at most, is now sold for 6s., or 4s. at least; and a stone of clothing wool, that in some shires of this realm was accustomed to be sold for 1s. 6d. or 1s. 10d., is now sold for 4s., or 3s. 4d. at the least." No doubt, in the end, as manufactures arose in the country and took off the superfluous labour, the evil was partially remedied; but, in the mean time, the poor suffered greatly.

A.D. 1516. Land thrown out of tillage. A.D. 1534.

This suffering was much aggravated by another cause, the suppression of the monasteries and the sale and dispersion of their property (1535-38.) Whatever the faults of the monks might be, they were kind and easy landlords. They never enhanced their rents nor harassed their tenants by arbitrary fines, as was too much the case with the temporal owners. The poor were fed, with perhaps too lavish a hand, at the gates of the monasteries. The monastic lands fell into the hands of greedy and rapacious nobles and hangers-on of the court, who raised the rents in many cases to three times their previous amount.[2]

Suppression of monasteries. A.D. 1535.

[1] *Westminster Review*, January 1871.

[2] It is a curious fact, account for it how we may, that from the time of the suppression of the monasteries, the price of wheat took a permanent

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1535. Loss of employment.

The poor, losing employment from the cause above mentioned, and in the absence of a poor law having no longer the monastic dole to fall back upon, endured grievous sufferings, which the prevailing epidemic of the century—the sweating sickness, greatly aggravated.

Let us now return to the ancient and loyal borough, from which perhaps we have wandered too far.

Notwithstanding the depressed condition of affairs at the commencement of Henry VIII.'s reign, the transactions relative to the leasing and subleasing of the town's revenues indicate something of a revival of trade. There are a few fragmentary portions of the town's records which extend back to about the year 1525, and throw a little light on the internal condition of the town. The local government at that time consisted of the mayor, Thomas Houghton, two bailiffs, whose names are not given, and twelve aldermen, in addition to the burgesses in common hall assembled. The Town-hall stood in High Street, on the site of the present Liverpool and London Chambers, and was called "Domus Beatæ Mariæ."

Revival of trade.

A.D. 1525.

Town-hall.

On State occasions the officials were bound to attend his worship, armed with halberts and bills, and he had the power of calling for the attendance of the burgesses at his pleasure. Every morning mass was said at St. John's altar in the chapel before six o'clock, that the labourers might commence the day by divine service; and every evening at eight the curfew was rung, after which all well-disposed people were expected to be at home, and no suspicious persons were allowed to walk the streets after the hour of nine.

The worthy burgesses seem to have been of a cheerful turn, for a company of "waits," or, in modern phraseology, a band of music, was provided at the expense of the town, to play every day except Sunday. There was a public warehouse for the storage of goods, the keeper of which was a corporate officer.

Waits.

Trades.

The only branches of industry mentioned, besides the ordinary purveyors of meat and drink, are flax-dressing and tanning. Sanitary provisions were not entirely forgotten. No flax was to be gigged in any house in the town, nor was any flax or hemp to be watered within its precincts. Persons

rise. Down to 1534 the price per quarter usually ranged from 5s. to 9s. In 1537 it was 13s. 4d., in 1541, 18s. 8d., and never again went down to its former level.

afflicted with pestilence were to be kept separate from the rest of the inhabitants. No horns or hides were to be left in the streets by the tanners. For the regulation of the streets it was provided that all carts should pay 4*d.* a-year towards mending the roads; that no country carts should ply within the town; that corn and malt should not be winnowed in the streets; that no sheep should be turned out without a shepherd, nor swine without a swineherd. The liberties or bounds of the borough were to be walked once a-year, on Midsummer Eve, when all the inhabitants were required to join the mayor, bailiffs, and aldermen, in public procession.

Liberties.

The narrow spirit of monopoly and jealousy of strangers peeps out in one or two of the regulations. On market days no corn was to be sold before the bell rung, and country persons were not allowed to buy any until an hour after. Foreign burgesses should bear equally with those of the town, scot and lot; but they should not follow their occupations in the town, nor bake, brew, nor sell ale, nor expose their goods for sale, except on market days. This provision that strangers should be compelled to contribute to the local burdens whilst deprived of the means of earning a livelihood, is about as cool an exhibition of selfishness as will often be met with.

Monopolies.

When the confiscation of monastic property took place at the Reformation, Liverpool was little affected by it. "The Chappell of Leverpoole" had four chantries, to which I shall further refer in connection with the account of the church. The lands belonging to these chantries were sold principally to the tenants. A list of these is extant, signed by "Thomas Hokenhall, mayor, for the notification of the truth in tyme to come." Many of the names are still existing in Liverpool, or were so in the last generation, as landholders—such as Secome, Rose, Crosse, Moore, Tarleton, Fazakerley, Dyson, Bixteth, Melling, etc.

Chapel and chantries.

Liverpool suffered along with the rest of the kingdom from the causes mentioned above. In an Act passed in 1544 a list of towns is set forth which had fallen into decay, and in which it is declared, "That there hath been in times past many beautiful houses which are now falling into ruin." Amongst these decayed towns Liverpool is included.

A.D. 1544. Decay

John Leland, "the king's antiquary," received a royal commission in 1533, empowering him to search for all records, manuscripts, and relics of antiquity in the cathedrals, colleges,

Leland.

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abbeys and priories throughout England. This roving commission lasted six years. His journal, or "Itinerary," was first published in 1710-12. In the course of his visit to Lancashire he passed through Liverpool, and thus alludes to it :—

"Lyrpole, alias Lyverpoole, a pavid Towne, hath but a chapel, Walton a iiii miles off, not far from the se is a Paroche Chirch. The King hath a Castelet there, and the Erle of Darbe a Stone Howse there. Irisch Marchauntes cum much thither, as to a good Haven." In the margin he remarks—"At Lyrpole is a smaule costome payid that causeth marchantes to resorte." Again—"Good Marchandis at Lyrpole, moch Irisch yarn that Manchester men do by ther." The yarn here mentioned was doubtless linen yarn spun in Ireland and woven in Manchester and the neighbourhood. This is the first intimation we have of the textile manufactures of South Lancashire—the first feeble rill of that manufacturing industry and commerce which has swelled into such a mighty stream.

Manchester trade.

I have already alluded to two leases of the fee-farm of the town granted in 1525 and 1529 to Alice Griffith and Henry Ackers for two successive terms, expiring in 1566, and to a sublease from the latter of one moiety to the corporation for six years. In the 21st Henry VIII. (1530), Henry Ackers prosecuted a number of persons for a breach of the custom of toll of the ferry at Lyverpole. There must have been some forfeiture or other determination of the lease, for we find that in the 28th Henry VIII. (1537), the fee-farm was let to Thomas Holcroft, a great speculator in the property of the dissolved monasteries; and in the same year Holcroft assigned his interest to Sir William Molyneux of Sefton.[1] From this time forward the lease of the Crown rights was principally in the hands of the Molyneux family. Two years afterwards (September 3, 1539) Sir William Molyneux granted a lease of one moiety of the fee-farm to the mayor and burgesses at the yearly rent of £10; he afterwards assigned the other moiety to Edmund, or Edward Gee, for a fine of £4 down, and a yearly rent of £8. Gee was connected both with Liverpool and Chester, having been mayor of the former borough in 1548, and of the ancient city in 1551, during which latter mayoralty he was carried off by the fatal scourge, the sweating sickness. He is said to have been

A.D. 1530.

A.D. 1537.

A.D. 1539.

Lease of fee-farm.

Sweating sickness.

[1] This Sir William was at Flodden field. He died in 1548, and lies buried in Sefton Church, where an altar tomb displays his effigy with those of his two wives.

a large importer of wine from Spain, and undertook to give the right of pre-emption of his importations to his patron, Sir William Molyneux.

The dreadful epidemic just mentioned ravaged Liverpool twice during the space of eight years—in 1540 and 1548. The numbers carried off during the first visitation are not mentioned; but at the latter date it is recorded that 250 of the inhabitants died of the disease. As the population could not at this time have exceeded 1000, it is probable that in these two epidemics nearly one-half of the population perished. The plague returned in 1558, when it is alleged that 250 persons were again swept off. This is probably an exaggeration; but these repeated visitations may account for the fact, that whilst the trade of the port was falling into its natural channel in connection with the incipient manufactures of Lancashire, the town is frequently referred to in the reign of Elizabeth as a poor and decayed place.

A.D. 1548.

A.D. 1558.

In 1547, the borough resumed its privilege of sending representatives to Parliament, which had been suspended from 1306. During the early period of our Parliamentary history writs were not issued to the boroughs separately and by name, but a general writ of summons addressed to the sheriff of each county required him to return two citizens or burgesses for each city and borough within his county. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries nearly the whole of the returns of the sheriffs of Lancashire were to the following effect: "Non est aliqua civitas seu aliquod Burgum de quibus aliqui Cives seu Burgenses venire possunt seu solent secundum tenorem Brevis, propter eorum debilitatem et paupertatem." (There is not any city or borough from which any citizens or burgesses are able or accustomed to come, according to the tenor of the writ, by reason of their debility and poverty.) Lancaster and Preston once or twice returned members during this interval, but Liverpool was altogether lost sight of. In the 1st Edward VI. (1547) the whole of the Lancashire boroughs were again summoned, and continued to exercise their privilege down to modern times. The members returned for Liverpool at this time were Thomas Stanley and Anthony or Ambrose Cave.

A.D. 1547. Re-issue of writ.

In the 32d Henry VIII. (1541), an order was passed that the boundaries of the borough should be perambulated yearly, "to the intent that every burgess may well know the circuit thereof."

A.D. 1541.

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"The perambulation is from Water Street to Beacon's Gutter, on the north side of Liverpoole, thence to the grove and mere-stone in Mr. More's meadow; thence to Kirkdale Lane, to the mere-stone there, over against the Beacon. Thence to the mere-stone in Syers's ditch, joining to the Breck there; thence through to . . . . (illegible); thence through several closes to a mere-stone in Everton Causey; thence through several fields to Liverpool common, and after the common side to the mere-stone at Johnson's field, on the east side of the town, and so up the gutter or vale to the Mosslake, to a place called Hollin hedge; and thence straight to the Park wall, and so to the sea side, and all along the sea side over the Pool, and thence along the sea side to Water Street end."

Disputes.

Early in the reign of Edward VI. disputes arose between the Crown lessees and the corporation respecting the right to the tolls and customs. The corporation claimed under the old leases granted to Griffith and Ackers in 1525 and 1529, and insisted that the present farmers under the Crown, the Molyneuxs, had an inferior title. The mayor, John Moore, took the matter into his own hands, persisted in holding the borough courts, and received the fees thereto belonging. Whereupon Sir Richard Molyneux applied for and obtained an injunction to restrain the corporation from proceeding in this course. The questions remained in litigation until the accession of Queen

A.D. 1553.

Mary (1553), when the Roman Catholic party, to which the Molyneuxs belonged, obtained the ascendency. The burgesses prudently elected for mayor Sir William Norris of Speke,[1] the representative of an ancient Catholic family in the neighbourhood, but it was all in vain. The queen renewed the lease of the fee-farm to Sir Richard Molyneux for forty-one years. This so exasperated the burgesses that they again resisted, and threw into prison Sir Richard's collector of the dues, Hugh Dobie.

Lease to Molyneux.

[1] Speke was held at an early period by the Molyneux family. By the marriage of Joan, the daughter of Sir John Molyneux of Sefton, in the fourteenth century, to William Norreys of Sutton and Blackrod, the Norreyses became possessed of Speke. This is Gregson's account, given in the pedigree; but by another record, Alan le Norreys was the first to obtain Speke, by purchase, from the daughter and heiress of Molyneux of Little Crosby.

Sir Edward Norreys of Speke was at the battle of Flodden (1513), and obtained the spoils of the Scottish king's palace in reward of his services. To him, and his comrade in arms, Sir William Molyneux, King Henry VIII. addressed letters of thanks.

The consequence of this contumacy was that Mr. Thomas More, then mayor, was arrested and committed to the Fleet for contempt of court, and was only released on making an ample apology.[1]

A.D. 1552. In 1552, two members were returned to Parliament, Ralph Ashton and William Bromley, and to the Parliament in 1553, Wm. Bromley and Sir Giles Allington, knt.

A.D. 1553. In 1553, a muster of soldiers was made for the royal service. Derby hundred had to raise 450 men under the command of Edward, Earl of Derby; Sir Richard Molyneux, of Sefton; Sir Thomas Gerard, of Bryn; Sir Piers Legh, of Haydock; Sir William Norris, of Speke, etc. Liverpool had to furnish four men; West Derby township, eleven; Walton and Fazakerly, seven.

A.D. 1555. New charter. On January 4, 1555, a new charter was granted to the town in the joint names of Philip and Mary. There is a remarkable point in this charter, which appears to me to throw some light on the local history of the period. Any of my readers who have taken an interest in the subject will perceive, in looking over the earlier documents, that the original charter of John gave no monopoly of trade to the burgesses. This prohibition of strangers was first introduced into the charter of Henry III., and in that of Richard II. it was struck out. In the charter of Henry IV., the earlier charters were recited and confirmed which gave the monopoly, but that of Richard II., which repealed it, was omitted. In the charter of Philip and Mary, that of Richard II., repealing the monopoly, is recited and confirmed, but the charter of Henry IV. is wholly omitted. There is no doubt that at the accession of Mary the burgesses of Liverpool were zealous Protestants, and by the monopoly clause in the charter they had the power to keep out the Catholics. Hence the significant reproduction and confirmation of the charter of Richard II. throwing the trade open to all comers.

Abolition of monopolies.

The privilege, restored in 1547, of sending two burgesses to Parliament, does not seem to have been much valued at first. In 1555, the town returned Sir Richard Sherburne, Knight,

[1] Mr. T. Baines (*Hist. Liverpool*, p. 210) gives an extract from the town's records, under the date of 1556, being an audit by Thomas More, mayor, of the accounts of his predecessor, Ralph Sekerston, from which he infers that at this date the corporation held a lease from the Molyneuxs. This is an error in the date; Sekerston was mayor in 1550, and Thomas More the year following. At this date the questions at issue were in litigation. Thomas More was again mayor in 1557.

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steward to the Earl of Derby, as one member, and courteously left the other place vacant to be filled up by the Chancellor of the Duchy, Master Burchett, who nominated Mr. John Beaumont.

A.D. 1551 Records.

The extant municipal records commence in 1551. One of the first entries is as follows :—

Rental. Anno 1551. The Rentals belonging to the towne of Liverpoll and to the Mayor w^th^ the burgesses of the same.

In primis, a burgage in the Wat^r^ streete, now in the holdyng of Alexander Garnet[1] . . . . . xiiiis. iiid.

Item a Burgage in the Dale Street now in the holdyng of Richard Warmyngham . . . . . vis. viiid.

A Burgage in the holdynge of Thomas Atherton in the Dale Street . . . . . xiis.

A tenement in Garston now in y^e^ holdynge of Rd. Pryce viiis.

Added on the same page, under the date 1558 :—

Item, Rent growing out of Barbons lands gyven by the lady's mercie . . . . . vis.

Item, that it is recorded by the Great Inquest a^o^ 1558, Robt Corbet Mayor,[2] a yearly rent growing out of one Gill's lands of Bye Lane in Darby, late in the holdynge of Will^m^ Smyth of Liverpole deceased . . . . vis. viiid.

Item, by the same Inquest, halfe a burgage of land or Mess^ge^ and Buyldyng in y^e^ Dale Street late in the occupation of Robert Nicholas deceased ; and his wyffe Dorothy is now admitted unto the same by the sayd Great Inquest.

A.D. 1558. 1558. Thomas More, Mayor.[3] Item ; it is ordered by the said Inquest that the Mayore for the tyme being cause proclamation to be made at y^e^ Crosse that no shoemaker of the countrie doe bring shoes to sell in Liverpole Market made of horse hyde or of unlawful barked leather, to forfitt the same for the fyrst tyme, and the second tyme to forfitt the same that be made of horse hyde or of unlawful barked and tanned leather, and further to make fyne at the Mayor's discretion. And the thyrd tyme soe doeing to have imprisonment at the Mayor's discretion, and to be bannyshed the Market.

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[1] Mayor in 1559 and 1564. [2] Robert Corbet was mayor in 1558-59.
[3] Thomas More was mayor 1557-58. He preceded Corbet, the entry under whose name above is an insertion.

In 1557, the members returned to Parliament were William Stopforth and George White, and in 1558 Sir Thomas Smith, knt., and Ralph Browne.

A.D. 1558. Plague.

The plague of 1558 is described rather graphically in the following extract from the corporation records :—

"This year and the year before was great sickness in Liverpoole, as was all the country of these parts in Lancashire, and specially a great plague in Manchester, by reason whereof this town was in great dread and fear; and on St. Lawrence's day was buried Mr. Roger Walker,[1] and also a child of Nicholas Brayes, at the Pool House, the new house that Robert Corbett made, at the death of which said Brayes's child was great murmur and noise that the plague should be brought into that house by an Irishman, one John Hughes, coming sickly from Manchester, and brought his linen clothes thither to be washed, which after could not be found true by no probation before Mr. Mayor then being, nor Mr. Mayor then next after, which was Mr. Corbett; but for all that, ever after that day, the whole town suspected it for the very plague and pestilence of God, because there was out of the same house buried, within five or six days late before . . . . persons;[2] and so after that it increased daily and daily to a great number, that died between the said St. Lawrence day and Martlemas then next after, the whole number of 240 and odd persons, under thirteen score; and that year was no fair kept at St. Martin's day, nor market till after the Christmas next."

A.D. 1559.

In the same records the following entry appears under the year 1559 :—

"This year was one Hodgson, a gentleman retaining to Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Chief-Justice of Ireland, had in prison for railing against the noble Earl of Darbie, and also for his evil demeanour and disobedience towards Mr. Maior; who after he had taken his natural rest in the said prison, weakened and humbled himself to Mast^r Maior, and desired of him forgiveness, and so was released for trespass against Mr. Maior—but he went under sureties."

A.D. 1561. Hurricane.

In the year 1561 Liverpool was visited by a tremendous hurricane, during which the violence of the waves destroyed the jetty or breakwater of the old haven, the exact site of which is not known. The little community, depressed as they

[1] Roger Walker had been mayor in 1553.

[2] Defect in the MS.

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were by their recent misfortunes, exhibited signs of that energy and public spirit which have subsequently, under their successors, produced such wonderful results. The corporation records furnish the following account:—"Robert Corbett, mayor. Sunday being the 9th of November, this year, and next after the great wind and storms aforesaid, Mr. Mayor called the whole town, as many as then were at home, together, unto the hall, where they counselled all in one consent and assent, for the foundation and making of a new haven, turning the fresh water out of the old pool into the new haven; and then and there before he rose, by the side of the bench, of his free will gave a pistole of gold towards the beginning, which that day was good and current all England through for 5s. 10d., although after, in a few days, it was not so, but by proclamation in London, by the Queen's Majesty, was prohibited and not current. Also, the same day Mr. Sekerston did give, also all the rest of the congregation did give, so that in the whole was gathered that present day the whole sum of 13s. 9d. current, and put into the custody of Richard Fazakerley and Robert Mosse, who were then appointed to be collectors for that time. On the Monday morning then next, Mr. Mayor, and of every house in the Water Street, one labourer went to the old pool, and there began and enterprised digging, ditching, and busily labouring upon the foundation of the new haven; and so the Tuesday, of every house in the Castle Street was a labourer sent to the same work. Wednesday next then after came forth of every house in the Dale Street to the said new haven, a labourer gratis. Thursday then next after the Juggler Street; with the More Street, Mylne Street, Chapell Street, every house sending a labourer, and this order continued until St. Nicholas's day then next after, gratis."

New haven.

The idea of commencing to build a new haven with a capital in hand of 13s. 9d. may excite a smile, but there is something in the earnestness of the whole proceeding calculated to call forth our sympathy and admiration. We are reminded of a similar simultaneous movement of the people for the erection of the walls of Jerusalem in a time of emergency.[1]

This record brings under our notice the names of two active and energetic men to whom the Liverpool of that day was deeply indebted—Robert Corbett and Ralph Sekerston. Cor-

Corbett and Sekerston.

[1] "So built we the wall; and all the wall was joined together unto the half thereof: for the people had a mind to work."—Nehemiah, iv. 6.

bett was the leading merchant of the town, and filled the office of mayor five times between 1558 and 1573. His name frequently occurs in connection with the records of the time. Sekerston was a man of a more versatile character, and seems to have been looked up to in times of need as the sage counsellor and adviser. We first find his name recorded as mayor in the 3d Edward VI. (1550). During the reign of Mary he was under a cloud, but emerged on the accession of Elizabeth, and was again elected chief magistrate in 1560.

A.D. 1562. Election.

In 1562, a difficulty arose from which the town was extricated by the dexterity and adroitness of Sekerston. I have already mentioned that the recently revived privilege of returning members to Parliament rather pressed heavily on the worthy burgesses. They appear to have been troubled

> With the burden of an honour
> Unto which they were not born.

The chancellor of the duchy and the Earl of Derby were the two magnates with whom it behoved the corporation to keep on good terms, and "make things pleasant." At the last election, in 1555, one member had been nominated by each of these grandees. Now, however, there was a third party, who as a patron demanded a share in their allegiance. After the litigation about the town's dues and tolls which led to the incarceration of the mayor, a reconciliation took place, and Sir Richard Molyneux granted a sub-lease to the corporation. In gratitude for this the burgesses elected Mr. Richard Molyneux, son of Sir Richard, one of the members, intending to reserve the other seat for the disposal of my lord of Derby. The chancellor, however, was not to be put off so easily, and put in his claim.[1]

The circumstances are very quaintly detailed in the town's records. After mentioning the election of Mr. Richard Molyneux before the chancellor had communicated his wishes, the recorder proceeds to say that they had "reserved the other for my lord the Earl of Derby, marvelling much that he sent not to the town, as he was wont to do, requiring the nomination of one burgess, which was a great stay (hindrance), and caused the town to meet in the hall divers times about the same; and in

[1] According to another account, Sir Humphrey Radcliff and William Winter were first returned, but owing to some informality the election was void.

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one meeting, Sir Thomas Hesketh, Sheriff of Lancashire, sent his servant with letters from Mr. Chancellor of this duchy, Sir Ambrose Cave, directed to Mr. Mayor and his brethren, for the nomination of a burgess, and the said servant was diligent expectant of an answer; but Mr. Mayor and his brethren willed him to go to his dinner, and after that he should be answered; and it was thought good to take deliberation therein, and so showed to the servant and desired his master not to be displeased, for so much as one burgess was granted before Mr. Chancellor's mind was known, and promised to send him answer after my lord the Earl of Derby's pleasure were known to us, whom always we were most naturally beholden and bounden to, and in this doing Mr. Sekerston was appointed one day and disappointed another day; so that then the town agreed that Mr. Sekerston should go up to London, and so he rode almost post, and took the said certificate with him, and also to go to my lord the old Earl of Derby, and show his lordship that whereas he did not send to the town for a burgess, yet the town thought good his lordship do his pleasure therein." The sequel does credit to the tact and adroitness of Mr. Sekerston, for we find "my lord was well pleased with the town, giving us thanks, and *gave his election to Mr. Sekerston*; and he showed himself and kept time and hour (at the Parliament), but was put back by the means of Mr. Chancellor. Yet he stuck to the matter still, and obtained his room (place) and served there; and when other town burgesses had and did retain speakers for them in the parliament house, he retained none, but stood up after the manner there, and was speaker himself, to the great grief of Mr. Chancellor; so that in his fumes he caused privy seal made" (*i.e.* a writ to be issued) "and was ready directed to fetch Mr. Mayor up to appear in the Duchy Chamber—but as God would—by means of the Earl of Derby, the privy seal was called in again, which, if it had not, the town would have been put to a great charge. In the meantime a cess was laid for Mr. Sekerston giving his attendance in the parliament house, for the charges of him, after 2s. a-day."

Sekerston's election.

Brave and shrewd old Sekerston! he must have been a very crabbed and discontented burgess who would have grudged the 2s. a-day so well earned.

A.D. 1563.

A.D. 1563, it is recorded—"This year, in April and May, the Queen's works at Berwicke ceased, and Irisch masons well paid, and came to Liverpool for shipping into Ireland, their

native country, and here in Liverpool they bestowed part of their money, and apparelled themselves honestly, many of them."

A.D. 1565. Census.

In November 1565 a census was taken, from which it appears that there were then in the town 138 inhabited houses and 7 streets. According as we reckon 5 or 6 inmates to a house, the population would amount to 690 or 828 inhabitants. This is a sad falling off from the 168 burgages in the fourteenth century, and is probably the lowest point of depression ever reached. The number of vessels belonging to the port was 12, with an aggregate burden of 223 tons, navigated by 75 men.

The town's records in the reign of Elizabeth are very full and complete. They throw such light on the habits, customs, and tone of thought of the period, that I make no apology for quoting from them pretty freely.

Although a truce had been patched up between the corporation and the Molyneuxs, the Crown lessees, yet the burgesses groaned under the yoke, and were anxious to shake it off. Master Ralph Sekerston being now in Parliament, took the opportunity of bringing the subject before the Queen's grace, which he did in the following petition :—

A.D. 1566. Sekerston's petition.

"Anno 1566, 31st March. To the Queen's most excellent majesty. Your poor subject, Ralph Sekerston, of your grace's decayed town of Liverpool, in the county of Lancaster, most humbly desireth your highness to have respect in what estate your said town is in, for all liberties and franchises given to us by any of your majesty's progenitors is from us, your poor tenants, clearly taken away. My petition is to your grace that you may have the governance still over us, and your grace shall have our charter under the broad seal given to your majesty, and then of your merciful goodness to grant us what shall please your grace; and also that we may, from henceforth, continue under your grace's said governance, and we will obey and truly serve your majesty, under God; for to us there is no other help but by your majesty; only your highness hath as full power to help us, your said subjects, in these days, as any others your grace's progenitors have had in times past, and as our bounden duty is, we shall pray for your majesty long to reign over us.

"Liverpool is your own town. Your majesty hath a castle and two chauntries clear, the fee-farms of the town, the ferry-boat, two windmills, the custom of the duchy, the new custom of the tonnage and poundage, which was never paid in Liverpool

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before your time; and the commodity thereof is your majesty's. For your own sake suffer us not utterly to be cast away in your grace's time, but relieve us like a mother.

"This supplication was devised by Master Ralph Sekerston of his own politic wit and wisdom, and fair written by a notary or clerk of the court, that cost him 8d. the writing, as Master Sekerston declared and saith openly this 31st day of March, this present year 1566, which supplication, verbatim agreeing herewith, he put into the queen's majesty's hand at the parliament, this said same year, he one of the burgesses of this town at and in the same parliament and in the parliament house."

Poverty-stricken as the "politic wit" of Sekerston showed the town to be, the burgesses were not without a zest for amusements. In 1567 a cock-pit was erected at the public expense,[1] and in 1576 horse-races were established on the shore, to be run on Ascension Day in every year.

A.D. 1576. Horse-races.

A.D. 1566. Earl of Derby.

On August 5, 1566, a visit was paid to the town by the Earl of Derby, who had in his train his sons, Lord Strange and Sir Edward Stanley; Sir John Savage, Sir Piers Legh of Lyme, William Molyneux of Sefton, Grosvenor of Eaton, and "other esquires and gentlemen." The mayor, Master John Crosse, with the bailiffs and burgesses, met them at the town's end (now the end of Dale Street) and attended them to the tower of Liverpool, "where the said earl and his train rested, and had a couple of partridges, and to drink with of his lordship's cost, and other things at his lordship's; and there Mr. Mayor, his brethren with the bailiffs and common burgesses, did present him with a banquet of delicious delicates of two courses of service," etc.

A.D. 1567. Muster of soldiers.

In March 1567, a muster of soldiers was ordered to reinforce the army in Ireland, when the following proclamation was issued in Liverpool:—

"Everyone must have a cassock of blue watchet Yorkshire cloth, guarded with two small guards, stitched with two stitches of blue apiece, a very good yew bow and a sheaf of arrows in case, a red cap, a stag or stirk buckskin jerkin, a sword dagger, and every man to have 13s. 4d. in his purse.

[1] In taking down some old buildings at the top of Shaw's Brow, in 1868, the remains of a cock-pit, having a sunk area, with tiers of benches round, cut in the rock, were laid bare. This may possibly have been the relics of the one in question.

"Walton Parish must furnish William Lyddell with a harquebus, the charge whereof is 64s. 10d. This William Lyddell is a butcher, late come to Liverpool from York as he saith."

The same month the levies of South Lancashire mustered in Liverpool, and were sent to Chester, where they were joined by the forces from Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Cheshire, Denbighshire and Flintshire. The Staffordshire uniform was red; all the others were dressed in blue. They were shipped part in Chester and part in Liverpool, whence also 650 horse soldiers were forwarded to Ireland.

A.D. 1571. In 1571, Thos. Avery and Ralph Sekerston were returned to Parliament. In the same year the conspirators under the Duke of Norfolk, in their plans for the escape of Mary Queen of Scots "had a device to carie the Quene of Scots away to the seaside, and then to have a shippe redy about Lyrpole, or some such place in Lancashire."

Mary Queen of Scots.

A.D. 1572. Sekerston elected. In 1572, Ralph Sekerston was elected member for the last time. On this occasion the chancellor was allowed to have the nomination of the other member, Mr. Thomas Greenacres. In 1574, when war with Spain was considered imminent, Sekerston, along with five others, undertook the entire charges of putting the town into a state of defence. The other contributors were William Moore and John Crosse, the two Liverpool squires; Robert Corbett, the greatest merchant and shipowner of the port; Richard Howard and Richard Mosse. From this time we lose all record of Sekerston. He died about 1580, and his place as member was supplied by Matthew Dale. Sekerston had served the town long and well. His memory was cherished, and a saying of his applicable to the troublous times of the middle of the sixteenth century was handed down for several generations: "Save me and mine, and the good town of Liverpool and theirs, and then let the nobles kill whom they please."

A.D. 1573. Earl of Essex. In 1573, the Earl of Essex passed through Liverpool, and set sail for Carrickfergus to take the command of the queen's army in Ireland. A detachment of his troops was left behind to follow him, when an *émeute* took place, very graphically described in the town's records, of which the following is the substance:

"Magister Jno. Crosse, armiger, mayor.

Emeute. "Edward Bartley, esquire, Captain of the Motley Coats, and Roger Sydenham, gent. Captain of the Blue Coats, came to

CHAP. I. 1573.

this town after the said Earl of Essex and his company were departed and sailed for Knockfergus, alias Carrickfergus.

"On the 4th day of September a grievous contention and discord sprang betwixt these two, Bartley and Sydenham; and Sunday morning next after, being 5th Sept., the same year, Roger Sydenham, Lieutenant of the Blue Coats, at his uprising, walking and coming forth of Roger Jameson's house, his host, with three or four of his soldiers, and the said Capt. Bartley coming with a company of his Motley Coats, drew their swords and set upon the said lieutenant and forced him and his men for safeguard of their lives to take in to the houses, where, against the ragious persecution and enterprise of the said Bartley, therein by the good shift of the roof of the same house, the said Sydenham and his men all but one were conveyed into a high loft or chamber by the ladder, and so they drew up the ladder up to them in the said loft, and so escaped death, as pleased God, but that one soldier which was stayed in the house was all to much swynged and beaten, kneeling upon his knees bare-headed, calling and crying out most woefully for mercy and pardon of life. In these the said Capt. Bartley caused that soldier bluecoat to be set in the stocks at the high cross, and caused a cantel of a chest board to be nailed to his side, and there was watched with a dozen tall bills of this town. Roger Sydenham, poor gentleman, was in cover all the while. It is long to repeat and more to rehearse the riot, tumult, and disorder of the said Capt. Bartley and his motley coats, and over tedious to write of the spoils of both motleys and blue coats, as well abroad in the country hereto adjoining as within this town.

"Truth is, there was such insurrection stirred by the said Capt. Bartley as the like was never seen in the town and this country, for to be short, Mr. Mayor and all the town suddenly, as pleased God Almighty, were ready upon the heath of this town, every man, with their best weapons, so as by good chance every householder being at home Sunday morning, eager as lions, made show almost even like to the number of the said captains and all their soldiers, so as the captains and all their men being arrayed and there upon the said heath, the said Capt. Bartley and all his gentlemen moved Mr. Mayor to order all in good part, and to think no other but all shall be well and quiet and so proved; and after the said battle array Mr. Captain showed all courtesy and gentleness to Mr. Mayor, and came up to the town in friendship and amity; and after all this

done, the captains and their soldiers were more gentle to deal with all the while they abode within the town."

Allowing for a little pardonable exaggeration as to the prowess of the townsmen, it is clear that every householder was provided with weapons and prepared to use them as members of a trained band or volunteer corps.

A.D. 1574. Requisition.

In a requisition for an armament in August 1574, in which the contributions of each landholder in the county of Lancaster are set forth, the Earl of Derby amongst other weapons is required to provide 30 long bows, 30 sheafs of arrows, and 30 steel caps for the archers. Other landholders in like proportion. It would seem, therefore, that the national weapon which won the fights of Creçy, Agincourt, and Flodden, had not gone out of use at the end of the sixteenth century.

Loyalty.

The loyalty of the country to "good Queen Bess" was most remarkable. Here is an account of the celebration of one of the anniversaries of her accession to the throne:

A.D. 1576.

"This year, the 17th day of November 1576, and entering upon the 18th year of the reign of our most gracious sovereign lady Elizabeth, Mr. Thomas Bavand being mayor of this her majesty's corporation and port town of Lirpole in the county of Lancaster, caused the same day in the evening a great bonefire to be made in the market-place, near to the high cross of the same town, and another anenst his own door, giving warning that every householder should do the like throughout the town, which was done accordingly. And immediately after caused to call together his brethren the aldermen, and divers others of the burgesses of the same town, and so went all together to the house of Mr. Ralph Burscough" (mayor in 1583) "alderman, where they banqueted a certain time, which done, Mr. Mayor departed to his own house accompanied of the said aldermen and others, a great number, upon whom he did bestow sack and other white wine and sugar liberally, standing all without the door, lauding and praising God for the most prosperous reign of our said most gracious sovereign lady the queen's most excellent majesty, whom God grant long over us to reign with great tranquillity and victorious success over all her grace's enemies. And so appointing his bailiff and other officers to see the fires quenched he departed."

A.D. 1577. Earl of Derby's visit.

In the following year (1577) during the mayoralty of the same Mr. Thomas Bavand, Henry, Earl of Derby, *en route* for the Isle of Man, came to Liverpool and waited for a fair wind.

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The corporation in their efforts to do him honour, seem to have excelled themselves. The earl arrived on the 15th of April and remained until the 28th, residing at his fortified mansion in Water Street. On Monday the 22d "his honour came to the church or chapel to view and appoint out a fit place for the cloth of state, which was on the south side of the same church or chapel, richly hanged with costly ornament and cloth of gold. And Mr. Thos. Bavand being then mayor of Lyrpole aforesaid, caused preparation to be made for a great triumph; to honour the said noble earl, at the said most honourable feast, appointing Thomas Englefield to be captain and leader of a great number of town's men, burgesses of Lyrpole and others, whom he caused his bailiffs Roger Roose and Robert Ball, to see furnished and trimly set forth as soldiers in warlike manner to march and skirmish before the said right honourable earl, who did the same very orderly and right well at divers and sundry convenient times during the said most honourable feast. The same said 22d day of April aforesaid the said right honourable earl came to evening prayer at five of the clock in the afternoon, accompanied with Mr. Mayor, the aldermen, bailiffs and others aforesaid, going in due order; that is to say, the said two bailiffs foremost, and then the bailiffs' peers, then after them the aldermen, then certain of my lord's gentlemen, then the serjeant bearing the mace before Mr. Mayor, and then next after Mr. Mayor my lord's honour's usher, and then the said right honourable earl in his robes of red purple, his train being borne up by Mr. Leigh of Bagguley, and then came after a great number as well of his honour's gentlemen as yeomen, and so his honour coming to the church at that time, first of all he did mark himself unto God, and then trimming himself did his duty in making obeisance to the place of estate, and before his honour did take his own place obeisance again to the said place of estate and so sat down. And afterwards, service being done, at his honour's going from church, there was the said Capt. Thomas Englefield with his soldiers ready, and there skirmished very bravely and orderly; shooting of great store, not only of culliver shot, but also of great cast ordinance and chambers, being placed in the churchyard according to Mr. Mayor's appointment, besides shooting off from the ships riding in the river."

The next morning—Tuesday, St. George's Day—the festivities were resumed, when "his honour came to the church

very gorgeously, and after went in solemn procession about the churchyard and so entered again into the church, and there offered a piece of gold which was given to Sir James Seddon,[1] clerk, minister there. That being done, Mr. Cadwell, his honour's chaplain, made a godly and learned sermon upon the Psalm 50, v. 7, Audi populus meus et contestabor te Israel, etc. And at every time of my lord's departure from church there was great triumph as aforesaid; so that there was shot at the least 1200 culliver shot during the said most honourable feast. And the same evening, at after supper, one Ralph Powell, gunner, being ready with squibs, to make pastime, cast the said squibs abroad very trimly, whereat his honour took great pleasure."

On Wednesday "his honour" came to church again in the same state, when one Mr. Untter, her Majesty's chaplain, made "a passing famous learned sermon" on Rev. xxii., Ecce venio cito, et merces mea mecum, which sermon, it is very unkindly remarked to the prejudice of Sir James Seddon, "was lyked much above the other."

Our record continues: "There were many things done and pastimes made, as a morris dance—over and beside the premises; which were all so orderly and trimly handled as was to the liking and great pleasure of the said right honourable earl, the like whereof was never seen or known to be done in the said town of Lirpole, for the which his honour did not only give unto Mr. Mayor manifold thanks, but also constrained him to take his honour's liberality, sore against Mr. Mayor's mind, to bestow upon the said company. All these things being finished in decent order, then on the Sunday next following, God sending his honour a prosperous wind and fair weather, his honour took shipping at Lirpole in the Edward, Mr. Tarbuck's ship, about four of the clock in the afternoon, being accompanied with the Michael of Lirpole, the Bee of the same, the Elizabeth of Alt, and the Good Luck of Douglas."

It has often been said that "Liverpool loves a lord," and certainly the incense of adulation was never presented in a more demonstrative form than on the occasion here set forth. One would imagine "his honour" must have been heartily sick of the daily iteration during a weary week of the "merry pastimes," sermons, "triumphs," shootings, and squibs with which they

[1] The title of "Sir," given to the minister, illustrates Shakspeare's Sir Hugh Evans, the parson, in the "Merry Wives of Windsor."

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delighted to honour him. How all this expenditure in so small a community can be reconciled with the dreary picture of poverty presented in Sekerston's petition eleven years before I will not take upon myself to say.

Streets.

The number of streets in the town had increased from five in the reign of Edward III. to seven in the reign of Elizabeth, the additional ones mentioned being Juggler Street (afterwards High Street) and Mylne Street (now Oldhall Street).

A.D. 1579.

In 1579, the burgesses asserted their right to be carried across the Mersey gratis. It is in the records "agreed, that not any freeman nor his family pay any ferry, but upon good will, and that the ferryman shall carry, or cause to be carried, into the boat and out again, all freemen and their families without contradiction."

A.D. 1581. Disputes with Chester.

In 1581, a dispute of long standing between the rival ports of Liverpool and Chester was brought to a legal issue. Chester had from an early period claimed to look upon Liverpool as a mere dependency, and to control the course of trade there, notwithstanding letters patent and Acts of Parliament to the contrary.

In 1570, a contest for the right of search took place, with what result we are not informed. In 1581, the dissension broke out afresh on occasion of a company of Spanish and Portuguese merchants in Chester wishing to restrict the trade in Liverpool. The Earl of Derby, who had been so handsomely fêted four years previously, could do no less than interfere on behalf of his enthusiastic admirers. He brought the subject before the Privy Council, whence it was referred to the Master of the Rolls. Secretary Walsingham, in making this communication, describes the Earl of Derby as "the chief person in those parts, and patron of *that poor town* of Lyverpoole." The decision of the judge was in favour of Liverpool, and it was thought quite consistent with the usage of the times that a compliment should be paid him for the favour thus shown.

The following is the town's record—

A.D. 1582. Presentation to the judge.

"Johannes Crosse, armiger, mayor, 27th day of April, 24th year of her majesty's reign, 1582. Item at the same assembly a motion was made by Mr. Mayor to his said brethren and burgesses, concerning a hogshead of wine to be bestowed and presented at their cost upon the right worshipful the Master of the Rolls, as a simple token of the town's good will towards his worship, at whose hands the town hath received much good-

ness and great trophies in matters touching th
modity thereof; which hogshead of wine it
be with all convenient expedition provided
worship's house, toward the which Mr. Ma
Mr. Wm. More, 10s., Mr. Wm. Secome, 6s. 8
5s., Mr. Robt. More, 10s., Mr. Mainwaring,
Nicholson, 5s."

Incidents of this kind exhibit in a clear
difference in the tone of feeling on public
sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. Ima
able the Master of the Rolls of the pr
present from a successful suitor for the
in other words, the gross partiality, s
an important cause!

About this time the antiquary W
the information respecting Liverpool
"Britannia," first published in 158
compiler than an original observer
having been derived from Leland
doubtful if he ever visited Liverp
reference to the town—

"From Warrington the Mersey g
contracts itself again; but at las
very commodious for trade, and t
Litherpoole, in Saxon Liferpole,
(as 'tis thought) from the water
the most convenient and frequen
Ireland, but not so eminent fo
neat and populous. For the n
in old writers; but only that R
of the honour of Lancaster (as
built a castle here; the govern
long time by the noble family
chief seat lies hard by at Se
Poictiers bestowed upon Vivi
ning of the Normans."[1]

This description is mea
ticulars, and wants the life-
narrative.

The trade of Liverpool
the forward movement w

[1] Gibson's "C

1570 the income of the corporation was
1590 it had reached £86 : 13 : 2. The
s duties produced in 1586 the sum of
the associated ports of Chester, Conway, and
only £211 : 4 : 8.
turned in 1585 were Arthur Atye and Wm.
1586 John Poole jun. and William

e excitement of the great Spanish armada.
ll share in the patriotic uprising in defence
ce.
, as Lord-Lieutenant of Lancashire and
in the military preparations, in which
on Ferdinando, Lord Strange. The
out, and the beacons on the various
nge, Ashhurst, Rivington, etc.—kept
to flash their messages of fire through
arm. Some idea may be formed of
by much the smaller county, over
of armed men furnished by each,
nst Lancashire 1170.[1]
sailing of the armada were brought
merchant and mariner, Humphrey
m St. Jean de Luz. He furnished
articulars of the Spanish fleet as

of Spain his fleet departed out of
3th of August, whereof is General
natural of the town of Bilboa.

hips of vii and viii hundred tons

the burden of 60, 70 and 80 tons.
ise that row 30 oars upon a side.

A., "On the arming of levies
ns. xi. 83.

Item, 20,000 long pikes for horsemen.
Item, 78,000 Quintals of biscuit.
Item, 100 tons of garlic.
Item, 20,000 porkers for victuals.
Item, 3000 Quintals of Holland fish.
Item, the King's Commission sealed up, not to be opened before they were thirty leagues at sea.
Item, the common speech of the vulgar people was that they did go either to Ireland or else to Rochelle, but the opinion of the most was that they went for Ireland.
By me, Humphrey Brooke of Liverpoole, Merchant, departed out of St. Jean de Luz in France the day after that the fleet set sail from the passage to go along the coast to meet the rest of the fleet which was incastred.

This was of course only a portion of the great armament which soon came to so signal a discomfiture.

About this time we find connected with Liverpool one of the most illustrious names in the galaxy of England's worthies. In 1588 the two members returned for Liverpool were Edward Warren, Esq., and *Francis Bacon*, Esq., to be hereafter so signally distinguished as

Francis Bacon elected member.

The wisest, greatest, meanest, of mankind.

He was at this time about twenty-seven years old. He had just previously been made a bencher of Gray's Inn, and during the time of his service for Liverpool he was made Queen's Counsel and Registrar of the Court of Star Chamber.

Bacon sat for Liverpool from 1588 to 1592,[1] when he was returned for Middlesex. Just at the time of severing his connection with Liverpool, he wrote as follows. The passage is deeply interesting as indicating an important crisis in his career:

"I wax now somewhat ancient: one and thirty years is a

[1] Bacon's connection with Liverpool has been strangely ignored by several of his biographers. It is not mentioned in the Life prefixed to his collected works in the edition of 1824, 10 vols., nor is it alluded to in Mr. Spedding's more recent exhaustive Life of the great philosopher. In the article "Bacon," in the *Ency. Brit.*, by Mr. W. Spalding, it is stated that he first entered Parliament in 1592 as member for Middlesex, the fact being that in 1584 he sat for Melcombe, and in 1586 for Taunton. Mr. Hepworth Dixon, in his *Personal History of Bacon*, 1861, and in his *Story of Lord Bacon's Life*, 1862, has recorded his election for Liverpool, which is also noticed in the article "Bacon" in the *Imperial Biography*.

CHAP. I. 1588.

great deal of sand in the hour-glass. My health, I thank God, I find confirmed, and I do not fear that action shall impair it, because I account my ordinary course of study and meditation to be more painful than most parts of action are. I ever bear in mind, in some middle place, that I could discharge to serve her majesty, not as a man born under Sol that loveth honour, nor under Jupiter that loveth business, for the contemplative planet carrieth me away wholly, but as a man born under an excellent sovereign, that deserveth the dedication of all men's abilities. . . . . .

"Again, the meanness of my estate doth somewhat move me, for though I cannot accuse myself that I am either prodigal or slothful, yet my health is not to spend nor my course to get. Lastly, I confess that I have as vast contemplative ends as I have moderate civil ends; for *I have taken all knowledge to be my province*, and if I could purge it of two sorts of rovers, whereof the one with frivolous disputations, confutations, and verbosities, the other with blind experiments and auricular traditions and impostures, have committed so many spoils—I hope I should bring in industrious observation, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries." The world knows how nobly the grand career thus sketched out was subsequently fulfilled.

The annals are silent as to any intercourse between Francis Bacon and his Liverpool constituency. The probability is that he was introduced by the Chancellor of the Duchy, and that the honest burgesses had very little choice in the matter. So true it is

The world knows nothing of its greatest men.

What would we not give for some record of Francis Bacon's notes on Liverpool! Did his keen eye and sagacious mind picture the future development and progress of the quaint little borough which he represented? Was his experience of men and things at all directed by this his first introduction into public life? Was he drawing upon his Liverpool experiences when he penned the following passage in his immortal essays? "Mean men in their rising must adhere, but great men, that have strength in themselves, were better to maintain themselves indifferent and neutral; yet even in beginners, to adhere so moderately, as he be a man of one faction, which is most passable with the other, commonly giveth best way. The lower

and weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction; and it is often seen that a few that are stiff do tire out a greater number that are more moderate." We know not, but it is something to have been connected even temporarily with the great author of the principles of modern scientific progress, who, as it was finely said by Cowley, "like Moses from the top of Pisgah looked round from his lonely elevation on an infinite expanse—following with his eye the long course of fertilising rivers, through ample pastures, and under the bridges of great capitals measuring the distances of marts and havens, and portioning out all these wealthy regions from Dan to Beersheba."[1]

Chantry rents.

It has been already stated that at the dissolution the chantry rents, the only property possessed by the church in Liverpool, were seized and sold by the Crown. A portion of these, originally intended for the foundation of a school, was restored by Queen Elizabeth in 1588, amounting to £5 : 13 : 4 per annum.[2]

Close of the sixteenth century.

On the whole the sixteenth century closed with greatly improved prospects for the town of Liverpool. The lowest point of depression had been passed, and a tangible and steady trade had commenced, particularly between Ireland and the nascent manufactures of Lancashire. The customs returns and the revenue of the corporation were increasing, and from the slight indications we can gather, the population was on the advance. In 1565 the number of householders was 138. In 1590 the number of freemen is given as 179. The householders and freemen were by no means identical. A change was gradually taking place in the municipal government of the town, which is not without its interest.

Change in the franchise.

The original charter of John conferred certain privileges on those who should take burgage tenements under the Crown,[3] but made no provision for municipal government. The charter of Henry III. supplemented this by creating a corporation (*gildam mercatoriam*) with an implied, though not expressed, power to elect corporate officers. The first officers were called bailiffs, of whom the earliest notice occurs in the year 1309.

[1] Macaulay's Essays: "Bacon."

[2] This was paid to the corporation from the Court of Chancery of the Duchy. When it ceased I have not been able to learn.

[3] *Burgenses;* Municipes Burgorum, seu villarum clausarum incolæ, vel qui tenementa in iis possident, et ratione eorum *Burgagium* domino burgi pensitant.—Ducange, *sub voce.*

CHAP. I. 1588.

In 1356 (30th Edward III.) we first meet with the title of mayor, who was originally, it is believed, the senior (major) bailiff.

The grant of *sac* and *soc* in the charter of Henry III. gave the power of holding courts and of inflicting penalties. This could be exercised only by the *burgesses*, those who held burgage tenements under the Crown. I have already alluded to a petition from the burgesses in 1413, complaining that their jurisdiction was invaded by the officials of the wapentake or county courts, and claiming their right on the ground of their burgage tenures. Serjeant Mereweather[1] says, in reference to this subject, "If there is any borough in England in which burgage tenure ought to prevail, it should be Liverpool. Burgage tenure . . . has no legal foundation except as descriptive of the occupiers of houses within a borough, that is, the inhabitant householders, who, as every house within a borough must be held by burgage tenure, were necessarily burgage tenants."

The steps by which this free and popular system degenerated into one of the closest and most exclusive, are very interesting to trace. The guild or corporation constituted by the charter of Henry III., consisting at that time of the burgage tenants, obtained the privilege "that no one who is not of the same guild shall transact any merchandise in the aforesaid borough, unless by consent of the same burgesses." This clause was contested, and, as we have seen, was struck out from some of the succeeding charters, but was, nevertheless, strictly acted on, as appears from the town's records. Settlers in the town wishing to follow their occupations were admitted members of the guild on payment of certain fines, and thus became "freemen," although not burgesses by virtue of holding a burgage tenement. The burgages being heritable and saleable property, in the course of time became subdivided, as we find in the "Rentally" temp. Henry VIII., into half and quarter burgages, and even eighth parts, and finally disappeared altogether as conferring any municipal rights. The "freemen" thus took the place of the burgage tenants, and retained the appellation of the "common burgesses."

Common council.

That from an early period some committee or council was elected by the burgesses to manage their affairs, is certain from subsequent references, but no regular system was adopted until the reign of Elizabeth. In the 26th of her reign, January 13,

[1] *History of English Boroughs*, vol. ii. pp. 829-31.

1584, a common hall was held under the presidency of Edward Halsall, mayor, "with all his brethren and aldermen, and a great number of the common burgesses of the town," wherein, "upon good consideration had for the reformation of divers disorders, they condescended and agreed" upon the following arrangements:— 1588.

"That there ought to be (amongst other things) a common council within the town, of the mayor, aldermen, and twenty-four others of the most discreet and substantial free burgesses, inhabitants thereof, by whose discretion, or the greater number of them in their common assemblies, without the rest of the commonalty, all causes touching the common wealth and good government of this town ought from time to time to be ordered and disposed, which said good usage, by usurpation of late disordered assemblies of whole commons (wherein, through the variety of opinions of such a multitude, seldom any good success hath ensued), is now so defaced that in effect there remaineth no memory thereof at all, saving that twenty-four burgesses once every year, being empanelled and sworn at the next Portmoot court holden after the election of the mayor, to enquire of offences passed, have further, for some remembrance of the former custom, taken upon them to prescribe rules and orders for the government of the said town, which by reason that the mayor and aldermen have not been parties thereunto, have been seldom kept or observed, wherefor the mayor for the present, much misliking, hath desired a reformation." To remedy this defect, they proceeded to elect a common council of twenty-four members besides the mayor and aldermen. This was strictly and properly within their province; but apparently instigated by the mayor, who "much misliked" popular assemblies, the burgesses went much further, and resolved that the common council so appointed should have the power of filling up vacancies in their own body, and so become practically irresponsible to the burgesses in future. This was clearly beyond their province. The charters had recognised no body but the burgesses at large, and the burgesses at any particular period had no authority to vote away the rights of their successors under the charters.

Self-elected.

Thus matters stood in the municipality at the end of the sixteenth century. The old burgage tenures had almost entirely disappeared. The burgesses of the day were the "freemen" admitted members of the guild or corporation, who

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were so careless of their rights as to acquiesce in the creation of an oligarchy entirely irresponsible.

We have no information as to the origin of the office of alderman in Liverpool. It is not recognised in the charters, and first makes its appearance in the latter half of the sixteenth century.

A.D. 1592.

In 1592, Michael Doughty and John Wroth were returned as members to parliament, and in 1597 Thomas Gerard and Peter Proby.

Thus ends the mediæval period of our local history, one of feebleness, stagnation, and comparative decay. The next century inaugurates a new order of things, but not all at once.

CHAPTER II.

CHAP. II.

1600.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

At the commencement of this century, four hundred years had elapsed from the foundation of the borough. Although there had been occasional scintillations of prosperity, yet on the whole the port of Liverpool could not be pronounced a success. The population continued few, and the trade very limited.

Commerce.

The manufactures, commerce, and wealth of the country still lingered in the districts south of the Trent. Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire remained a rude and barbarous district, behind the rest of the kingdom in culture and in the material elements of prosperity. All this was soon to be changed, but not at first rapidly. The seventeenth century was a time of transition and preparation; the early part was linked to the mediæval period by its habits and institutions; the concluding portion had assumed much of the spirit and many of the attributes of modern progress.

Condition.

Our information about the condition of Liverpool during the first half of this century is scanty and meagre. The recording scribe, whose eloquence rendered the annals of the corporation during the reign of Elizabeth so copious and interesting, had departed without throwing his mantle over the shoulders of his successor, and we have to glean, as best we may, such information as scattered documents are found to furnish.

A.D. 1601.

The first incident which presents itself in this century is a resolute maintenance by the burgesses of their independence of the county authorities. In 1601, under the mayoralty of John Byrde, a precept was issued by the high sheriff, Sir Cuthbert Halsall, to the parish of Walton, including Liverpool, imposing a levy of £8, and the supply of twelve "sufficient and serviceable men of the most experienced in their piece" to be brought before Sir Richard Molyneux at the Castle of Liverpool, and forwarded "toward the furnishing forth of soldiers for her

Levy.

CHAP. II. 1601.

majesty's wars in her highness's realm of Ireland." The sheriff required a contribution from Liverpool of £6, besides their proportion of men. Thereupon, at a meeting of the burgesses in common hall, the record states that "it is by the whole assembly thought meet and convenient not to yield thereunto, nor to bring any men of this town at all, but rather to stand upon and maintain our privilege which we have both by charter and the laws of this realm, and for that we serve her majesty by sea; and in this so doing the town will save Mr. Mayor harmless, from all indemnities that shall or may happen to fall or arise thereof in the defence of the same."

In 1601 Edward Anderson and Henry Calverley were returned to Parliament.

A.D. 1602. Dispute with Chester.

In 1602 the rivalry between Chester and Liverpool again broke out. The incident is a curious one, and throws some light on the manners of the times. It seems that in shipping soldiers to Ireland from Chester it was the custom for the government to issue a precept to the mayor of Chester, who then gave an order to the mayor of Liverpool to furnish a certain proportion of shipping at the isle of Hilbre, at the mouth of the Dee, to receive the troops. The burgesses of Liverpool, feeling aggrieved at this subordinate position, memorialised her majesty's council, alleging "that their port is more convenient to ship those men that are to be transported in their ships;" whereupon their lordships directed "that for the better understanding of the matter, the mayors of Chester and Liverpool should on either part send sometime this term some meet person sufficiently authorised and instructed to deliver unto their lordships such reasons as they could allege on either side."

The mayor of Chester sent up the recorder, Robert Whitby, gent., with an elaborate petition, which gives a woful picture of the discipline of the English army, and of the want of proper roads. It is stated "that the charge of the carriage of the arms, furniture, habiliments of war, and victuals for soldiers from Chester to Liverpool will be much more charge to her majesty than the conveying of their ships from Liverpool to the port of Chester. That if the soldiers should not be shipped at the port of Chester, but pass along to Liverpool, the country will be much endangered by the soldiers by robberies and spoils, as hath often happened; the soldiers being insolent and unruly, and the country not able to rule them when they are out of Chester. That divers soldiers, if they be not shipped at the

port of Chester, will run away and disperse themselves, as hath been often seen, and so the numbers not full for the queen's service."

The Liverpool delegate failed to appear, whereupon the lords of the council "discharged the said Whitby from any longer attendance, and have left the course which hath been formerly used for the transportation of soldiers from Hilbre to be continued until they shall show just cause to the contrary."

Dispute with Waterford and Wexford.

A little before this time a dispute arose with the merchants of Waterford and Wexford. By ancient prescriptive custom the freemen of Waterford and Wexford were held free of the town's customs in Liverpool, with the same immunity for Liverpool freemen in the two Irish ports. A common warehouse having been provided in Liverpool for the storage or hallage of merchandise, the Irish importers claimed to store their goods free of charge, on the ground of their prescription. The corporation of Liverpool resisted this claim, and made the following entry: "It is now concluded and agreed that from henceforth the keeper of the said warehouse of this town, for the time being, shall take and receive hallage of all Waterford and Wexford men, for all goods and merchandises by them brought hither, or hereafter to be brought, as other the foreigners do, or ought to pay, any freedom notwithstanding."

A.D. 1603.

In 1603 Giles Brook, alderman, and Thomas Remchinge were sent to Parliament.

A.D. 1605. Lease to Molyneux.

In the 2d James I. (1605) a new lease of the fee-farm of the town was granted by the Crown to Sir Richard Molyneux for a term of forty-one years, to commence at the expiration of the previous lease, at the annual rent of £14 : 6 : 8, the same amount as previously paid. This was the last lease granted by the Crown. Long before its termination the Crown rights had been alienated and settled in the Molyneux family.

Sir Richard subleased the ferry separately at £8 per annum, and leased the remainder to the corporation at the same rent as before.

A.D. 1610.

At this time the original obligation of paying the expenses of the borough members was still in force. In 1610 Alderman Giles Brook and Mr. Thomas Remchinge or Riding received respectively £28 : 14s. and £27 from the borough fund in repayment of their outlay in attending Parliament.

Purchase of offices.

The system which had grown up in the middle ages of purchasing offices under the Crown, long abrogated as regards

CHAP. II. 1611. civil offices, though recently in force as applied to the army, was in the seventeenth century the rule in nearly all public bodies. Thus we find Mr. Peter Torbuck, appointed town-clerk of Liverpool in 1611, contributing £50 in plate, marked with the arms of the borough. Two years afterwards he died, and his successor, Mr. Robert Brooke, contributed a similar sum.

A.D. 1614. In 1614 William Johnson and Thomas May were elected members for the borough.

A.D. 1617. In 1617, under the mayoralty of Mr. Edward Rose, the mayor's name having been made rather free with by the gossips of the town, a resolution was passed "that if any person speak evil of the mayor he shall lose his freedom."

In July of the same year Sir Richard Molyneux, being then the steward of the Wapentake of West Derby, laid claim to the common lands of Liverpool, as part of the commons of West Derby. This being reported to the common council, it was resolved that the mayor and bailiffs should go to the precincts of the commons and should oppose him, and insist on their prescription to the commons.

A.D. 1618. In 1618, according to a return made to the Government by the mayor of Chester, who still claimed a sort of precedence Shipping. of the Dee over the Mersey, the number of ships belonging to Chester was 15, of the aggregate burden of 383 tons, whilst Liverpool had risen to 24 ships and 462 tons. The Liverpool marine had therefore doubled itself since the year 1565, when the return was only 12 ships and 223 tons. The same indications of progress are manifested by the number of burgesses, which from 138 in 1558 had in 1620 increased to 245. The later return, however, must be qualified by the probability that the earlier statement only included the burgesses by tenure, whilst the later census doubtless included all the "freemen" who had been admitted without holding burgages.

A.D. 1620. In 1620, King James having entered upon a disastrous contest on behalf of his son-in-law the Count Palatine, who had been elected king of Bohemia, summoned a parliament, to which Liverpool sent as its representatives Thomas May and William Johnson.

In response to the king's urgent demands, the parliament granted two subsidies on February 15. Each subsidy involved a demand of 4s. in the pound on land, and 2s. 8d. in the pound on goods.

The following entry in the corporation records illustrates the method of the levy in Liverpool :— 1621.

"xxiij die Aprilis anno Regis Jacobi, Angliæ, Franc. et Hib. xviij, et Scotiæ xliiij (1621).

"On the day and year above written, at an assemblie held in the comon hall at Liverpoole, before Edward Moore, Esq., maior of Liverpoole, and shieriffe of Lanc^r, Raffe Secume, Edward Moss, Willm. Banister, Richard Moss, Thomas Hockenhull, and Richard Mellinge, aldermen; John Williamson and Hugh Stirzaker, bayliffs, and the greater part of the comon counsell of this towne assembled—y^t, whereas there is a subsydie presently to be collected for the use of y^e, king's ma^tie, it is concluded and agreed by this assemblie y^t if Mr. John Crosse, Esq., who is assessed to paye after the rate of iiij^s lande, and Mr. Raffe Secume, who is lykewyse ass^d in the subsydie books for land, doe not show sufficient cause why the inhabitants of Liverpoole should be contributors with them in the paim^t, of the said somes for their lande upon Friday next, that then the said Mr. Crosse and Mr. Secume are to answare for their owne lande accordinge to the proportion that they are assessed by the commissioners of the subsydie.

"Upon Friday following, being the xxvij^th of this instant April, the said maior, aldermen, and bayliffs, and the greater part of the comon counsell of this towne assembled in the comon hall of Liverpoole. At the instance and request of the above named Mr. Crosse and Mr. Secume, it was agreed and consented unto by the whole assemblie y^t the p^te of subsydie upon them imposed for lande, shall for this one tyme and for this only subsydie be collected amongst the inhabitants of Liverpool, as it hath been formerly so done, and this to be noc prec^dt or matter prejudiciall hereafter against the said towne. And if the said Mr. Crosse and Mr. Secume doe not hereafter show sufficient cause unto the maior of Liverpoole and comon counsell of this towne for the tyme being that they are to be assessed for their lande with the towne and not of themselves, that then they the said Mr. Crosse and Mr. Secume are to pay their subsydie for their land of themselves, and neither of them to give information unto the commissioners of the subsydie hereafter against the inhabitants of Liverpoole, to put them into the subsydie book otherwyse than for easinge themselves of their paim^te for land." Common hall.

This is not very easy to comprehend. The probability is

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that the lands mentioned were held on lease from the corporation, when it might become a question whether the subsidy was payable by the lessee or the freeholder.

1623. Election.

In 1623 James called another Parliament, to which Liverpool returned Sir Thomas Gerard, Knight, son of Sir Thomas Gerard, Bart., of the Catholic family of Bryn, and George Ireland of Hale. The Parliament voted three subsidies and three-fifteenths in aid of the King's necessities. The mode in which these taxes were levied is set forth in a series of documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries given by Gregson.[1] Each Hundred was taken separately according to a general assessment of the value. Towards each £100 required from the whole county, West Derby contributed £26, Leyland £8, and Salford, Amounderness, Blackburn, and Lonsdale, £16 : 10s. each.

Subsidy.

In the distribution of this amongst the several towns and parishes, according to one account, when Derby Hundred had to pay £100, the proportion of Liverpool was £1 : 17s. ; that of Wigan, £3 : 16 : 11 ; Warrington, £1 : 11 : 3 ; West Derby township, £2 : 15 : 6. The proportions differed from time to time, and were settled by the justices in session assembled.

I have already alluded to the changes which time had effected in the municipal arrangements of the borough, and to the attempt made in the year 1584 to render the common council self-elected, and independent of the general body of the burgesses. In the charters already granted no mention was made either of mayor, bailiffs, or aldermen. The privileges were granted to the general body of the burgesses in their corporate capacity (*gilda mercatoria*), who were left free to organise the management of their affairs in their own way. In the course of time the bailiffs and the mayor had become the visible impersonation of the corporate body. In order to obtain a legal recognition of these offices, and to regulate the mode of their appointment, a new charter was applied for and obtained in the 2d Charles I. (1626). After reciting in general terms the previous charters, it proceeds to enact that the "said town of Liverpool hereafter shall be a free town of itself, and the burgesses of the same town and their successors for ever hereafter shall be, by virtue of these presents, one body corporate and politic in deed and in name, by the name of mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the town of Liverpool in the county of Lancaster." The first mayor was to be James

A.D. 1626. Charter.

[1] *Fragments*, p. 15 *et seq.*

Stanley, Lord Strange; the first bailiffs, Richard Tarleton and James Southern. Their successors were to be elected annually by the burgesses on the feast of St. Luke (18th October). The mayor and senior alderman were to be justices of the peace for the borough. The remaining portion of the charter is simply confirmatory of the rights and privileges conferred by the previous charters, and giving power to transact the usual business belonging to a municipal corporation. It will be observed that there is no provision for the election of a common council, nor is power given to prevent any one not of the guild from transacting merchandise without the consent of the burgesses. The constitution is eminently liberal and popular. A short time after the grant of this charter a common hall was held, at which a council of fifty-six was appointed from amongst the burgesses to manage the corporation affairs. For want of an organised mode of re-electing the council, it soon drifted into the exclusive and self-elected system which has always since more or less prevailed down to the Municipal Reform Act. The number of councillors appears to have varied from time to time, for in Richard Blome's account of Liverpool in 1673, he states "'tis governed by a mayor, bailiffs, aldermen, recorder, town-clerk, and common council consisting of forty burgesses." It is singular that in none of these charters is any reference made defining the office of alderman. It is stated that the senior alderman shall be a justice of the peace, but as to what constitutes an alderman the charter is altogether silent. At a subsequent period down to the passing of the Municipal Reform Act, every one who had occupied the civic chair was styled alderman, and it was probably the same at an earlier period.

Common hall.

Charters.

Provision is made in the charter for the appointment of a common clerk or town-clerk, and Robert Dobson, gent., is nominated to the office. This Mr. Dobson was in his day the cause of no little anxiety and annoyance to the worthy burgesses of Liverpool. He had purchased his office in 1623 for the sum of £70 in plate, and seems to have thought that having bought his constituents he was at liberty to sell them. He levied fines *ad libitum*, neglected to enter up the records, and (*horribile dictu!*) actually "took precedence of the bailiffs, contrary to order." He was prosecuted and convicted by a Liverpool jury, but appealed against the decision, and beat the corporation. He then carried things with a high hand, set the

Dispute with Dobson.

CHAP. II. 1626.

mayor and burgesses at defiance, boasting that whoever was mayor of Liverpool, he would be town-clerk. He went so far as to characterise the whole body of burgesses as a set of "*bashragges*" (whatever that may mean). For this act of lese-majesty he was taken into custody, but escaped out of the hands of the bailiffs, and applied for a writ of *certiorari* to remove the case into another court. He was then dismissed by the corporation, but refused to deliver up the records, and was summoned to give up the seal and books under a penalty of £40. The burgesses proceeded to proscribe him against re-election under a penalty of £100 against any mayor who should reappoint him, and £20 against any councillor who should vote for him. Dobson then brought an action at the assizes, which was ultimately left to reference, and the decision being against him, he was at last got rid of. After this warning, the practice of selling the office was abandoned, but a rent-charge of £6 : 13 : 4 per annum was still exacted from the holder towards the repairs of the church. One may fairly suppose that the pickings and perquisites of office even at this period were not utterly despicable.

Dobson town-clerk.

In January 1626 the corporation had in their treasury a sum of £170 : 15 : 2. Of this, £20 : 15 : 2 was reserved for contingencies, and the remaining £150 was directed to be lodged in the town's chest, whereof there should be three keys, one to be kept by the mayor, one by the senior alderman, and one by the bailiffs.

Stirring times were now at hand. The rough-and-ready system of checks and balances, by which the English constitution had hitherto been maintained, no longer sufficed. In one direction the spirit of feudalism and the spirit of commerce contended for the mastery. In another liberty of worship strove against sacerdotalism. In a third sphere the sturdy Commons struggled against the royal claim to tax his people at his will and pleasure. Principles were at stake involving the profoundest elements of civil polity and political rights. The whole kingdom rang with the din of the contending parties, and was preparing for the inevitable collision.

Spirit of resistance.

Prospect of civil war.

Generally speaking—with of course numerous exceptions—the towns favoured the cause of the Parliament. In the midland and eastern counties many of the landed proprietors, especially the smaller class of gentry, embraced the same party; but throughout the greater portion of the kingdom the rural

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1626. State of the county.

population formed the bulk of the Cavalier array. In South Lancashire, especially in the hundred of West Derby, most of the resident gentry, the Molyneuxs of Sefton, the Blundells of Ince Blundell and Crosby, the Norrises of Speke, the Fazakerleys of Fazakerley, etc., were Catholics. The Stanleys, Earls of Derby, though Protestants, were attached to the royal cause. The Moores of Bank Hall were almost the only Puritan family amongst the landed gentry. For a considerable period John Moore was the only Protestant magistrate in the district, and being employed by the Government to hunt up popish recusants he lived isolated from all his neighbours.

The burgesses of Liverpool leaned on the whole to the Puritan and popular side; but there was a large party, including the majority of the council, which adhered to the royal cause, to which the influence of the Molyneux family contributed not a little. In 1623 Liverpool returned one Roman Catholic and one Protestant Royalist to Parliament as mentioned above. In 1625 James, Lord Strange, afterwards the great and good Earl of Derby, who sacrificed his life for his royal master, sat in conjunction with Edward Moore, who represented the popular party. Lord Strange being elected mayor in 1625, became the returning officer, and was incapable of being returned to the first Parliament of Charles I. His brother, Thomas Stanley, was elected in his place along with Edward Bridgman, son of the Bishop of Chester, and brother of Orlando Bridgman, afterwards member for Wigan in the Long Parliament, an able lawyer and an active Royalist.

Members.

In 1628 Harry Jermyn, a person who subsequently attained considerable notoriety by his alleged secret marriage with the dowager princess of Orange, daughter of Charles I., was returned along with John Newdigate, a member of the old Warwickshire family of that name, both ardent Royalists.

A.D. 1628.

In the same year the king, driven to extremities for want of money, which was refused by his refractory Parliament, adopted the plan of selling such of the royal estates and manors as were within his power. He had already obtained a loan from the city of London of £222,897 : 2s., and in consideration of this and a further advance of two sums of £120,000 and £25,000 respectively, he executed a deed conveying to certain trustees about 1000 manors in various parts of the kingdom, including Liverpool. The portion relating to this borough is as follows. After reciting the considerations, it is stated that

Sale of lordship.

CHAP. II. 1628.

his said majesty "did give and grant unto Edwd. Ditchfield, John Highlord, Humphrey Clarke, and Francis Moss, and their heirs, all that town and lordship of Litherpoole, parcel of the honour of Lancaster, with the appurtenances; and all that battelage and passage over the water of Mersey there, and the butchers' shambles in the said town of Litherpoole; and all stallages, and tolls of markets and fairs, with the perquisites of courts, in Litherpoole aforesaid; and all customs, anchorages, and key tolls of the water of Mersey there and within the said town or lordship, then late in the tenure of Sir Richard Molyneux, Bart., and by particulars thereof mentioned to be of the annual rent or value of £14 : 6 : 8, and to be parcel of the lands and ancient possessions of the said duchy; and all farms, messuages, cottages, mills, buildings, lands, tenements, waters, moors, marshes, woods, underwoods, and all tithes and hereditaments whatsoever, within the lordship and town, places, fields, parish or hamlet of the said town and lordship to the premises belonging (except all forests, chases, parks, advowsons of rectories, vicarages, chapels, and other ecclesiastical benefices within the premises, to them or any of them belonging; and all mines of gold and silver within or upon the premises, being or to be found, and all prerogatives to the same mines belonging)." The yearly rent payable under the lease to Sir Richard Molyneux of £14 : 6 : 8 was reserved.

A.D. 1632. Purchase by Molyneux.

In 1628 Sir Richard Molyneux was created an Irish peer by the title of Lord Maryborough. In 1632 he purchased from the Lord Mayor and citizens of London, for the sum of £450, the Crown rights in the town and lordship of Liverpool as conveyed to them. He subsequently redeemed the annual rent reserved of £14 : 6 : 8, and thus became the owner of the entire in fee-simple.

A.D. 1629.

In the 4th Charles I. (1629) the House of Commons made a representation to the king of persons who, being recusants or papists, nevertheless held places of trust and authority under Government. Amongst these were included the following :—

Sir William Molyneux, Deputy-Lieutenant and Justice of the Peace, his wife a recusant. Sir William Norris, Captain of the General Forces and Justice of the Peace, a recusant. Sir Gilbert Ireland, Justice of the Peace, a recusant.[1]

[1] This was the grandfather of Sir Gilbert Ireland, who was Governor of Liverpool under Cromwell, and who represented the borough from 1658 to his decease in 1675.

An order was thereupon issued to the Lord-Lieutenant for the suspension of the delinquents.

1629. Star-Chamber Trial.

In Easter Term 1629 a trial took place before the Star-Chamber, which vividly illustrates the disturbed state of the district.

The High Sheriff, Edmund Ashton, was plaintiff, and Mr. Blundell of Crosby and others, defendants. The record states that—"The plaintiff's bailiffs having lawfully seized two oxen and one nag of the defendant's for a debt due by him to his Majesty, divers of the defendants, with fifty or sixty others, rescued them, wounded the bailiffs, and said if his Majesty himself had come he should have taken no cattle there: And the said plaintiff having, by virtue of another writ to him directed, made his warrant to seize four oxen, seventeen sheep, nine kine, etc., of the defendant Blundell's, and the bailiffs going to take and seize the said goods, the defendant's servants and tenants went into the fields and brought up the cattle suddenly into the courtyard, and guarded the gates within and without with armed men, that the plaintiffs could not execute their warrant; and twelve of the defendant Blundell's men fell upon the plaintiff's bailiffs, and sore beat and wounded them; and Blundell himself being within, and hearing the cry of one of the bailiffs who was wounded, called him 'a dissembling rascal,' and said 'if he had not enough he should have more.'

"And the defendant Blundell being a popish recusant convict, and being in Little Crosby in Lancashire, enclosed a piece of ground and fenced it, part with a stone wall and part with a hedge and ditch, and kept and used the same for the space of ten years for the burial of popish recusants and seminary priests."

For these offences two of the rioters were fined £500 each, three others £100 each; and Blundell, for the procurement of the riots, and the erection of the graveyard, £2000. They were all committed to the Fleet; the wall and mounds of the burial-ground were ordered to be pulled down by the sheriff, and the ground laid waste. Blundell was ordered to pay the bailiffs 100 marks each damages, and the other defendants to pay them £40 each.

A.D. 1634. Ship-money.

In 1634 the memorable levy of ship-money took place. Humphrey Chetham was at this time high sheriff of Lancashire, to whom the writ for the collection within the county was

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directed. Some memoranda of his are extant made on the writ. He observes, "if you shall tax and assesse men according their estate, then Liverpoole being poore, and now goes, as it were, a beginge, must pay very little; letters-patent are now forth for the same towne." The assessors were, besides the sheriff, Robert Williamson, mayor of Liverpool, and Robert Thompson, mayor of Lancaster. The whole county was assessed at the sum of £475, of which Liverpool was required to pay £15. The most part of the inhabitants grumbled and paid, but some refused, and threatened to resist by force of law. The mayor reported this to the corporation in common hall assembled, as follows: "That, whereas by virtue of his writ for levying of a certain sum of money towards the erecting and furnishing of a ship of 400 tons for his majesty's service, the said Mr. Mayor, with the assent of the aldermen and others of the same town, hath assessed and imposed a competent sum of money for that purpose upon several inhabitants and others within the precinct aforesaid, and for that purpose hath directed several warrants to the bailiffs and other officers of this town for the levying and collecting the several sums upon the several parties assessed upon them, and that several of the parties aforesaid do refuse to pay the monies imposed upon them, or suffer distress against them, but doth menace the said bailiffs with suit if they levy the same; it is therefore ordered and concluded by the house aforesaid, that if any suit or trouble be brought against the said mayor, or any other officer, by executing his warrant, that defence thereof shall be made at the general cost of the whole town, as well for the fees and charges in suit, as other necessary charges in going or riding about." From this there were only two dissentients, John Moore, Esq., and Edward Nicholson.

Resistance.

The following year, in August, a fresh assessment was laid on Liverpool of £25, but the Roundhead party had acquired additional influence, and nothing was ever paid.

A.D. 1640. Election.

After contending with difficulties for eleven years, Charles found himself compelled to call a parliament in 1640. To this, probably the shortest parliament on record, Liverpool sent two men decidedly hostile to the court, James, Lord Cranfield, and John Holcroft, the latter of whom was mayor in 1644, and afterwards sat for the borough of Wigan. These of course voted with the popular side in the debates on ship-money, which led to the prompt dissolution on May 5.

In October 1640 the elections to the memorable Long

Parliament were held, when each party put forth their utmost strength. No doubt a fierce struggle took place in Liverpool, but no particulars have been handed down to us. The result was a drawn battle, each party returning one member. The Roundheads were represented by John Moore of Bank Hall, who became one of the regicide judges, a thorough Parliamentarian and an unscrupulous partisan of Cromwell. Of this gentleman I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. The Royalist member was Richard Wynne, of the family of Gwydyr in Caernarvonshire, who on the death of his brother, Sir John Wynne, succeeded to the estates and baronetcy. Sir Richard Wynne began life in the service of the court, and accompanied Prince Charles in his matrimonial expedition into Spain, of which he wrote an account, which is printed in Hearne's Collections. He held afterwards an office in the household of Henrietta Maria. In the short parliament elected in April 1640 he sat for the borough of Newton, and was now introduced to Liverpool by the influence of the Stanleys and Molyneuxs.

1640. Long Parliament.

John Moore.

Richard Wynne.

In the turbulent times which succeeded, Wynne proved deficient in moral courage. He voted on behalf of Strafford on his impeachment; but consented, in December 1641, to form one of the deputation to present the Remonstrance to the king. His subsequent conduct was vacillating and unreliable. He subsided into insignificance, and died in August 1649, when his place was supplied by the veteran parliamentary campaigner, Colonel Thomas Birch.

Thomas Birch.

On the eve of the civil war, both of the great political parties strained their utmost exertions to strengthen their position in the county of Lancaster. The Court of Star-Chamber in the duchy was abolished on August 1, 1641. The Parliament next assumed the power of nominating the lords-lieutenant, and deputy-lieutenants in the counties. Lord Wharton was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Lancashire, and amongst the deputy-lieutenants then nominated we find John Moore and Sir Thomas Stanley.[1]

A.D. 1641.

Lord Wharton.

[1] Sir Thomas Stanley of Bickerstaffe was a scion of the great house of Lathom and Knowsley, collaterally descended from their common ancestor, the Lord Stanley of Bosworth Field. With a single exception, he was the only one of the name who espoused the popular cause. He was a thorough partisan, as will subsequently appear in the text.

It is from this old Roundhead that the present Earls of Derby deduce their pedigree.

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1641. Parliamentary commissioners.

The Parliament also sent down into Lancashire four of its members to call out the militia and to put the county into a state of defence. This deputation consisted of Ralph Assheton of Middleton, Richard Shuttleworth of Gawthorp, Alexander Rigby of Goosnargh, and John Moore of Bank Hall, Liverpool. These were all noteworthy men.

Ralph Assheton.

Ralph Assheton was a man of large possessions and ancient descent, who early espoused the popular cause, and represented the county in the Long Parliament. He was appointed colonel of the forces in Lancashire, and very ably sustained the cause, rising to the rank of general, and dying in 1650. His son, Sir Ralph Assheton, was knighted very early in life by Charles I. He served under his father during the civil war, but although a decided Presbyterian he took a prominent part in the restoration of Charles II., and was by him created a baronet.

Richard Shuttleworth.

Richard Shuttleworth of Gawthorp was member for Clitheroe. He was among the first of the Lancashire gentry to arm his tenantry in opposition to the arbitrary proceedings of the king. His uncle of the same name was member for Preston. Five brothers of the Shuttleworths were distinguished officers in the Parliamentary army. Richard Shuttleworth the younger, colonel in the service, died young, exhausted with the fatigue and anxiety of parliamentary and military service.

Alexander Rigby.

Alexander Rigby of Goosnargh, member for Wigan, was a man of great ability, but a thoroughly unscrupulous partisan. His activity was unwearied, his energy irrepressible. Lawyer, statesman, magistrate, colonel, in every capacity he carried out energetically his hatred to the royal cause. He commanded at the disastrous siege of Lathom House, rendered memorable by the heroic defence of the noble Countess of Derby, Charlotte de la Tremouille, and had his revenge in the part he took in the execution of her husband in 1651. He was nominated on the High Court of Justiciary for the trial of the king, but declined to serve. He was subsequently made a judge by Cromwell, and died whilst on circuit.

Of John Moore I have already spoken, and shall have occasion hereafter to speak.

Preparations.

The civil war was now imminent, and both parties prepared for the struggle. In no part of the kingdom was neighbour more set against neighbour, and family against family, than in the county of Lancaster. The subject is so interesting, and the history of Liverpool touches at so many points on

incidents in the contest, that I make no apology for entering pretty fully into this portion of our local history. Fortunately the materials are ample. The original documents consist of tracts and letters of the period, to which the municipal records add considerable information.

A.D. 1642. Petitions.

After the retirement of the king to York (May 1642), petitions were presented both to the Parliament and the king by the inhabitants of Lancashire, professing the utmost affection for his majesty's person, and praying for a settlement of the existing distractions in Church and State. On June 6, the royal answer was despatched to Sir John Girlington of Thurland, a Catholic and Royalist, the high sheriff, "assuring his loyal and true subjects of his zeal and constancy for the maintenance of the true Protestant religion both against Popish superstition on the one hand, and schismatic innovation and confusion on the other."

County meeting.

Concurrently with this, his majesty issued a commission of array, authorising and requiring the loyal inhabitants to arm in defence of the king and his prerogative. The sheriff convened a county meeting, which was held on Fulwood Moor, near Preston, on June 20, 1642, and numerously attended by both parties. Lord Strange,[1] with his son, a youth of fifteen, Lord Molyneux, and Sir Thomas Tyldesley, were amongst the Royalists. The sheriff read the petition and answer, and immediately afterwards the royal proclamation announcing the commission of array. He then called out, "You that are for the king follow us!" and rode across the moor towards Preston, followed by the leaders and about 400 Royalists crying, "For the king! for the king!" The Roundheads gathered in another part of the moor, raising the shout of "The king and parliament!"

Commencement of civil war.

Practically this was the commencement of the civil war, although King Charles did not raise his standard at Nottingham until two months afterwards.

The first contest in Lancashire was for the possession of the fortified places and the stores contained in them. Considerable quantities of gunpowder and match had been collected in Preston, Manchester, Warrington, and Wigan.

Warrington fortified.

Warrington was garrisoned by the Earl of Derby for the king, and strongly fortified, according to a contemporary

[1] By the decease of his father on the 29th of September following, he became the seventh Earl of Derby, under which title he is better known.

CHAP. II. 1642.

account, "with gates, mounts, and an engine devised and placed upon the bridge to stop the passage over it."

Another account states: "The Deputie Lieutenants for the Earle of Darbie were no less diligent on the King's part, striving to raise up what souldiery they could and to Garrison such Townes in the county as were emminent, and thorow roads, as Preston, Wiggon, and Warrington. Warrington they mood walled round about, making stronger gates and fortifications. Preston and Wiggon they did not make so stronge, only some Engines maid of Tymber was placed in the streets of eyther towne to keep horse out."[1]

Manchester for Parliament.

Manchester was the only town secured for the Parliament, and here the first shot was fired, and the first blood drawn. The accounts materially differ as to the circumstances. In a paper printed by the authority of Parliament, it is asserted that on July 5 there was a fight between the Manchester people and the armed bands of Lord Strange, in which twenty-seven persons were killed. This account was afterwards discredited. Another statement fixes the date as July 15, and alleges that Lord Strange, whilst walking in the street, was shot at with two pistols out of a window by his relative Sir Thomas Stanley. A third account, given in the record from which I have already quoted, states as follows:

First shot fired.

"Not long after, the said Earle of Darby, accompanied with Mr. Thomas Tildsley of Merscow and other gentlemen of qualitie, made a journey to Manchester in a bravado to take a vew of the towne or take occasion against it, and being ther and in their jollitie in a window at Mr. Greene's, some of them hearing a pore man of the towne (his name I never harde) giving out some words in favour of the Parliament, one of them out of the house discharged against him and killed him. Who it was I never hard of certainty, but Tildsley was supposed. Another levelled against Mr. Birch in the street, who escaped by thrusting himselfe under a carte of Gorsses."[2]

State of Liverpool.

The state of parties in Liverpool was at this time much divided. The majority of the council were Royalists, but the preponderance of the inhabitants was on the side of the Parliament. John Walker, the mayor, acting under the authority of

[1] *A Discourse of the Warr in Lancashire*, 1655.

[2] This is the origin of an absurd story told by Seacome (*Hist. House of Stanley*) of Colonel Birch having been trailed under a hay-cart by order of the Earl of Derby. I shall refer to this again.

the royal commission of array, and co-operating with Lords Strange and Molyneux, had done his utmost to put the town into a state of defence. About thirty barrels of powder and a quantity of match were in store, brought from Warrington. Earthworks were thrown up round the town, furnished with gates and bars at the street ends, with a fosse twelve yards wide and three yards deep.

In carrying out these operations, the mayor met with considerable opposition within the town and was threatened from without. In order to encourage his loyalty, the king forwarded the following letter:

King's letter.

CHARLES R.

Trustie and well beloved, wee greet you well. Whereas you have by your obedience to our commission of array issued unto y^e^ Countie Pallatyne of Lanc^r^ done dyvers services tending to the putting in execution of the said commission, for which you are threatened to be arrested, and carried out of the said Countie, although wee have still speciall occasion to require y^r^ services therein; Our express will and comand therefore is that you fail not to attend us personally forthwith upon significacion made unto you in this behalfe during our abode in these parts; and therefore wee straitly require you upon your allegiance that you doe not absent yourselfe out of the said Countie Pallatyne of Lanc^r^, neither suffer yourselfe to be aniwyse engaged, detayned, or kept from giving yo^r^ readie attendance accordingly, being called or summoned by us or our comand, whylst wee shall continue heere, upon anie pretence, order, warrant, or comand whatsoever from either or both Houses of Parliament, without speciall leave and lycence first obtained, or directions to you under our owne hand, as you (avoide) our highest displeasure, and will answer the contrarie at your peril. For which this shall be yo^r^ sufficient warrant and authoritie.

Given at our Courte at Yorke, the first day of July 1642.

To our trustie and well-beloved John Walker, Maior of Liverpoole, in our Countie Pal^e^ of Lanc^r^.

On August 25, 1642, King Charles erected his standard at Nottingham, and the civil war commenced in good earnest. The Parliamentary lieutenants sent down to Lancashire on the one hand, and the commissioners of array on the other, did their best to stimulate the partisans on both sides. In September, Lord Strange, now Earl of Derby, mustered his forces at Warrington, and proceeded to attack Manchester, the headquarters of the Lancashire Roundheads, with about 2000 foot

Muster at Warrington.

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and 300 horse. After several fierce onslaughts, he was repulsed with considerable loss.

1642. Liverpool garrisoned.

Liverpool was occupied by a small garrison of Royalists; the retainers of Lord Derby occupying the tower, and the castle being held by Lord Molyneux, who, along with Sir Thomas Tyldesley, commanded the royal forces in West Derby hundred. Caryl (afterwards Lord) Molyneux also commanded a regiment.

On December 10, 1642, Lord Derby met the commissioners of array at Preston, when it was determined that the sum of £8700 should be rateably levied on the several hundreds of the county for the payment of 2000 foot and 400 horse, and for the provision of magazines and ammunition.

A.D. 1643. Capture of Wigan.

Wigan was a stronghold of the Royalist forces, from whence the garrison sallied out in all directions, and did considerable mischief to their opponents. On Easter Eve, April 1, 1643, Colonel Holland marched at the head of a force from Manchester, escaladed the earthworks after a breach had been made, and captured the town. The Royalists retained possession of the church, and from the summit of the tower they poured down such a warm fire that severe loss was inflicted on the attacking force. The church was finally carried, where, it is stated, many persons of quality were made prisoners. The Parliamentarians, however, did not retain the town. According to the contemporary account, "the souldiers were allowed to Plunder and carey away what they could. Great heapes of Woollen Cloath of the Drapers being laid in the streetes. But with breakeing downe of some workes that were maid and set in the streets to hinder the passage of Horses and what spoile they carried, They all marched away that night, and lefte it to the Earle who was marching to the Relieff thereof with what strength he had as far as Standish More, where receiving Intelligence that the Towne was taken, with the spoyle of it, and the Enimie returned and gone. In great discontent he returned home to Lathom, never after making any accompt of Wiggon."

On the 3d of April, two days after the attack on Wigan, Sir William Brereton, the Parliamentary general, being at Northwich, sent a small advanced body, under the command of Captain John Arderne of Alvanley, to attack Warrington from the Cheshire side. The Earl of Derby, perceiving that their force was small, sallied out to attack, and encountering them on Stockton Heath, about a mile to the south of Warrington, defeated them with considerable loss. Sir William Brereton arriving

with the rest of his forces, the earl drew off, retiring into the town with many prisoners, and several of the enemy's colours. Under the guise of these colours the earl contrived, in the afternoon of the same day, to push forward a considerable body of his men, who, crossing the Mersey at the ancient ford of Latchford (higher up the river), advanced by the route of Ackers Common unsuspectedly on the right flank of the Cheshire troops; and he himself leaving the town by the bridge, and advancing by the causeway to Wilderspool, assaulted them so furiously in front, that, with trifling loss, he completely routed them with great slaughter.

Two days after this (April 5th) Brereton crossed the river into Lancashire, and effected a junction with Colonel Holland's troops from Wigan. At 4 P.M. on the same day, in the words of Burghall, he "beset the town about, and fiercely assaulted it, having gotten Sankey Bridge, a fair house of one Mr. Bridgman's, and some of the outer walls, and within a short space of time were likely to have the whole; which the earle perceaving, set the middle of the town on fire, protesting hee would burn it all ere they should have it; which the Parliament forces perceaving (seeing the fire still increasing) to save it from utter desolation withdrew their forces after they had been there three dayes and more, and so departed for that time."

Lord Derby's advance.

From Warrington Lord Derby proceeded to Preston, where he collected such force as he could muster, consisting of eleven troops of horse, 700 foot, and "infinite of clubmen," and marched northwards, crossing the Ribble at Ribchester, and taking possession of Whalley abbey and church. The hundred of Blackburn was in a very unprepared state, but Colonels Shuttleworth and Starkie sent a summons round and collected all the stragglers to meet at Whalley. The officers held a council of war and determined not to fight, but according to the account already quoted, "This pleased not the souldiers then by, That they should turn their backs upon their enimies before they saw their faces. Therefore a many of Musketiers being resolut men replyed to the captaines bouldly, bidding them take what course they pleased for their safeties, yet they would aventure themselves, see the enimie, and have one bout with them, if God will. And therefore gathering themselves together made themselves readie to receive the enimie. And belyke eyther imagyning of themselves, or having intelligence from others that the enimie would pass that way, They planted themselves

Fight at Whalley.

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1643. Lord Derby defeated.

in fields on the highway side, betwixt Whaley and Padiam under the stone walls with their muskets, readie charged, being hid, to give the enimie a volley of shot if they appeared. Not long after, the musketiers under the walls waiting their opportunitie, let goe a volley of shot against them very hotly, which did put such a fear into them that immediately without any delay they turned againe and downe towards Whaley, with all the speed they could make.

"The Earl's clubmen being in the reare of his army hearing the great noyse of shoutting, apprehending it, fearfully fled through the river in such haste, he being most happie that could get through it with most speed and run the fastest away. Noe command of the officers nor force of the horsemen could make them turne again or staye, but gone they would be; which wrought soe upon the rest of the Armie, that they lykewise turned their backs and fledd soe disorderly and confusedly, That (as relation was) the Earle himself had much adoe to cause them to take their Ordenance with them, he being of the last companie that was with it." This happened on April 20, 1643.

Retreat of Royalists.

Colonel Assheton now came up from Lancaster and Preston, and the earl retired to Penwortham, and thence went north to Whitehaven, where he took ship and sailed to the Isle of Man.

Colonel Tyldesley rallied the fugitive Royalists, and fell back into West Derby hundred, Lord Molyneux co-operating with him. Colonel Assheton returned to Manchester, where he was received with jubilations, a day of thanksgiving and rejoicing being celebrated, with feasting and devotion combined. After a few days' respite he again advanced. Lord Molyneux and Tyldesley retired by Ormskirk to Kirkham in the Fylde. Assheton advanced by Warrington, and commenced the second siege on Whitsunday, May 21st. The town was defended by Colonel Edward Norris, son of Mr. William Norris of Speke. On the 27th of May he surrendered on condition of the town being exempted from plunder.

After some marching and countermarching Tyldesley drew off to Yorkshire to meet the queen, who landed from Holland at Burlington Quay. Lord Molyneux retired on Liverpool, where he left a garrison, and himself crossed the Mersey into Cheshire. Colonel Assheton followed on his heels and sat down before Liverpool about the end of April.

Assheton attacks Liverpool.

We learn from a contemporary tract, that just at this juncture a Parliamentary ship, under the command of the Earl of

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1643. First siege.

Warwick, entered the Mersey whilst on a cruise without any specific object, which, says the document "put the enemy into a great fear." Colonel Assheton having gained possession of the church, on the tower of which he planted his ordnance, and his forces occupying the line of Dale Street, the Royalists retired into the castle, whence they offered a parley, and proposed to surrender on condition that they should be allowed to retire with their arms and ammunition to join the royal forces, "which propositions not being consented unto, Colonel Assheton made another assault against the enemy, slew many of them, and put them into such confusion, that as many as could, fled away for safety, and the rest were forced to yield themselves prisoners." 300 were captured, with 10 guns, and 80 killed. So ended the first siege.

The town was now garrisoned for the Parliament under Colonel John Moore. Rosworm, the German engineer, who had fortified Manchester, was brought down to strengthen and improve the fortifications.

Defences.

The line of Whitechapel and Paradise Street, then the course of the pool-stream, being low marshy ground covered by the tide at flood, batteries were erected at intervals to command the passage. From the end of Dale Street, westwards to Oldhall Street and the river, the rampart and ditch extended, with strong gates at the crossing of Tithebarn and Oldhall Streets. Cannon were mounted on the battlements of the castle, and a battery was erected on the margin of the river.

On May 16, 1643, there is an entry in the town's books of the receipt of 100 muskets, 100 bandaliers, and 100 pikes from Colonel Richard Holland,[1] "to be employed for the defence and safetie of this towne;" and an engagement is given "for the saffe redeliverie of them unto y^e^ said colonell, when y^e^ same shall be required."

Irish Rebellion, 1641.

The memorable Irish rebellion broke out in October 1641. Its cruel massacres of the Protestants were abhorrent alike to Cavalier and Roundhead.

[1] Colonel Richard Holland was the representative of an ancient family of that name, originally settled at Upholland, descended from Robert de Holland, already spoken of in these pages. One of the sons of Robert de Holland married the heiress of Sir Alexander Denton, of Denton, and settled on the estates. Colonel Holland was an active Parliamentary campaigner through the whole of the civil war. He died in 1662. The estates passed, about the end of the seventeenth century, to the Egertons of Heaton, afterwards created Earls of Wilton.

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1643. Seizure of rebels' goods.

In the year 1642, during the mayoralty of John Walker, the mayor and corporation seized upon certain merchandise in course of transport from Ireland to Manchester through Liverpool, on the plea or pretext that it belonged to rebels, and was therefore forfeited to the corporation, who by charter or prescription had a right to all escheats. This was the cause of long-continued litigation. The Manchester consignees were not disposed to submit tamely to this appropriation of their property, and took legal means to obtain redress. The following entry relates to this transaction :—

THOMAS BICKSTETH, MAIOR.

xix Junii, 1643.

At an assemblie this day held before Thomas Bicksteth, Gent., maior of this Burrough, John Walker, John Williamson . . . and the most part of the rest of the comon Counsell of this towne, it was moved touching the securing of Thomas Hodgson and John Woods, late Ballives of this towne, and others that were or are officers within the said towne, from all molestation or suits that may be brought against them by one John Booker of Manchester or anie other on his behalfe, and on the behalfe of Ed. Connor for removing anie goods or merchandize by either of them challenged, and heretofore imported out of Ireland ; which upon good evidence appeared to be Rebell's goods, and as the goods of Rebells seized upon for the behalfe of this Corporation by John Walker, Esq., maior of this burrough. It is therefore ordered by this assemblie that accordingly the said persons upon whom this may reflect by reason of such seizure, shall be secured and kept from all indemnitie at the comon charge of the whole Corporation ; the monie thereupon due having been paid to the towne's treasurer, and by him to be kept for the benefit of the said towne.

Appointment of minister.

The Parliamentarians, who were mostly Presbyterians, being now in possession, no time was lost in appointing a clergyman of their own views to the parochial chapel. On September 22, 1643, "it is ordered by an assemblie that Mr. E. Thompson shall bee minister heere, and shall be content with such allowance as y^e^ colonells and Deputie Lieutenants shall apoynt and allowe to be sett out for y^e^ decent maintenance of a minister in this burrough, together with such other dues and dueties as shall be due unto him from y^e^ towne."

Immediately afterwards occurs the following entry :

JOHN WILLIAMSON, MAIOR.

Nov. 23, 1643.

Further order about the maintenance of a minister from the sequestration of the tythes of Walton.

(Signed)
T. STANLEY.
RAPHE ASHETON.
RICHARD HOLLANDE.
JOHN MOORE.
ROBT. HYDE.
THO. BIRCHE.

The town was at this time under martial law, all the signatures of the above document being Parliamentary colonels. Martial law.

Of the above list Robert Hyde is the only one not elsewhere mentioned in these pages. The family of Hyde, of Hyde Hall, Denton, were near neighbours and allies of the Hollands, the chapel of Denton being one-half appropriated to the tenants of each estate. On the breaking out of the civil war, both Hyde and Holland armed their tenants and joined the popular side, each having a colonel's commission. Both families have long been extinct in the male line. Robert Hyde.

Colonel John Moore was appointed by the Parliament governor of Liverpool. As a commander he was active and vigilant. By his influence, and partly at his expense, several vessels were fitted out at Liverpool to cruise against the enemy, to blockade Dublin, and to cut off the supplies from the royal army in Ireland. The Marquis of Ormonde, writing to Lord Byron under date of January 16, 1644, says: "When the fleet is gone, it is too probable the Liverpool ships will look out again, if that town be not in the meantime reduced, which I most earnestly recommend your lordship to think of and attempt as soon as you possibly can, there being no service that to my apprehension can at once so much advantage this place (Dublin) and Chester, and make them so useful to each other." Colonel Moore, governor.

About this time the manor house of Birkenhead, which had been fortified for the king by Sir Thomas Powell, Bart., was attacked and taken by the Parliamentarians from Liverpool.

On December 21, 1643, there is the following entry in the town's book: "Whereas it appears that divers papists and other ill-affected persons or malignants, and such as have borne armes against the Parliam^t, or their wives and children, are as yet inhabitting and remaining within this towne of Liverpoole, who are suspected to give intelligence and to doe other ill offices Proclamation against malignants.

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there; it is therefore ordered by the now maior, the Governor, and the rest of the Comon Counsell of the same towne, that all such papists and malignants, except such as are Prysoners; as also their wives, children, and families, shall within xiiij dayes after notice hereof, depart and remove out of the said towne, upon payne to be plundered and deprived of all their goods and personal estate whatsoever."

Strangers.

December 13, 1643: "It is ordered that the Ballives and the Pursuivant and some others of the Governor's officers are to go through the towne and make inquiries, and take notice of all strangers and other lodgers, that such as are not faithfull and trustie to the service of King and Parliament may be discharged and removed forth of the towne with all speed possible in respect of the present dangers."

A.D. 1644. Sunday observance.

January 28, 1644: "It is ordered that all such householders or other persons as shall neglect the strict observance of Sundayes and fast dayes, and shall not frequent the church, but either loyter or stay abroad drinking; or shall be disorderly, and taken in anie misconduct, shall be severely punished, and shall forfait for every offence 40s."

The town was now in the hands of the Puritans, and care had been taken, as appears from the documents quoted, to warn away all malignants and Royalists, yet it would seem that the townspeople did not take kindly to garrison service; whereupon it became necessary for the governor to issue the following edict, in prospect of speedy hostilities:

Keeping watch and ward.

May 25, 1644: "Whereas divers of the inhabitants of this towne have refused and contemptiously neglected contrarie to divers orders to appeare with their best armes at the beating of the drum; these are therefore to give publicke notice and warninge to all persons whatsoever inhabbiting within this garrison heretofore appoynted for the keeping of the watch within the same. That if they or any of them shall hereafter refuse or neglect to appeare at the beating of the drum for the settinge of the watch within the said garrison, or for the performing of other duties within the same; or any person whatsoever sett upon his watch or Guard shall come off the same or neglect his dutie therein, till he be called and releeved by an Officer—shall for everie such offence pay to the use of his fellow soldiers the sum of xijs or lie in prison in the Townhall until he have paid the same."

About this time, but without a specific date, there is inserted

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"An Inventorie of the Towne's Plate," which shows a goodly array of cups, bowls, and various regalia. Soon afterwards, violent hands were laid on this collection, most probably, as alleged, by the Royalists after Prince Rupert's siege. By a later entry on the same page, dated 1654, certain fragments are noted as still remaining. In 1655, there is mention made of "one new seale ingraved with the Towne's arms." There can be little doubt that this refers to the seal now in use, replacing the ancient one carried away with the rest of the plate. The collection is also said to comprise "one Bridle for correction of scoulds!" When this remedy for an evil tongue ceased to be employed we are not informed.

1644. Town's plate.

Town seal.

Early in 1644 many of the fortified places in the north of England still held for the king were in a state of siege. A strong representation was made to Prince Rupert, then at the king's headquarters, to make a desperate attempt to raise the sieges. The prince accordingly raised all the forces within his control, numbering about 10,000, and successively relieved Newark, Chester, Stockport, Lathom House, and Bolton. Moore had been assisting at the siege of Lathom House, but now retired and shut himself up in Liverpool, where he was followed by his opponent.

Prince Rupert advances.

It is said that the prince, reconnoitring the defences from the heights to the eastward, pronounced the place indefensible—a mere crow's nest which a parcel of boys might take. However, he sat down before it, and made his approaches in due form. His headquarters were in Everton Village, at a cottage which ever afterwards bore his name. His batteries were erected along the line of Lime Street, where the trenches cut in the rock are still occasionally to be met with. The resistance was far greater than he had counted on. After an incessant cannonade, carried on for eighteen days, in which he expended 100 barrels of powder, and numerous assaults, in which he lost 1500 men, he resolved on a night attack. In this he was materially aided by Caryl, Lord Molyneux, who was well acquainted with the localities, and led the forlorn hope. The attacking force escaladed the rampart where it joined the outhouses of the Old Hall. Edward Moore, the son of the colonel, in his "rental" (1667) says: "The outhouses of the Old Hall were pulled down when Prince Rupert took Liverpool, Whitsuntide, June 16, 1644, putting all to the sword for many hours, giving no quarter; where Caryl, that is now Lord Molyneux, killed

Second siege.

Escalade.

CHAP. II. 1644.

seven or eight poor men with his own hands; good Lord, deliver us from the cruelty of bloodthirsty papists. Amen." The garrison was drawn up in array at the Cross, where they beat a parley and demanded quarter. This was granted, the garrison laying down their arms and surrendering as prisoners of war. The ammunition and stores fell into the hands of the victors.

Whitelock gives rather a different account. He says: "Before the garrison surrendered, they shipped off all the arms, ammunition, and portable effects; and most of the officers and soldiers went on shipboard, while a few made good the fort, which they rendered to the prince upon quarter, but they were all put to the sword." This is confirmed by the author of the "Discourse," who says: "Colonell Moore, with what force he had with him in the towne, resisted while he could, but when he saw it was in vaine long to withstand such a potent army, he betook himself to the sea, and left the Towne to the mercilesse mercy of their enemies, who murthered unhumanly and plundered thevishly." Sir John Biron (Lord Byron) was left in Liverpool as governor.

Rupert remained in Liverpool nine days, having his quarters at the castle. He then drew off with all his available forces into Yorkshire, where, on July 2, he took part in the disastrous battle of Marston Moor. Rupert thence retired into Lancashire, but, avoiding Liverpool, he crossed the Mersey at Runcorn Gap and marched on Chester.

The Parliamentary leaders followed up their advantage at Marston Moor by sending 1000 horse into Lancashire to co-operate with the county forces.

Defeat of Royalists.

On August 20 the Royalists under Lords Byron and Molyneux were defeated at Ormskirk by Major-General Meldrum, and retired to Liverpool, where they were speedily followed by their opponents.

Third siege.

The town was invested, but no very active operations appear to have been carried on. The siege, or rather blockade, continued from August 20 to November 4, 1644, when the garrison surrendered.

The following account of the transaction is given in Rushworth:[1] "Sir John Meldrum having for some time laid siege to Liverpool in Lancashire, and reduced the garrison therein to great straits, and yet the officers refusing to surrender it, about

[1] *Hist. Coll.* vol. v. p. 747.

fifty of the English soldiers escaped out of the town, and drove along with them what cattle they could, and came into Meldrum; which those that remained in the town perceiving, and being most of them Irish, and fearing they should be exempt from quarter, therefore to make their peace, on November 1, they seized upon several of their commanders and delivered them prisoners to Meldrum, who thereupon got possession of the town, where were taken two colonels, two lieutenant-colonels, three majors, fourteen captains, great store of ordnance, arms, and ammunition. The Royalists, to avoid plunder, had shipped most of their best goods and treasure, intending to convey the same to Beaumaris, but those of the other party gave notice thereof, so that Meldrum's soldiers manned out long boats, and took and made booty thereof." The author of the *Discourse* characterises this as "a providence of God more than ordinary, for which Roundheads made bonfyres for joy, and song praises to God." 1644.

Colonel Thomas Birch was appointed by the Parliament governor, and took up his abode in the castle. The name of Colonel Birch has been vilified and held up to reproach from a statement made by Seacome in his *History of the House of Stanley*, and repeated elsewhere, of his harsh treatment of two children of the Earl of Derby, Ladies Catharine and Amelia Stanley, who, it is vaguely stated, in the times of the civil wars, were made prisoners by the Parliament soldiers in Liverpool. They are said to have been kept in durance for about eighteen months, and scarcely supplied with the necessaries of life, in revenge for the colonel having been trailed under a hay-cart at Manchester by orders of the earl, whence he acquired the sobriquet of "the Earl of Derby's carter." I have given above (p. 86) the origin of the absurd story of the hay-cart, which rests on no contemporary authority. Colonel Birch, governor.

The facts of the case are as follows. In 1647, after the prostration of the royal cause, Lady Derby left her refuge in the Isle of Man to visit England and Paris. A grant at this time was made by the Parliament of one-fifth of the income from the sequestered estates of the Earl of Derby not disposed of, to the countess and her children, with Knowsley Hall for their residence. Thither the two Ladies Catharine and Amelia Stanley, aged respectively seventeen and fifteen years, were sent by their father. In 1649 they were brought to Liverpool by Colonel Birch, and confined in the Tower. That this was A.D. 1647.

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done by orders from Sir Thomas Fairfax, commander-in-chief, there can be no doubt, for in reply to an application from the indignant mother, he takes the responsibility on himself. It is more than probable that the young ladies were treated with harshness, but Lady Derby in her bitter complaints says nothing about the want of the necessaries of life.

Lady Catharine was subsequently married to the Marquis of Dorchester, and Lady Amelia to the Marquis of Athol, to whose descendants the Barony of Strange and the Lordship of the Isle of Man afterwards fell.[1]

There were two colonels named Birch who distinguished themselves on the Parliamentary side, Thomas and John. They were cousins, descended from an ancient family settled at Hindley Birch near Manchester. The estate descended to

Colonel Thos. Birch.

Thomas Birch, who served with distinction in the civil wars and was made governor of Liverpool in 1644. In 1649, on the decease of Sir Richard Wynne, he was elected member for the borough. In each of the parliaments called by Cromwell after "Pride's Purge," in 1653, 1654, and 1656, Colonel Birch was re-elected for Liverpool. In politics he was a follower of Cromwell, and in religion a sturdy Independent. After the Restoration he retired to his estate and identified himself with the Puritan party in their persecutions under Charles II. From the Moore Papers we find that Colonel Birch was living in 1667 in a house on the west side of Castle Street. He died in 1678, at the age of seventy.

Colonel John Birch.

His cousin, John Birch, also colonel in the Parliamentary army, had an estate at Ardwick, near Manchester, where his family were settled. Although he entered into the conflict with as much zeal and earnestness as his relative, he was a man of much more moderate opinions, a Presbyterian in religion, and in politics an advocate of constitutional monarchy. He served principally in the west of England, where he gained the reputation of a careful, cautious, far-seeing officer, who could bide his time, and when it came could act with singular promptitude and vigour. In the winter of 1645, by a clever stratagem, he surprised and took the city of Hereford, of which he was appointed governor. An anecdote is told of him whilst in this capacity, which exhibits the courage of the cleric and the moderation of the man of war. The bishop preached a sermon

[1] Vide *Lancashire Worthies*, by F. Espinasse; *Life and Letters of the Countess of Derby*, by Madame Guizot de Witt.

before the governor in which he inveighed against the disloyalty of the times in bitter and insulting language. A guard of soldiers at the porch levelled their muskets and threatened to fire upon him. The governor, who had been attentively listening, arose and peremptorily commanded the soldiers to retire.[1] He acquired an estate at Garnstone, near Weobley, in Herefordshire, for which ancient borough (now disfranchised) he was elected representative. He was excluded by "Pride's Purge," and remained in retirement until the death of Cromwell. He took an active part in the restoration of Charles II., and prepared the instructions for the commissioners who negotiated with the king. We shall find his name turn up again in the subsequent pages in connection with Liverpool. He survived until the Revolution of 1688, in which he joined heart and hand. He died in 1691 at the age of seventy-five, and was interred in the chancel of Weobley church, where a monument with a laudatory inscription is erected to his memory.[2]

The town records immediately succeeding the civil war are not very copious, but they throw light on the condition of the place and the sufferings of the inhabitants.

General Meldrum.

On November 8, 1644, immediately after the final siege, there is an entry: "Sir John Meldrum, Lieut.-Generall of the Northern forces, admitted freeman."

December 30, 1644, John Holcroft, mayor.

"Att an assemblie held this day before John Holcroft, Esq., Maior, and Col. John Moore, governor[3] of this towne of Liverpoole, and the aldermen and the most part of the comon counsell thereof. It was ordered, that for the present the gates now att Saml. Mercer's house end shall be removed, and sett in the works at the Tythebarn Street end.

Swine.

"It is further ordered that all such as have swine in this towne are to keepe their said swine on their Back-sides until a swineherd be chosen, and if they goe abrode and doe anie trespasse in other men's grounds, it shall be lawful for anie suffering damage by them to kill or lame the said swine, or convert

[1] Halley's *Puritanism and Nonconformity in Lancashire*, vol. ii. p. 41.

[2] A contemporary memoir of Col. John Birch was issued by the Camden Society in 1873, with a historical commentary by the Rev. John Webb, F.S.A.

[3] There is here a little discrepancy. Moore probably held the governorship a short time as colonel in command before Birch was appointed.

CHAP. II. 1645.

them to their use. And those who have swine in the towne have power to make choice of a swineherd, otherwise to abide the penaltie of this order."

On January 20, 1645, it is entered: "We find that a great company of our inhabitants were murthered and slain by Prince Rupert's forces; the names of the murthered we cannot yet be certified of; any of them or their names."

Burying the slain.

That a considerable number had been slain is evident from the next entry: "That the dead bodies of our murthered neighbours buried out of the towne shall be better covered betwixt this and the 2d February next, and for the effecting hereof we order that the two bailiffs or any other officer giving notice or warning to any house, it shall send one thither, with a spade or whisket for the covering of them as aforesaid."

Corporation claim escheats.

During these troublous times, one thing is quite clear, that whatever party was uppermost, the corporation of Liverpool always kept a sharp look-out after their own interests. During the Royalist supremacy in 1642, as we have already seen, they seized and appropriated merchandise from Ireland on the way to Manchester, under the pretext that it was the property of rebels; by which they got themselves into much trouble and litigation. Under Parliamentary rule they were equally ready to confiscate the property of malignants and Royalists. An order of Parliament, bearing date January 16, 1644-5, which was no doubt issued on the petition of the town's authorities, is entered in the book, January 27, as follows:—

"Whereas it appears by the ancient privileges, charters, and Records of this Towne and Port of Liverpoole that the forfeitures and confiscations of all rebells, traytors, felons, or other malefactors; all estates, goods, chattels, or merchandize whatsoever being found within the precincts and liberties of this towne, doe properly belong unto the Maior, Ballives, and Burgesses of the said corporation, wheresoever the said offenders be or remain, in what place or town the said offence be committed.

"These are therefore to will and require you the Ballives, of the said burrough from tyme to time to make diligent search, and inquire for anie the goods, chattels, or merchandize of all such as are suspected or knowne to be guiltie of anie the offences before mentioned; and forthw^th^ to take and seize into safe custodie all such estates, goods, and chattels whatsoever in right of the said Corporacion, that if in case the said rebells be convicted, they may be preserved for the use of the said bur-

rough and Corporacion as aforesaid; for which this shall bee yo^r lawfull and sufficient warrant."

1645. Application to Parliament.

In addition to looking after the confiscations, more direct assistance was sought from Parliament.

On March 5, 1645, occurs the following entry:

"Forasmuch as the urgent state and condition of this towne doth require that some speedie course be taken as well for the repairing of the losses and sufferings of the inhabitants thereof by the crueltie of the Prince's army lately prevailing there, as also for the better governing of the said towne for the tyme to come, it is ordered that Mr. Wm. Langton, Recorder, shall accompany the Mayor (Jno. Holcroft) to London, and there solicit, on behalf of the said town, according to the ensuing instructions, viz.:

"1st, to procure relief, if it be possible, for poor widows and fatherless children that had their husbands and fathers slain, and their goods plundered, and others in the town, who are in distress and want.

"2d, to procure that the manner of the losing, or rather the giving, of the town to the enemies may be fully tried and examined, that so it may appear in whose neglect or fault it was that so much innocent blood was spilt, when there was a possibility of resistance, or any terms of quarter would have been granted.

"3d, to procure that some course be taken to secure the town from the power of the enemy hereafter, it being of great concernment to the country, and is not as yet, in any good posture of defence, for want of provisions, men, and moneys to supply the same, in case of danger.

"4th, to obtain an order for the enclosing and improving of the commons and waste grounds, within the town's liberties, for the good of the corporation, and that the mills and ferry-boats formerly belonging to the Lord Molyneux, may be restored to the corporation as formerly.

"5th, to agitate the business of the rebell's goods claimed by the Manchester men."

Parliamentary grant.

The petition met with success. A grant of £20 in money was made for the widows and orphans, and 500 tons of timber for the repair of the ruined houses was authorised to be taken from the woods of the neighbouring Royalist gentry, with lead from the ruins of Lathom House.

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This grant of timber, with the absence of any mention of stone, brick, or lime, would intimate that the houses in Liverpool at this time were principally of timber-framing.

The Parliament further proceeded (October 1, 1645) to pass a bill restoring the mills and ferry-boats to the corporation, and exonerating them from the fee-farm rent of £20 per annum payable to Lord Molyneux.

Irish estate.

A further grant was made to the town of rather a perilous nature, being an Irish estate situated in the county of Galway, far away from any settlements of the English or Scotch adventurers. After exploring the locality, and the expenditure of some capital—it is not stated how much—the attempt was wisely abandoned.

On the arrival of the contribution we find an entry under date December 22, 1646: "A catalogue of the poor widows and fatherless children, maimed soldiers who were hurt, and had their husbands and fathers slain in this town and in the parliament's service, is ordered to be made and certified, so that they may receive their allowance of the contribution." It was likewise ordered that the widows and fatherless children receive iij^{s} each, and the maimed soldiers vj^{s} each.

In 1645, the rector of Walton having joined the Royalists, the tithes were sequestrated by the Parliament, and out of the proceeds the sequestrators set aside £100 per annum for Liverpool, and thus report:

Appointment of minister.

"Upon information that the town of Liverpoole hath not any competent maintenance for the ministry at their church or chapel there, it being a market town, and of great resort, a garrison town, and the chief port of these parts, the inhabitants many and well affected; it is therefore thought fit and so ordered that two able and orthodox ministers be provided to officiate there, and shall have, out of the sequestrations of the tythes of Walton parish, £100 a year."

After the surrender of Lathom House on the 2d December 1645, some of the spoil was brought to Liverpool. On the 11th June 1646 the following order was signed by the Parliamentary Commissioners:—

"It is ordered that those boards latelie emploied in the house of Lathom, and now taken down and laid together by Cap^{n} Holt, shall be carried to Liverpool for the use of the garrison there, accordinge as

Lieut.-Col. John Ashurst, now governor of the said garrison, shall thinke fitt.

(Signed) J. Bradshaw. G. Ireland. P. Egerton. Ric^D. Asheton. J. Fleetwoode. Robt. Cunliffe."

Again, "At the comitie, Apl. 30, 1647"—

"It is ordered that Mr. Peter Ambrose shall, upon sighte hereof, deliver to Edwarde Chambers, commissary at Liverpool, one paire of gates, with the stoops thereto belonginge, nowe at Lathom House, for to be employed by the said garrison as the gov^r. thereof shall thinke fitt."

(Signed) Peter Egerton. H. Fleetwoode. Ralphe Asheton. W. Ashurst."

In 1646, owing to the disaffected state of Lancashire, the Parliament determined to garrison the town of Liverpool. The townspeople do not appear to have been quite satisfied with the arrangements, for we find the following entry in the corporation records: A.D. 1646.

"Concerning the town being a garrison, it was petitioned that the works might stand as they are, and not be altered, and a true map was drawn of them by Samuel Aspinwall, and certified to the committee of Parliament by Lieut.-Col. Ashurst, governor,[1] who requested the townsmen to be enlisted, but they refused, and are resolved to be at the said governor's commands in case of danger, but not otherwise to enlist."

In another entry, "Mr. Mayor and the aldermen" are empowered "to treat with the governor about the settlement of the garrison that one company of the townsmen may be employed, and to have pay as others have." Garrison.

The billeting of the military seems to have been a grievance,

[1] William Ashurst, of Ashurst, was the representative of an old Presbyterian family. His father, Henry Ashurst, had boldly resisted in 1633 the royal promulgation of the *Book of Sports*. William served with distinction in the Parliamentary army, representing at the same time the borough of Newton in Parliament. After the execution of Charles I. he seceded, and joined the Earl of Derby in his expedition in 1651. He afterwards assisted in the restoration of Charles II.

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1648.

for it is resolved "that the soldiers pay 3d. per meal, or quarter themselves."

The invasion of the Scotch forces under the Duke of Hamilton in 1648 does not appear to have disturbed Liverpool, although the decisive battle at Red Bank Winwick, on August 19, took place within fifteen miles of the town.

Literature does not seem altogether to have been neglected. In 1647 there is an entry in the town's records: "Ordered that two dictionaries be provyded for the use of the whole of this towne, and to be chayned."

Plague.

Plague and pestilence lent their aid in aggravation of the horrors of civil war. It is recorded that "the portmoot court which should have been held after Christmas 1647, was deferred and put off by reason of the sickness and infection happening in certain houses in the Chapel Street, which, through the blessing of God—great care being taken and much cost bestowed in building of cabins and removing the said families forth of the town into the said cabins—it ceased in two months' time, with the death of about eight or nine persons of mean quality."

The careful attention to sanitary arrangements in this case, and their beneficial results, are very remarkable.

A.D. 1650. Plague.

It is stated in some works that another visitation of the plague passed over the town in 1650, by which 200 of the inhabitants were carried off, who were buried in Sick Man's Lane, now Addison Street. I cannot, however, find any contemporary authority confirmative of the statement.

A.D. 1649. Returns for taxation.

In 1649 a warrant was served upon the town from the commissioners of the army, "requiring a return of the yearly value of every man's real and personal estate within the town." This is the earliest employment of schedules for income-tax which I have met with, and it seems to have been anything but palatable to the good burgesses, who came to the resolution following: "It is considered very prejudicial and unreasonable, and therefore resolved that Mr. Bailiff Storey shall attend the commissioners and acquaint them that the best sort have their estates in shipping, which is a daily adventure and hazard, the rest are plundered and poor." What result attended this remonstrance we are not informed, but in the monthly assessments for the support of the army, Liverpool is put down for £11 : 11 : 1.

In 1650 an inquisition and return was made to Parliament on Church lands and livings. We read therein as follows:—

CHAP. II. 1650.

"Wee present and finde that within the towne and burrough of Lyverpool, within the said parishe of Walton, there is an antient parochiall chappell called Lyverpool church and neyther parsonage nor viccarage thereunto belonging; and that Mr. John Fogg,[1] a godly paynfull minister, supplyes the cure there, and came in by eleccion of the Mayor and Common Councill, and that the said Mr. Fogg receives for his sallerye all the benefitt of the tythes growing and arysing within the libertyes and precincts of the said towne, by an order of the committee of plundered ministers, which tythes are of the yearly value of seaventy-five pounds ℔ ann̄. Also, he further receives the sum of tenn pounds ℔ ann̄., by way of augmentation, from Walton, or the rector thereof; and also the antient yearely allowance of foure pounds fifteen shillings yearely from the receiver of the late king's revenues, forth of the publique receipt of the same revenues, save and except that Mr. Fogg pays out of the tythes of Lyverpoole eleaven pounds tenn shillings unto Doctor Clare's wyfe, according to an order of the hon^ble committee of plundered ministers: And wee doe finde that the said parochiall chappell of Lyverpoole, is far remote from anie other church or chappell, and therefore doe conceive it fitt to bee made a parish of itselfe."

A.D. 1651. Royalist rising.

In 1651 the last effort of the Royalists was made in Lancashire under the Earl of Derby. Liverpool was strongly garrisoned under the orders of Cromwell, now supreme, who gave the command of the district to Colonel Lilburne. Colonel Thomas Birch, governor of Liverpool, having obtained early information of the arrival of the Earl of Derby from the Isle of Man in Wyre water, sent out ships from the Mersey into the Wyre to intercept the arrival of supplies, and to cut off the expected reinforcements.

He also communicated with Lilburne, who marched upon Prescot, and thence followed the earl to Ormskirk. Birch also brought together all the Parliamentary forces he could draw from Chester and the neighbourhood, and sent for his own regiment to Manchester. These movements led to the battle of

Battle of Wigan Lane.

[1] John Fogg was born at Darcy Lever, near Bolton, and educated at [illegible]sse College, Oxford. He was appointed joint pastor of Liverpool [illegible]r. Thompson in 1645. He was a zealous Presbyterian, and signed [illegible] "Harmonious Consent" of the Lancashire ministers in 1648, which was a bitter remonstrance against toleration. After his ejectment in 1662 he retired to Great Budworth, Cheshire, where he died in 1670, aged 48. He was a man of learning and good parts.

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Wigan Lane, in which the Royalists were utterly routed, and lost one of the best and bravest of their party, the gallant Sir Thomas Tyldesley.

Colonel Tyldesley.

The Tyldesleys of Myerscough were an ancient and honourable Lancashire family, loyal to the heart's core, always on the side of the king throughout the civil war, and in none were the loyalty, bravery, and ability of the race more distinguished than in the resolute soldier of whom I am now speaking. Throughout the contest he was the heart and soul of the party in Lancashire, ready for every emergency, never despairing in the most disastrous times. Generous and open-hearted, he was beloved by his friends and respected by his enemies. A monument was erected to his memory, on the spot where he fell, by Alexander Rigby, his friend and fellow-soldier, a distant relative of the Roundhead colonel of the same name. Colonel Tyldesley on the Royalist side, and Colonel Assheton on the side of the Parliament, present two noble specimens of the men whom the unfortunate circumstances of the times arrayed against each other.

Close of civil war.

The action of Wigan Lane terminated the civil war in Lancashire, and for the next nine years the party of Cromwell was in the ascendant.

Liverpool enjoyed its privilege of exemption from the fee-farm rent; the influence of the Stanleys and Molyneuxs being for the time completely overthrown.

A.D. 1654. Lighting streets.

The town's records are very barren of interest during this period. In 1654 we find the first attempt at public lighting of the streets, which was in very primitive fashion, it being ordered "that two lanthorns, with two candles burning every night in the dark moon, be set out at the High Cross and at the White Cross, and places prepared to set them in every night till past eight of the clock by the serjeant and water-bailiffs."

In the same year we find the last notice of the fortifications. In a previous entry in 1646 it was ordered that "the mud walls about the towne be repaired, but no inner works made."

In 1654 a further order was made "that all the gates at the streete ends be taken awaie, and the mud walles pulled down and levelled, and the stone brydge at the bottom of Dale Str[illegible] paired."

Colonel Birch was elected sole representative in the parliaments summoned by Cromwell. He ceased to be governor in A.D. 1655. 1655, for what reason is not stated.

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1655. Sir Gilbert Ireland, governor.

In that year the governorship was conferred on Colonel Gilbert (afterwards Sir Gilbert) Ireland, the head of the ancient family of the Irelands of the Hutte and Hale, who had also inherited or purchased the estates of the Butlers of Bewsey near Warrington. The Ireland family were divided in their political allegiance, but Gilbert adhered to the popular cause, and having commanded a regiment in the civil war, did not hesitate, although a moderate Presbyterian, to take office under the Protector. On April 10, 1655, he writes to Cromwell: "Yesterday I received the government of Liverpool, wherein, as in all other trusts, I shall diligently wait for, and observe all your commands."

A.D. 1656.

In 1656 Ireland was returned for Lancashire.

In the same year in his place in Parliament he advocated the cause of Charles, Earl of Derby, who had petitioned the house to grant him some aid in his necessities, and moved that £500 per annum be allowed him.

A.D. 1658. Election.

In Richard Cromwell's Parliament, in 1658, he was returned for Liverpool along with Thomas Blackmore, and again in the Convention Parliament of 1660 he was elected along with the Hon. William Stanley, brother of the Earl of Derby, and assisted in the restoration of Charles II., by whom he was knighted. He continued to represent Liverpool until his decease in 1675, at which time he was serving the office of mayor of the borough. Dying without issue, his estates descended in the female line to the Blackburnes, now of Hale and Oxford, and the Gascoynes of Childwall, the latter now represented by the Marquis of Salisbury.[1] Blackmore, Ireland's colleague in 1658, was an alderman of the borough, belonging to the popular party. He was furnished with a horse to travel to London, and £10 to pay his expenses, besides sustenance during his attendance in Parliament, which was provided by subscription. He was not returned in 1660.

[1] The fine old moated mansion of the "Hutte" in Hale, the residence of the Irelands, has long been destroyed, with the exception of the gate-house, some portion of the kitchen buildings, and out offices. In its entirety it must have been a noble specimen of the half-timbered mansions, of which Speke Hall furnishes an example.

Eleanor, sister and heiress of Sir Gilbert Ireland, married Edward Aspinall. His great-granddaughter married Isaac Green of Prescot, who left two daughters coheiresses. One of them married Thomas Blackburne of Warrington and Oxford, who inherited the Hale property.

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1662. On the enactment of the Test and Corporation Act in 1662, we find the following entry in the town's books :—

"November 10, Thomas Blackmore, Thomas Williamson, Ralph Massam, Edward Williamson, Gilbert Formby, and Rd. Percival ordered to be discharged from their offices, as aldermen of the town, for refusing to subscribe to the declaration contained in the Act 13 Charles II. for the well governing of corporations."

Blackmore's name crops up again a few years afterwards in the "Moore Rental," where he and one Ashbrook, with whom the writer had some legal dispute, are described as "both notorious knaves."

Act of Uniformity. In the list of clergymen ejected under the Act of Uniformity on "black Bartholomew's day, 1662," we find the names of the Rev. John Fogg, Liverpool, Rev. Thomas Crompton, M.A., Toxteth Park, Rev. Robert Eaton, Walton, Rev. Nathaniel Heywood, Ormskirk.

A.D. 1665. Plague. In the year 1665, the scourge of the preceding century, the plague, having ravaged the metropolis and various parts of the country during this—happily its last—visitation, it was resolved at a public meeting of the burgesses on November 2, Michael Tarleton, gent., mayor, that "upon consideration and apprehension of the spreading contagion of the plague in divers neighbouring towns, in Cheshire, and other parts, and of the great concourse of people usually from these parts all the time of the fairs kept in this town, it is generally voted, agreed, thought fit, and so ordered, that the keeping of the fair here on St. Martin's day next, the eve, and other usual days after, here accustomably kept, shall on this present exigent of danger for this year be absolutely forborne and forbidden by open publication, and notice thereof in the open market the next market day." As we have no record of any attack of the plague, it is to be presumed that this precautionary isolation proved effectual.

Summary. The four centuries and a half which had now elapsed since the foundation of the port and borough had hitherto produced no remarkable degree of success or prosperity. The little town slumbered on under the shadow of its feudal castle, dominated by the neighbouring nobles and gentry, kindled into raptures of ecstasy by a favourable recognisance from my Lords Derby or Molyneux, and quite contented with its petty trade with Ireland and Wales. But a great change was at hand. The real rise of the fortunes of Liverpool dates from the Restoration

Changes.

of Charles II. From this time forward, the tide of prosperity set in with a regular, steady current, which may have differed in its rate of progression, but which has hitherto known no ebb. The proximate causes of this favourable change were the rise of the manufactures of Lancashire and Yorkshire, the increase of the foreign trade of the kingdom, and the facilities offered by the estuary of the Mersey. After the plague and the great fire of London "several ingenious men settled in Liverpool, which originated the trade of the port to the plantations and other places. This so enlarged its commerce that, from scarcely paying the salaries of the officers of customs, Liverpool before the close of the century possessed the third part of the trade of the country, and paid the king upwards of £50,000 a year in customs." This statement, which is extracted from the case laid before Parliament in 1699 on the application for an Act to constitute Liverpool a separate parish, is no doubt exaggerated, but it is an undoubted fact that a large increase of trade did take place at this period.

Trade.

A.D. 1667. Moore Rental.

We possess very valuable evidence of the state of the town at this juncture, in the "Moore Rental," an account prepared in 1667 by Edward (afterwards Sir Edward) Moore of Bank Hall, of his estates and rents in the town, for the benefit of his son and heir.[1] I shall have occasion hereafter to refer to this document somewhat in detail in illustration of the various localities to which it refers. At present I can only allude to it in general terms.

Moore family.

Edward Moore was the son of the regicide, John Moore. Although brought up in the atmosphere of Nonconformity and Puritanism, as is evident from his scriptural quotations and pious ejaculations, he was a thorough aristocrat at heart. Most of his property was let on lease upon the old feudal tenure of lives, with a small reserved rent in money, a fine for renewal when a life dropped, and services in the form of boons or labour in harvest time, and rent hens, with obligations to grind at the lord's mills, etc. These conditions were becoming obsolete, and to a great extent disregarded, as being utterly unsuitable to the growing exigencies of the times. Added to this, Moore was poor and loaded with debt, and not able to maintain the position occupied by his ancestors. He had twice stood as candidate to represent the borough in Parlia-

[1] This MS. has been published by the Chetham Society, and forms the twelfth volume of their *Transactions*, 1847.

CHAP II. 1667. Moore Rental.

ment, and also for the civic chair, and had been rejected. These various causes soured his mind and embittered his opinions on men and things in Liverpool. At the same time he had shrewdness enough to appreciate the nascent progress of the town, and to estimate aright many of the advantages which it offered. His remarks on many of the localities display considerable foresight, and anticipate by many years improvements afterwards carried out.

His general opinion of the inhabitants of Liverpool is expressed as follows: "I know this by experience that they are the most perfidious knaves to their landlords in all England; therefore I charge you, in the name of God, never to trust them. They have deceived me twice, even to the ruin of my name and family, had not God in mercy saved me; though there was none at the same time could profess more kindness to me than they did, and acknowledge in their very own memories what great patrons my father and grandfather was to the town, and them in particular. Yet when it came to that as with but their vote would have done me five thousand pounds' worth of good, and them no harm, they most inhumanly denied me, and that two several times in a year's distance betwixt them. . . . . Therefore since God hath by me forewarned you, have a care you never trust them, for there is no such thing as truth or honesty in such mercenary fellows, but what tends to their own ends. And this observe as a general rule, civility will do no good, but make them contemn you for a kind fool. And likewise observe for a certain rule, although you be never so great enemies, yet, if you be but a justice, and have power in the country, or once mayor of the town, they will be like spaniels at your feet. In a word, trust them not, lest you may find by sad experience what I have here forewarned you of, which God in mercy divert; for such a nest of rogues were never educated in one town of that bigness."

The fact was, the burgesses had thrown off any allegiance they had formerly borne to the Moore family, and refused to admit Edward Moore to any official position in the town, partly, perhaps, owing to his reduced circumstances, but more from his overbearing and grasping temper. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.* His feeling towards the town generally is not improved when he comes to speak about individuals. Thomas Ayndoe, mayor in 1665, lived at the Old Hall, which he had taken on lease from Edward Moore. Of this gentleman he says: "In the name of

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God, be careful of him, for he is one of the lurkingest knaves in all the town, he is worse than my pen can express, and when he makes the greatest show of friendship, then he hath the most deceit at heart." The reason for this foul-mouthed slander comes out thus: "This was one of the leading men underhand, against me, in all votes, either for parliament man or mayor." This, in the eyes of Moore, was the unpardonable sin. In the same way we have sketches of the leading Liverpool men of the day, Alderman Formby, mayor in 1656, Alderman Peter Lurting, mayor in 1663, Henry Corless, mayor in 1661, "Baily" Johnson, afterwards mayor (1670), and others, all of whom are sketched in the darkest colours. They are all knaves, rogues, and base fellows, their crying sin being their opposition to his election, "when," as he says, "a vote might have been worth five thousand pounds to him, and cost nothing." He adds, in the canting, hypocritical strain in which many of his remarks are couched, "The Lord Jesus forgive them!" Apart from these prejudices, the views of Moore on the prospects of the town, and the best means of improving its advantages, manifest a considerable amount of shrewdness and foresight. Building land was in demand, an entirely new phase of things for Liverpool. Several new streets had been laid out on the Moore estate, and partly built on, as Fenwick Street and Moore Street. Others shortly after followed, and took their names from the tenants quoted by Moore, such as Lancelot's Hey, Hackin's Hey, James Street, Hockenhall Alley, etc.

Moore Rental.

In confirmation of what I have above stated respecting settlers from London, Moore records the sale of a piece of land on the north side of Dale Street, between the present Cheapside and Moorfields, to "one Mr. Smith, a great sugar baker at London, a man, as report says, worth £40,000; and according to agreement, he is to build all the front twenty-seven yards, a stately house of good hewn stone four stories high, and then to go through the same building with a large entry; and there on the back side, to erect a house for boiling and drying sugar, otherwise called a sugar baker's house. The pile of building must be forty feet square and four stories high, all of hewn stone. If this be once done," he continues, "it will bring a trade of at least £40,000 a year from the Barbadoes, which formerly this town never knew."

Settlers from London.

This statement is very significant. It marks the commencement of the West India trade, which subsequently became of

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such great importance to Liverpool, and which superinduced another traffic not so creditable, to which I shall hereafter refer.

The sugar-refining manufacture thus commenced has continued on the same locality to the present time, the streets leading out of Dale Street having always been the principal seat of this branch of industry.

Edward Moore's plans.

Several streets and thoroughfares were planned by Moore, afterwards to be carried out by other instrumentality. He also suggested the extension and deepening of the pool inwards, so as to render it navigable along the line of Paradise Street, with means for providing a supply of water for flushing, so as to keep the channel clear.

Moore's relation to these improvements was something like that of Moses to the promised land; he pointed out and directed the road which was to be followed up and carried out by future and alien hands, after he and his successors had ceased to have part or lot in the matter, the lands passing away from his family before many years had elapsed.

Corn mills.

One source of revenue on which he set great value was the possession of two corn-mills, one driven by horse power, the other a windmill. His tenants were all bound to grind at these mills, and he impresses on his son the importance of rigidly insisting on these covenants being fulfilled. Of the horse-mill he says: "God bless it. A thing of great concernment to your estate. I have got, when the trading to Lochaber, an island (*sic*) in Scotland, was used, twenty measures of toll a week, for two years together, when malt sold for five shillings a Winchester measure. This remember, you have a great eye how custom rises or falls at this mill. Know every week what tenants you have that grinds away and without lawful cause; make them pay for it according to the covenants in their leases. Know who they are that grind at your mill that are none of your tenants, that if there fall an occasion in your power you may show them a kindness. Know who they are, of any fashion, that doth not grind at your mill, and if they be not obliged by some especial obligation to them that owns the mill where they grind, as by kindred or the like, I charge you never trust them, neither do them a courtesy if it lie in your power, for by that small thing you may see they will never do you any; and when all the town knows you take notice of your customers, and accordingly remember them in your civilities or disrespects, either by fair means or foul, fear or hope of reward, you will

oblige most to you. . . . Observe the rule above said exactly, and if ever you be mayor and a justice of the peace in the country, you may very easily make this mill worth twenty measures a week, which at a crown a measure is five pounds a week, many of your tenants brewing thirty measures a week. Mark well the covenant in your leases for grinding at your mills; let your penalty be as high as you can agree with them." There is much more in the same strain. Machiavelli himself could hardly have improved on the hard, astute, cunning selfishness here displayed.

Lord Molyneux was the owner of a water-mill in Toxteth Park, which was supplied by the drainage from the Moss Lake running southward. In another part of the document Moore advises his son how he might divert this drainage so as to deprive the water-mills of their water, and thus carry the custom to his own mills, when he might build another windmill, which would then be worth £27 to £40 per annum.

In Moore's case, as in many others, selfish craft outwitted itself. His paltry schemes of aggrandisement were detected and thwarted, and his unpopularity prevented him attaining those official positions which he so candidly expresses his intention of prostituting for his own purposes.

In August 1667 we have an entry in the town's records, which, though comparatively trifling in itself, is very significative, taken in connection with other circumstances, of the new impulse given to trade.

The coal from the collieries at Whiston, near Prescot, and the rude pottery made at the latter place, at this time constituted an important part of the exports from Liverpool. The increase of traffic began to tell on the badly-paved streets of the town, whereupon an order was issued as follows: "Forasmuch as the streets within the town are much decayed and abused by the frequent driving of carts laden with coals and mugs to the waterside through the same, to be transported and carried away, when carts so laden may, with equal conveniency, pass over the pool bridge to the waterside, or the Water Street end; for redress of which abuse it is ordered that no person, after notice hereof given in open market, do presume to pass through any of the streets of this town with his cart so laden as aforesaid unto the waterside upon the penalty of 12d. for every time such person shall so offend." Coal for shipment.

We have now arrived at the period of a transaction which

CHAP. II. 1667.

has exercised a very important influence on the fortunes of the municipality and the property of the corporation, in all subsequent times.

Dispute with Lord Molyneux.

It will be remembered that the lordship of Liverpool, carrying with it all the manorial rights, petty customs, and fee-farm rents, was disposed of by Charles I. to the merchants of London, and by them reconveyed to Lord Molyneux. After the defeat of the Royalist party, the Parliament confiscated these dues and rents, and granted them to the corporation. At A.D. 1668. the Restoration Lord Molyneux re-entered into possession of the property.

The domination of a feudal seigneur, and his consequent control over the trade of the town, was felt to be an intolerable grievance, especially when the commerce of the port was giving signs of bursting the narrow limits within which it had been hitherto confined; and an opportunity was anxiously looked for to shake off the fetters. An occasion was not long in presenting itself. Lord Molyneux was the owner of a field extending from the castle ditch to the edge of the pool stream —forming the site of Lord Street and the buildings on each side. Through this field extended a footpath, leading to the water's edge. Whether the stream had been previously crossed by a wooden foot-bridge, or only by a ferry, is uncertain, but the probability is that no bridge existed. As we see from the Moore Rental, there seems to have been at this time a great *penchant* for laying out land for building, and Caryl Lord Molyneux designed a street (the present Lord Street, at first Lord Molyneux Street) to extend down the middle of his field. To this no objection could be offered; but in carrying out his design he prepared to throw a bridge over the stream to carry the street across to the common lands beyond, called the Great Heath. These lands were claimed as the property of the corporation, partly by ancient grants from the Earls and Dukes of Lancaster, and the sovereigns who succeeded to the duchy, and partly by prescriptive occupation. The erection of the bridge without leave was looked upon as an infringement of the town's rights, and was eagerly seized upon as an opportunity for trying conclusions with Lord Molyneux, as to his position with regard to Liverpool.

His predecessor, Sir Richard Molyneux, had in 1617 laid claim to the commons, but had been steadily resisted by the corporation. I shall hereafter endeavour to show that the

lands beyond the pool formed no part of the original lordship or borough of Liverpool, but were included in the hamlet of Esmedune and the royal park of Toxteth down to the fourteenth century.

1668. Dispute with Lord Molyneux.

The conveyance from Charles I. to the merchants of London, which is the basis of all subsequent deeds, and by which alone Lord Molyneux held, describes the property as "all that our town and lordship of Litherpooll, parcel of the honour of Lancaster in the aforesaid county of Lancaster, with every of their rights, members, and appurtenances. And all that boat and passage over the water of Mersey there, and the butchers' shambles in the said town of Litherpooll. And also all stallage and tolls of the markets and fairs, with the perquisites of courts in Litherpooll aforesaid. And all customs, anchorage, and key-toll of the water of Mersey aforesaid, and within the aforesaid town or lordship," etc. The additional verbiage of "all and singular farms, messuages, cottages, mills, houses, edifices," etc., are mere words of course without any specific application. The deed also expressly reserves to the crown "all forests and chaces, and parks then used and filled with deer, and all knights' fees," etc.

Conveyance from Charles I.

On March 23, 1668, the following resolution was passed by the council: "It is ordered, that information is given to the assembly that the Lord Molyneux is intending to erect a new bridge over some part of the pool or current from the pool bridge[1] upon the waste or common of Liverpool, without the leave and consent of the mayor and burgesses of the town, they and their predecessors having been time out of memory reputed and taken to have the rightful seignory of the same common or waste under his sacred majesty, and accordingly have enjoyed the royalties and privileges inviolate to this time; and that forasmuch as the making of a bridge upon the town waste, without license of, or composition with, the mayor of this town for the time being, may seem to invade or break in upon the ancient privileges of this town, it is hereby ordered unanimously, that if any such attempt shall hereafter be made to lay any foundation, or to build any part of the same bridge, the same shall be forthwith obstructed, pulled down, and laid waste."

Resolution of Council.

We have no record of any conference or attempt at conciliа-

[1] The pool bridge crossed the stream much lower down, about the end of the present King Street.

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1668. Dispute with Lord Molyneux.

tion arising out of this order. The next occurrence was an attempt on Lord Molyneux's behalf to commence the erection of the bridge by laying down 70 yards of planking, probably for the centering of the stone arch.

As soon as the workmen touched ground on the side of the heath they were repelled *vi et armis* by the corporation forces stationed there for the purpose. Recourse was next had to the law, and on October 9, 1668, a writ was served upon the corporation.

A.D. 1669. At the spring assizes in 1669, the cause was tried at Lancaster, when Lord Molyneux, failing to set up even a *prima facie* title, was nonsuited, and had to pay the costs of the action.

The plaintiff in his pleas alleged that his ancestor, Sir Richard Molyneux, in 1632 purchased the premises from Ditchfield, Highlord, and others, the devisees of the crown; and further, that from the time of the 29th Henry 4th to the sale by the crown, his ancestors had been tenants under the crown, and had possessed the said premises. These pleas were not allowed.

After a little time had elapsed wiser counsels prevailed. It was so plainly the interest of both parties to come to an understanding, that we may feel some surprise at the difference ever existing. There were doubtless deeper motives than those which appeared on the surface.

A generation of Liverpool merchants was now rising up, possessed of far more foresight, enterprise, and sagacity than any who had preceded them, at least since the time of Ralph Sekerston and Robert Corbett. They saw their advantage, and eagerly pressed it home. My Lord Molyneux at the same time no doubt anticipated considerable difficulty in contending for his seignorial dues and customs with an united body of traders, whose shrewdness in the eyes of Edward Moore seemed very closely allied to knavery and cunning. The burgesses would give no consent to the building of the bridge, except on the condition of Lord Molyneux selling them the lordship with its appendages. It does not appear that they drove a very hard bargain with him. He had paid £450 to the London merchants for the manor, and was also subject to the fee-farm rent to the Crown of £14 : 6 : 8 per annum.

A.D. 1671. On April 26, 1671, the town council adopted the following resolution: "Whereas suits and controversies have been stirred up, and some of them yet depending, on behalf of the corporation of Liverpool of the one part, and the Lord Molyneux on

the other; and whereas of late it hath been signified to the mayor by some from Lord Molyneux, that he is willing to have a treaty with the said mayor, in order to the accommodation of the said differences; it is hereby concluded by this assembly that the said mayor take him to his assistance, Mr. Percival (the town clerk) to treat with the Lord Molyneux, and if occasion be, to proceed in order to an accommodation and conclusion of the said differences, or any of them; and whatever may be done to be binding." On May 1, in the same year, further instructions were given to authorise the mayor, Thomas Johnson (Moore's "Baly Johnson") and Mr. Corless (mayor in 1661) on behalf of the corporation, to treat with Mr. Fazakerley and Mr. J. Tatlock on behalf of Lord Molyneux; what they might agree upon to be binding, "as if done by the privity and consent of the whole assembly; the aforesaid treaty to be at this town to-morrow at the house of Mrs. Margery Formby."

Treaty with Lord Molyneux.

This important meeting accordingly took place, and resulted in an agreement, which was reported to the council on May 15, and ratified by a deed in the following year, 1672.

The terms were as follows: Lord Molyneux was allowed to proceed with his bridge on payment of a nominal acknowledgment of twopence per annum. The corporation to take the lordship, with all dues and customs, on a lease for 1000 years at the annual rent of £30. The burgage rents and the ferry were not comprised in the lease. Both parties seem to have been satisfied with their bargain. Lord Molyneux obtained the privilege of the bridge, on which he appears to have set his heart, and got a fair return for his outlay in the purchase of the manor. To the burgesses it was emancipation from a galling yoke and inquisitorial interference. To neither party was vouchsafed a vision of the splendid future. The tolls and dues, which were leased in 1672 for £30 per annum, were sold in 1856, under parliamentary sanction, for the sum of £1,500,000, and produced in 1873-4 a revenue of £250,163.

Settlement of dispute.

A.D. 1672.

Mr. Baines[1] says: "On the occasion of this treaty, Mrs. Margery Formby presented the corporation with a silver tobacco-box, which has since been turned into a gigantic snuff-box, and is still handed round after dinner at the mayor's banquets at the town-hall."

Silver tobacco-box.

I am sorry to spoil so interesting a legend, but truth compels me to remark that, inasmuch as the treaty took place

[1] *History of the Town and Commerce of Liverpool*, p. 334.

CHAP. II. 1671.

in 1671, whilst the tobacco-box bears the following inscription, evidently original,

THE CORPORATION OF LEVERPOOLE'S BOX, 1690,

without any reference to Mrs. Margery, it is difficult to discover any connection between the two, more especially as we find an order in the council proceedings in the year 1690 for the manufacture of the box in question, as under: "The two bellied silver cups, weight 11 oz. 15 dr. each, ordered to be made a tobacco-box and stopper for the town's use, and so to go from mayor to mayor."

Purchase of reversion.

In order to complete the history of the town dues, I may here anticipate by a century in stating that in 1777 the rent and reversion of the lease were purchased for £2250, which included the burgage rents and the ferry, previously reserved, thus placing the corporation in the position of the original grantees of the Crown.

A.D. 1670. Election.

In 1670, the Honourable William Stanley, one of the members of the borough, died. There was considerable competition as to the election of his successor. A few years before, Alderman Blackmore had to be paid his expenses to induce him to serve, but the progress of the town and the political influences at work, rendered the seat for Liverpool now an object worth contending for.

A collection of original documents relating to this election have been preserved amongst the muniments at Hale Hall, the ancient seat of the Irelands. They are such interesting illustrations of the manners and ideas of the period, that I make no apology for extracting such portions as may present to us a faithful picture of a Liverpool election two hundred years ago.[1]

Humphrey Wharton.

A letter from Mr. Humphrey Wharton, dated Yellow Ball, Lincoln's Inn Fields, October 25, 1670, addressed to Sir Gilbert Ireland, Hale, announces that

Yo^r brother Burgesse for Leverpoole dyed Tuesday last, my earnest request is y^t you will please to lay out yo^r interest for my eldest son—Robert Wharton—in Leverpoole. It is not proper for mee to recommend him, onely acquaint you y^t he has a general acquaintance of the nobility under 40 years of age. A great respect at the Middle Temple where has been neare 4 yeares especially amongst the Benchers, and

[1] The documents are printed at length in the Appendix to the sixth volume of the *Historical Society's Transactions*, in illustration of an interesting paper by the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., etc.

whilst continued at Merton Coll. amongst the fellowes where he was 4 yeares, ffor since his age of 14 yeares alwaise frequented Men's comp^y and noe way debauched, nor suearer.

I have endeauoured to give him an inspeccon in trade, and therein has improued very much these 12 mo : last past. You have heard I presume y^t I am a great trader, very few in England trade more, and I thinke in the best comodity of England in w^ch I consume of my own grouth at least 10,000^li p^r. an^m for keepe 1000 men at worke every day.[1] What you lay out in treats to y^r towne shall bee thankfully repayed, either by returne, or if you charge a bill on mee . . . &c.

Sir Gilbert, however, did not respond to these advances, and young Wharton was subsequently withdrawn.

Sir George Lane.

The candidate favoured by the baronet was Sir George Lane of Tulske, county Roscommon, who had filled the office of Secretary of State for Ireland, and had distinguished himself as a loyalist in the civil wars. His pretensions were endorsed by the Earl of Ancram, Colonel Alexander Rigby, Sir Geoffery Shakerley, and Sir Roger Bradshaigh, member for the county, who all send letters in his favour.

Ross.

A court candidate presented himself in the person of Mr. Ross, a Scotchman, secretary to the Duke of Monmouth, who brought credentials from the Countess of Southampton, and was introduced by the following letter from the Duke, addressed to Sir Gilbert Ireland, dated October 27 :

Duke of Monmouth's letter.

S^r—I writt by the last Post to my Lord of Derby on behalfe of my Secretary (Mr. Ross) whom I have recommended to bee Burgess for Leverpoole, lately vacant by the death of my cornet Mr. William Stanley, and vnderstanding y^t you are the other Burgess for the Corporacon, I doe very heartily recommend this Person to You, as one of whom I have had long Experience for his Integrity and Capacity to serve y^em in Court or Parlement, in any their Concernes, to w^ch if they shall thinke fit to gratify Mee in this particular, I shall contribute my endeavours, and on all occasions shall readily shew my acknowledgement in being

Sir, y^r affectionate friend,

MONMOUTH.

Sir William Bucknell.

A formidable candidate now came forward, recommended by Colonel John Birch, mentioned in the preceding pages, and at this time M.P. for Weobley, who addressed a letter to the mayor (Mr. Thomas Johnson), from which the following is an extract, October 29, 1670 :

[1] He does not state what the commodity is ; probably he was a large woollen manufacturer.

CHAP. II. 1670. Letter from Colonel Birch.

As yo^r^ business now stands, I have thought of a person, who if any in England is able to serve you, and beare upp against opposers; It is S^r^ William Bucknell. Hee is farmer of all the Customs and Excise in Ireland, with his partners, but hee is cheife; likewise farmer of much in England; one who hath a grate Interest w^th^ y^e^ Kinge, by lending him above one hundred Thousand pounds (and soe able to serve you) and give Check-mate to yo^r^ Opposers. And yett a true Lover of Sober Interests w^ch^ all Sober men wish well to; And if you be disappoynted herein, blame mee, and though hee cannot come and drinke as some others, yett hee shall present you for the poore with what I shall judge convenient, who you know am yo^r^ owne. . . .

I pray returne mee yo^r^ thoughts of this matter as soone as may bee; w^th^ y^e^ king; as to yo^r^ trade w^th^ Ireland, and as to your present contention about your priviledges, and for y^r^ future Advancement in all yo^r^ Desires, as well as his affection to a true Sober Interest, none in my opinnion can bee pitcht on like him, wherein if hee faile Blame yo^r^ serv^t^ JOHN BIRCH.

Earl of Derby.

The corporation had not yet shaken off their allegiance to the House of Stanley, for on October 30, we find, from a letter of Lord Derby to Sir Gilbert Ireland, that the mayor and some of his brethren had been at Knowsley, and were, as he says, very earnest with him to put off anything of a result till they next came thither. He mentioned to the deputation the Duke of Monmouth's interest in the success of Mr. Ross, but he says they demurred and promised to communicate again. At this time Colonel Birch's letter had not been received. Sir Gilbert Ireland replies, November 1:

It seemes y^e^ Liverpoldons attended you not to engage, but to keepe you uningaged, I did thinke they would have desired yo^r^ Lrd^pps^ proposall of some fitt person for theire Burgesse and from thence have derived to y^mselves^ a prosperous eleccon, but I perceive demur is their petition and w^t^ may be y^r^ intention I cannot guesse.

On November 3 a letter comes from Mr. Henry Ashurst, citizen of London, to the mayor, offering himself as a candidate. He was of the family of the Lancashire Ashursts, nephew of Colonel Ashurst, governor of Liverpool under the Parliament in 1646.

Dobson.

A Mr. Dobson of Gray's Inn, a Lancashire man, settled in London, now comes upon the scene, and thus expresses his indignation:

I cannot but apprehend it to bee an app^rt^ abuse to y^e^ Town and

County y^t^ they should bee soe und^r^ valued as to bee thought unworthy, as y^t^ none of them should bee so able to serve Burges of Liverpoole as a Brewer in London, who hath not been thought fitt to bee a Burges where he lives. I'll spare neither paynes nor purse to prevent this affront intended uppon our countrey ; I have writt to Raphael Hollinshead to goe speedily to Liverpoole and to take upp all Inns and lodgeings for out burges and to provide provisions and sufficiency of good liquor for all.

Sir William Temple.

Another candidate was the celebrated Sir William Temple, who had just returned from his embassy to Holland, and had come to a rupture with the court. His application does not appear to have been received with much favour. One cause for this may be that he was supported by Lord Molyneux, whose litigation with the corporation was then at its height.

The contest evidently lay between Sir George Lane and Sir William Bucknell. The mayor and council had been captivated by the golden promises of the London brewer, but Lord Derby's influence was of great importance.

On November 6 a deputation went over to Knowsley by appointment, when the matter was arranged, for in a letter from the town clerk to Sir Gilbert Ireland, the writer says, "The Lord of Darby useth much meanes for S^r^ Bucknell and hee himself leaves noe stone unturned."

On November 16 Lord Derby formally declares for "Sir Bucknell" in the following letter addressed to the corporation :

Letter from Lord Derby.

Gentlemen—Because I ought to seeke y^e^ accomplishment of his Ma. Seruise & y^n^ the good of your Towne I must make you this adress Concerninge y^e^ Ensuinge Ellection for a Burgesse to Succeed my dear deceased Bro : theise two last post I am assured y^e^ Duke of Monmouth hath comanded Mr. Rosse to desist, and in his roome by his Ma : ord^r^ is now for S^r^ William Bucknell. I must bee for y^e^ same person both by duty and inclination, in y^e^ place of Mr. Rosse, & therefore I doe recomend S^r^ William Bucknell to you as a person very fitt to serue the Corporation both by his interest at Court and his owne Abilitys ; & soe I bid you very heartily farewell.

Y^r^ lou. freind

DERBY.

Knowsley, 16 No. 1670.

The chancellor of the duchy also sent a recommendation in favour of the London knight, on the plea that his predecessors in office had interfered in like manner, "which, if not true,"

CHAP. II.

1670. Sir John Langham.

says Mr. Dobson, "he may hear of from some members of the House of Commons." On November 24, it is announced in a letter from London, "that Sir John Langham, Bart., a friend of Bucknell's, had set out for Liverpool with a coach and six, resolved to spend £500 before his return," whereupon the writer slily adds, "You may doe well to hint it to the mayor that it may availe much for the benefit of the towne to put off their eleccon for some tyme, for I doubt not but he and the presbyter (Mr. Ashurst) will both of them prove very generous in their treates before the elecon."

Sir John was not long in opening the campaign, for on December 3, Sir Gilbert Ireland writes: "I sent Tom Cooke this morning early to Leverpoole, to understand how affaires stood theare as to y^e^ eleccon; who brings me word that S^r^ Buck is att Liverpoole with his retinue very sumptuously and generously feasting and treating all y^e^ inhabitants y^t^ please to accept it, having for y^t^ purpose taken up several Inns for their wellcom."

Sir Gilbert Ireland, finding his friend Sir George Lane rather thrown into the shade by the brilliant promises of the London brewer and his friends, became rather annoyed, and addressed the following letter to the mayor and aldermen:

Sir Gilbert Ireland's letter.

Gentlemen—I pray goe imediately with this Letter to the Mayor. Itt is from his Royal Highness the Duke of Yorke, Lord High Admirall of England, who well knoweing you to bee a Maritime Towne has Comanded this Letter to bee delivered you, tho itt come late to my hands this afternoon I durst not but cause itt to be conveyed to you with all hast possable; you may see my former earnestnes for y^e^ Gent. moved to you has not beene without an vnderstanding of his Highnesses pleasure therein. And tho my success for that has been very Bad, yet I pray Gent. make me not wholely an insignificant fellow w^th^ you in being made a perpetuall Slave to y^e^ Insolent Impositions of y^e^ Burches, and alsoe very Rediculous to all persons els y^t^ know mee who (not w^th^ standing my former expences of so much tyme and moneys) shall now behold me stand affronted by y^e^ towne, both in my first and second propositions to you on this election. I thinke it may not bee amiss that Mr. Mayor acquant my Lord of Darby w^th^ the inclosed att their meeting w^ch^ by my present weaknes I doubt I shall not be able to attend.

In the mean tyme I rest

Your loving friend and servant,

G. I.

CHAP. II. 1670.

Whatever chances Sir George Lane might have previously had, they were destroyed by this letter. The election did not turn on party politics, for both Lane and Bucknell were supported by Cavalier and Roundhead indiscriminately, Rigby and Bradshaigh supporting the former, and Lord Derby and Colonel Birch the latter, but the open attempt at interference by the Duke of York, an avowed Papist, viewed with suspicion and dislike by the nation, put the *coup de grâce* to Lane's pretensions. Election.

We naturally inquire, in the midst of all this bustle and contention, where was Edward Moore, the great landholder in the borough, who, as he himself tells us in his "Rental," was burning to represent the town in Parliament as his father had done before him? The fact was, his greed and litigiousness had made him very unpopular. The mean opinion he has privately recorded of "Baly" Johnson and the other dignitaries of the town could not but exhibit itself in his intercourse with them, and would have rendered any attempt on his part to offer himself perfectly futile. Edward Moore.

The only reference to Moore is in a letter from Percivall, the town clerk, to Sir Gilbert Ireland, dated November 4, 1670, where he says, "They report here that the Lord of Colchester came to Sir Bucknell to Bank Hall, or met him there and ofred him the lord Mulinex Helpe or Interest." From this it would seem that "Sir Bucknell" was Moore's guest at Bank Hall.

The following was the notice issued previous to the election: Notice of election.

Notice to all freemen to appeare at y^e^ Election at Li^r^poole.

This is to give notice y^t^ y^e^ Elecon of a Burgess for parliament is to bee at Liverpoole uppon ffryday next by 9 of y^e^ Clock forenoone, being y^e^ ninth day of this month (December 1670) wheare all y^e^ freemen of y^e^ sayd Corporacon are desired to give their presence for y^e^ good of their countrie if they please.

Such as come are desired to repayre unto y^e^ House of Margery forneby's, widow, Watergate Street, or att Elizabeth Ryding's Widdow in Dale Street.

Amongst the names on the list of freemen we find that of Colonel Thomas Birch, the veteran Parliamentary governor of Liverpool in 1644, and its representative in three parliaments.

It will be seen that the term "burgess" has been dropped in the notice as applicable to the electors. This is very significant, indicating that the old franchise by burgage tenure had Freemen or burgesses.

CHAP. II. 1670.

now become obsolete, the place of the burgesses being supplied by the "freemen," who were admitted to the privilege of freedom from tolls, by birth, servitude, or payment of a fine.

Bucknell returned.

Whether a poll took place we are not informed, but Sir William Bucknell was elected, and continued to serve until his decease in 1676.

Lighthouse.

Amongst the papers thus brought to light there is a correspondence respecting the erection of lighthouses on the neighbouring coast, which exhibits, in a strong point of view, the prejudices of the period. The subject was then new to the public, and notwithstanding the dangerous nature of the coasts, scarcely any attempts had been made in England to provide for the safety of the mariner by the erection of beacons.

One of the earliest erections was a lighthouse at Plymouth in 1665. At this period almost every proposal was made the subject of royal grants and monopolies. In the year 1670 a Mr. Reading had applied for a patent to empower him to erect lighthouses on the western coast—where, it is not stated—and of course to levy a toll for their maintenance. The mayor and corporation of Liverpool took the alarm and addressed a letter to their representative, Sir Gilbert Ireland, which runs as follows:

Letter from corporation.

Sir—Yesterday we receiued a copie of the Ord^r^ inclosed, wherein you will understand what day the Committee for Grievances will meet to Consider of Reading's Pattent for Light Houses. Therefore wee make it our humble request to you, That on behalf of this Burrough you will be pleased to appeare on Parliam^t^ at or before that tyme. In regard those light houses will be no benefit to our Mariners, but a hurt, & Expose them to more danger, if trust to them and also to be a very great & unnecessary burden & charge to them. Wee ar S^r^,

Yo^r^ most humble servants,

THO. JOHNSON (Mayor),
THOS. AYNDOE (Mayor in 1655),
HENRY CORLESS (Mayor in 1661),
JOHN STURZAKER,
THOMAS BICKERSTETH (Mayor in 1669).

Liverpoole, 5th Jan. 1670.

The order of Parliament enclosed was the following:—

Lune 19° die Decembris, 1670.

Order of Parliament.

Ordered—That the Committee of Grievances doe sitt vpon Wednesday moneth next, and doe examine the matter of Grievance formerly

Complayned of against Mr. Reading and others by peticon referred to the said Committee. And that Mr. Readinge doe cause notice to be sent to the Parties concerned. WILLIAM GOLDSBOROUGH, Cler. Dom. Com.

This is A true Coppy of y^e^ oridginall order.

As we hear no more of this scheme it would appear that the opposition to it proved effectual.

It was not until nearly a century after that the merchants of Liverpool were sufficiently alive to their own interests to promote an Act (7 Geo. III. c. 86, 1762), under which the lighthouses on the Cheshire coast were erected.

River Weaver.

We find in the same correspondence, under date of December 28, 1670, the first intimation of a proposition to improve the navigation of the River Weaver, which is very remarkable as indicating the rapid growth of the trade of Liverpool, so recent in its revival. It is contained in a letter from Mr. R. Legh of Lyme, member for Cheshire, to Sir Gilbert Ireland :—

S^r^—By the last post from London I rec^d^ seuerall letters that doe acquaint me, The Earle Riuers, the L^d^ Gerard, & S^r^ Foulk Lucy (being all vndertakers) have brought in a Bill into the house to make Weenor nauigable ; I doe not heare itt goes further than soe, & Tom Cholmondeley is a straunger to itt, & I doe assure you soe am I too, being resolu'd to keepe my engagement to you ; & therefore I thought good to give you this account, not knowing how farr that act does reach, nor whether it concerne you.

Whether the Act was passed I do not know, but nothing was done for the next fifty years, when the scheme was carried out under the 7 Geo. I. c. 10, 1721, supplemented by subsequent legislation.

A.D. 1669. George Fox.

Under the date of 1669, the founder of Quakerism, George Fox, has an entry in his journal : "We landed at Liverpool, and went to the mayor's house, it being an inn." This has been assumed to be a mistake, as during the year mentioned the civic chair was filled in the early part by William, Lord Strange, and in the latter part by Mr. Thomas Bicksteth, or Bickersteth, a great merchant. The old Quaker, however, was perfectly correct. There stood in Dale Street, at the corner of Hale Street, a venerable-looking hostelry, rejoicing in the sign of the Hammer and Anvil, which went by the name of "The Mayor's House" from a tradition that in the primitive times a quondam chief magistrate had resided there, who paved the street in front with his own hands.

CHAP. II.

1673. Blome's account.

In 1673, Richard Blome published his "Magna Britannia," containing a description of the principal towns in the kingdom. After the usual account of the port and harbour, and of the municipality, he mentions the thriving and prosperous condition of the town: "It is of late, at the great charge and industry of the family of the Mores of Bank Hall, beautified with many goodly buildings, all of hewn stone, much to the honour and advancement of the said town; which family of the Mores, for some hundred of years, have had a large propriety therein, and at present continue chief Lords and owners of the greatest share thereof, having divers streets that bear their name, intirely of their inheritance; which hath so enlarged the town, that its church is not enough to hold its inhabitants, which are many; amongst which are divers eminent merchants and tradesmen, whose trade and traffick, especially into the West Indies, makes it famous; its scituation affording in greater plenty, and at reasonable rates, than most parts of England, such exported commodities proper for the West Indies; as likewise a quicker return for such imported commodities, by reason of the sugar bakers, and great manufacturers of cottens[1] in the adjacent parts, and the rather for that it is found to be the convenientest passage to Ireland, and divers considerable counties in England with which they have intercourse of traffick. Here is now erecting at the publick charge of the mayor, aldermen, etc., a famous town house, placed on pillars and arches of hewen stone, and underneath is the publick exchange for the merchants. It hath a very considerable market on Saturdays for all sorts of provisions, and divers commodities which are bought by the merchants, and thence transported as aforesaid." After describing the castle, the tower, and the old hall, he mentions that "on the east side is an ancient mansion-house, called Cross-hall, where divers worthy gentlemen of that name have lived for many generations. Here is also a great piece of antiquity formerly a chapel, now a free school; at the west end whereof, next the river, stood the statue of St. Nicholas, long since defaced and gone, to whom the mariners offered when they went to sea. And to add to the honour of the town there hath been several mayors of the greatest families of this country; amongst which were divers of the earls of Derby, whereof one was high

[1] The Lancashire "cottens" here mentioned were in reality coarse woollen fabrics, the word being probably a corruption of "coatings;" the real cotton manufacture scarcely existed until the close of the century.

constable of England, one lieutenant deputy of Ireland, four privy counsellors, and several of them knights of the garter; and since his majesties restauration for three years together a nobleman hath been mayor, viz. Charles, Earl of Derby, Lord Viscount Colchester,[1] and William Lord Strange of Knocking."

A.D. 1675. In 1675 died Sir Gilbert Ireland, who had represented the borough from the time of Richard Cromwell's Parliament in 1658. Election. The constituency elected in his stead William Bankes, Esq., of Winstanley Hall, for no reason, as it would seem, except that he had married the aunt of the late member. He was ninety-one years of age at the time of his election, and he died the following year. Sir William Bucknell died about the same time. Two writs were issued on February 16, 1676, but no record is extant of the names of the members returned.

The following entry is made in the town's records under the date of October 18, 1675:—"Resolved upon the question that rending, cutting or pulling out of leaves out of the ancient books of records of this town, where any interest of some particular persons who have been formerly mayors are touched and concerned, gives the corporation a caution to give the power of it to any of their heirs or assigns to do the same, and that it will not be safe for this corporation to lodge the ancient books of records in the hands of those who claim under such person."

Charter of Charles II. The next transaction which comes under our notice is enveloped in considerable mystery, all the documents connected with it having disappeared. Those of my readers who may take an interest in municipal history will have remarked that in none of the charters hitherto granted is any provision made for the election of a town council. The style of the corporation was the "mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses," the governing power residing in the whole body, who could of course make any subordinate arrangements they pleased as to the administration. I have already mentioned the attempt in the reign of Elizabeth (1584) to appoint a council of twenty-four members, with power to fill up vacancies in their own body, so as to secure a perpetual succession. This was altogether illegal, and could not bind those burgesses who had been no parties to the scheme.

In the charter of Charles I. (1626), as has been stated above, a common council is never once alluded to; all the powers, jurisdictions, and franchises are to be exercised by the

[1] Thomas, Lord Colchester, married Lady Charlotte, daughter of Charles, eighth Earl of Derby.

CHAP. II. 1626. Charter of Charles II.

"mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the town aforesaid, for the time being, or the greater part of them (of whom the said mayor, and one of the bailiffs of the town aforesaid for the time being, we will to be two), who upon public notice thereof given for that purpose, assembled, may and shall have power and authority of granting, constituting, ordaining, and making, from time to time, any reasonable laws, statutes, constitutions, decrees, and ordinances, in writing, which to them, or the greater part of them, shall seem to be good, wholesome, useful, honest, and necessary, according to their sound judgment, for the good rule and government of the town aforesaid."

From the subsequent proceedings there can be no doubt that in spite of the liberal provisions of this charter, the exclusive system which had surreptitiously crept in still continued to be practised. When the Test and Corporation Act was passed, after the Restoration, and when six of the aldermen were excluded from office in 1662 for refusing to subscribe to the declaration under the Act, very naturally discontent, especially amongst the Puritan and Nonconformist party, widely prevailed. The party in power, therefore, secretly concocted a plan to obtain a charter from the Crown, changing the constitution of the corporation, and legalising the usurped power of the self-elected council. This was in 1677, when—in the words of the charter of 1695, in which the facts are recited—"a few of the burgesses of the town aforesaid, by a combination among themselves, without the assent of the greater part of the burgesses of the same town, and without a surrender of the before-recited charter, or any judgment of *quo warranto*, or otherwise, given against the same, have procured a new charter, under the seal of the County Palatine of Lancaster, to be granted to the town aforesaid, bearing date the eighth day of July, in the 29th year of the reign of the late King Charles II., in which sundry material changes were designed to be made in the government of the said town; which said alterations have caused many differences and doubts concerning the liberties, franchises, and customs of the town aforesaid; and also concerning the election and appointment of the mayor, and divers other officers of the same town." A new charter was thus obtained, which superseded the liberal constitution of the previous one, appointing a council of sixty members, who were to elect their successors, to choose the mayor and bailiffs, and to have the sole power of admitting to the freedom of the town. The new council even

went further than this, and assumed the power of taxing the inhabitants at their will and pleasure. CHAP. II. 1677.

When the success of this manœuvre became known, great discontent was expressed in the town. The burgesses at large protested against it, and many of the councillors appointed under the charter refused to serve. During the corrupt and disastrous closing years of Charles II. redress was very difficult to obtain, and the new charter maintained its authority until superseded by the proceedings in the next reign.

In 1678 died Edward Moore, of Bank Hall, who had been made a baronet three years previously. He was succeeded by his son Sir Cleave Moore, to whom I shall have occasion again to refer. A.D. 1678.

On January 24, 1679, the Long Parliament of Charles II., which had existed for sixteen years, was dissolved by proclamation, and a new Parliament immediately convened. Party spirit ran high. The court candidates were Sir Ralph Assheton, Bart., of Whalley, of a collateral branch of the great house of the Asshetons of Middleton, and Richard Atherton, a Liverpool merchant, afterwards knighted, who filled the civic chair in 1684, and who gave his name to Atherton Street. A.D. 1679. Election.

The Whig candidates were Richard Wentworth, a connection of the Earl of Derby—William Wentworth, second Earl of Strafford, having married Lord Derby's aunt Henriette Marie—and John Dubois, who stood for sheriff of London in 1682. The court candidates were returned, but a petition was presented against the return, when the election was declared null and void, and the opposition candidates pronounced duly elected. There was at this time much contention for supremacy in the town's affairs, which had an important bearing on the state of political parties. Lord Derby, to maintain his influence, had to court favour with the usurping council, who obtained their power under the charter then just obtained. He filled the civic chair in the year 1677-8. Petition. Members unseated.

To the Parliament summoned in 1681 Wentworth and Dubois were again elected.

In 1682 the Duke of Monmouth visited Liverpool, when he attended the races held on Wallasey Leasowe, then belonging to the Earl of Derby, and it is said was himself a rider and won one of the stakes. There can be no doubt that his visit had a political object. The Lancashire Roman Catholics were considered dangerous, and the support of the Presbyterians, A.D. 1682. Duke of Monmouth.

CHAP. II. 1683.

who mustered strong in this part of the country, was eagerly sought on behalf of the Protestant succession.

In 1683, after the discovery of the Rye-house Plot, and the execution of Sidney and Russell, the corporation of Liverpool, or rather the party which had illegally usurped its functions, presented a loyal address to the king, of which the following is a copy:

Address to Charles II.

The humble addresse of the mayor, aldermen, and common council of your majestie's ancient borrough and port of Leverpoole, in the countie of Lancaster.

Dread soveraigne—Altho' wee live in one of those remote counties w^ch^ enioye not the happinesse of your ma^ties^ presence, yet are wee not deprived of the benigne influence of that gentle and auspicious government, w^ch^ at once shows your ma^tie^ to bee the best of princes, and of men. And therefore wee cannot but expresse our early and just abhorrence of those trayterous and unparallelled designes w^ch^ were intended at the same time to destroy your ma^ties^ royal person and your dearest brother, and carried on by a factious and restless sort of men, who cannot endure prerogative, because it secures the propertie of your ma^ties^ good subjects, over whom they would tyrannize as formerly they have done. A sort of men whose infectious anti-monarchical principles are enough to empoyson all that are not sufficiently prepared w^th^ the infallible antidote of loyaltie. But wee hope that this repeated instance of God's signal providence will convince us all that your ma^tie^ is reserved to bee the scourge of rebells & traytors, & that the councells of your faithful Hushais shall ever prevail ag^st^ the united force of all aspiringe Absoloms & the desperate advise of all pestilent Achitophells. And now, great sir, what more remaines but that wee render our unfeigned thanckes to Almightie God for his gratious and wonderfull deliverance of your ma^ties^ sacred person & your royall brother from the sonnes of violence. And to assure your ma^tie^ that wee shall be alwaies readie to defend your ma^ties^ royal person, your heires, and successors in the right line, the present established government, both in church & state, with the utmost of our fortunes and the extremitie of our lives against all plotts, associations, and conspiracies whatsoever.

EDWARD TARLETON, Mayor.

12th July 1683.

Perhaps the simulated form of adulation was never carried further than in this precious document, eulogising the "gentle and auspicious government" which had just immolated two of England's noblest sons, and characterising the profligate

debauchee, Charles II., as "the best of princes and of men." The allusions to Hushai, Absalom, and Ahithophel indicate the popularity of Dryden's famous poem, which had been published about eighteen months previously.

James II. succeeded to the throne on February 6, 1685; not long afterwards a demand was made by Judge Jeffreys for the surrender of the charter granted by Charles II. Richard Atherton, who had been elected member on the court interest in 1678, but unseated on petition, had been knighted by the king and was now mayor of Liverpool, having his residence at Bewsey Hall, Warrington, where Jeffreys was his guest. A deputation of sixteen members of the council, including the town-clerk, attended at Bewsey and delivered up the charter to the judge. On April 8 they were ordered again to attend, when they were hospitably entertained by the mayor, and graciously received by Jeffreys, who presented them with a new charter. This was distasteful to the council on two grounds. In the first place it restored all the privileges of the burgesses, which had been handed over to the self-elected council by the charter of Charles II.; and, in the second place, it made all the corporate officers removable at the will and pleasure of the Crown. The council took no steps to put the new charter in force, and so far as they were concerned it remained a dead letter.

Charter surrendered to Judge Jeffreys.

In the election of burgesses to the new Parliament convoked in 1685, the influence of the Crown so far prevailed as to secure the return of two members of the court party, Sir Richard Atherton, Knt., recently mayor, and Thomas Legh, one of the Leghs of Haydock and Lyme, whose name is attached to the fulsome address to Charles II. in 1683.

Election.

The conduct of James II. in relaxing the penal laws against the Roman Catholics under pretence of sanctioning religious liberty to all parties, was not looked upon with favour by the Nonconformists, who were disposed to say with the Trojan Laocoon

Quicquid est, timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.

The newly-assumed liberality of the king was distrusted and his indulgences rejected. An instance of this dispensing power occurred in Liverpool in 1686. Mr. Richard Lathom was a surgeon in the town, and a boarding-school was kept by his wife. At this time it was a penal offence for a school to be openly kept by a Roman Catholic. Mrs. Lathom appears to

Penal laws relaxed by James II.

CHAP. II. 1685.

have been persecuted by the local authorities, whereupon the following writ was issued under the sign-manual, addressed—

To all the archbishops and bishops, and to their chancellors and commissaries, and to all other persons exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to the *custos rotulorum*, judges of assize and gaol delivery, justices of the peace for our county of Lancaster, and to all other officers and persons whom it may concern.

Letter from James II.

James Rex, 15th March. Whereas we are informed that Richard Lathom, of Leverpoole, in our countie of Lancaster, chirurgeon, and Judith his wife, who keepes alsoe a boarding schoole for the education of youth, at Leverpoole aforesaid, have latelie been molested or prosecuted, or threatened to be soe, for, or in respect of, their exercising the said severall vocations without license, or by reason of their religion, being Roman Catholics. Now wee being assured of the loialtie of the said Rd. Lathom & Judith his wife, & of their abilitie to exercise their respective vocations, we doe hereby authorize and license them to use and exercise the same respectively; and our pleasure is, and we doe hereby direct you, and everie of you respectively, to supersead and forbeare all prosecution against the said Rd. Lathom and Judith his wife, for or by reason of his exercising the art of chirurgerie, or of his or their keepinge a boarding schoole, or socouring, teaching, or educatinge youth; and if anie sentence is or hath bene given or pronounced, or penalty recovered against, or fine sett upon him or her, for, or touching the premises, our pleasure is, that the same be discharged, and that you permit and suffer y^e s^d Richard Lathom and Judith his wife, and each of them quietlie to exercise the said severall vocations without anie molestation or disturbance whatsoever, and for soe doing this, or the entire or inrolment thereof, w^th or before you respectivelie shall bee unto you and everie of you respectivelie a sufficient warrant. Given att our Court at Whitehall y^e fifteenth day of March in the second yeare of our raigne. By his ma^ties command,

SUNDERLAND.

The Liverpool corporation, notwithstanding their adulatory worship of royalty, proved somewhat refractory, for we find that the power reserved by the Crown under the recent charter of removing the corporate officers at pleasure, was now put into operation, as appears by the following minute:

A.D. 1687. Ejection of deputy mayor and others.

"At a court held at Windsor the 14th Aug. 1687, the king's most excellent majesty present in council. Whereas by the charter granted to the town of Leverpoole, a power is reserved to his majesty by his order in council to remove from their employments any officers in the town; and his majesty

CHAP. II.
1687.
Ejection of deputy mayor and others.

having received information of the misbehaviour of Oliver Lyme, deputy mayor of Liverpool, and Sylvester Richmond, justice of the peace there, hath thought fit this day in council to declare his pleasure, and doth accordingly, that the said Oliver Lyme and Sylvester Richmond be, and they are hereby removed and displaced from their respective offices in the town of Liverpool."

Oliver Lyme was mayor in 1685, but nothing further is known of his history. Sylvester Richmond[1] was a member of an old Liverpool family. He filled the civic chair in 1672. In 1692 he contributed £100 to the erection of almshouses in Shaws-Brow. His descendants have been connected with the town down to a recent period.

The particular offence which had excited the anger of the king is not stated. It was probably resistance to the dispensing power assumed by the Crown.

In the same year, soon after the removal from office of the obnoxious members of the council, the king, in view of summoning another Parliament, issued the following order to the Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Lancaster:

Order from James II.

A true coppie of his maiestie's order 2nd Novembr 1687.

That the lord-lievetenant of the countie of Lancaster call before him all deputie-lievetenants and justices of the peace within his lievetenancie, either ioyntlie or separatelie as hee shall thinke fitt, and aske them one by one the following questions.

1. If in case hee shall bee chosen knight of the shire or burgesse of a towne, when the king shall thinke fitt to call a parliament, whether hee will bee for taking off the penall lawes and the tests?

2. Whether hee will assist and contribute to the election of such members as shalbee for taking off the penall lawes and test?

3. Whether hee will support the king's declaration for libertie of conscience, by living friendlie with those of all perswasions, as subjects of the same prince and good Christians ought to do?

That as hee shall aske theise questions of all deputie-lievetenants and justices of the peace, soe hee shall perticulerlie write downe whatsoevre ones answer is, whether he consents, refuseth, or is doubtfull.

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[1] On a brass plate screwed to a seat in the chancel of St. Nicholas's Church is the following inscription:

"Here lieth the body of Silvester Richmond, Professor of Physick and Chirurgery, who after near thirty years indefatigable care and successful practice in this town and country, at last exhausted that life which had been so carefully employed in the preservation of many others.

"He died the 16th and was interred the 19th April 1692."

CHAP. II. 1687.

That hee likewise doe bring the king as good account as hee can of all the several corporations within his lievetenancie, what persons (of such as are willing to complie with these measures) have credit enough of their owne to bee chosen parliament men, or may bee chosen if assisted by their friends.

And lastlie, what Catholicks, and what dissent^rs are fitt to be added either to the list of deputie-lievetenants, or to the commission of the peace throughout the said lievetenancie.

These inquiries were forwarded to Liverpool as well as the other towns in the county. The reply of the mayor, Mr. Peter Bold, was guarded and judicious. It ran as follows :

Mayor's reply.

Mr. Maior's answer to the second question (w^ch was only insisted on) is, that what is required by his maiestie is, as hee humblie conceaves, a verie weightie and new thing, and that hee is not provided to give any other answer but this : When it shall please the king to call a parliament, hee purposes to vote for such persons as hee hopes will serve the iust interests bothe of his maiestie and the nation.

A.D. 1688.

Next came the momentous events of 1688, the declaration of indulgence, the trial of the bishops, the preparations of the Prince of Orange to invade England. The common council, not knowing what event might next turn up, like prudent citizens passed the following resolution :

Resolution of council.

"Att a comon councell assembled 12th September it was ordered *nemine contradicente*, with all submission and humble deference to the power of removing anie officer in this corporation, that James Prescott, esquire, maior for the time being, shall safely keepe the wand, mace, and sword, with all other the reall and personall estate of this corporation, and all that concerns the same for the defence of its rights, wherewith hee is now entrusted, but iff a successor bee legally elected and sworne according to our present charter, and the auncient customs of this corporation."

The subsequent flight of King James and the consequent interregnum justified the prudential conduct of the corporation on this occasion.

Circular of William III.

On December 29, 1688, the circular of the Prince of Orange was received by the corporation, requiring them to send two members to the convention parliament summoned to meet at Westminster on January 22, 1689, "The election to be made by such persons onely as according to the auncient laws and customes of right, ought to choose members for parliament."

The revulsion of feeling in the nation was too great to afford any chance of re-election to such hangers-on of the court as Sir Richard Atherton and Thomas Legh.

The return to the writ is as follows:

Election.

"Wee, the maior, baylives and burgesses of y^e^ burrough of Leverpoole, in the countie palatine of Lancaster, doe humblie certifie, that pursuant to his highnesses letter hereunto annexed, wee have this day unanimouslie elected the hon^ble^ Richard lord Colchester and Thomas Norris of Speake, esquire, representatives for the said burrough of Leverpoole, to sitt in the convention w^ch^ God willing, will begin at Westminster the two and twentieth day of Januarie instant for the good ends and purposes in the said letter contained. In testimonie whereof wee have hereunto affixed the common seale of the said burrough, and subscribed our hands, the eleventh day of Januarie in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred eighty eight[1] (1689)."

Although the election was uncontested, it was not altogether a "dry" one. The system of treating, for which Liverpool afterwards became so notorious, had already been initiated, although on a comparatively modest scale. I have before me the bill of expenses incurred by the candidates. It consists partly of donations: £10 to the poor and £27 to various persons principally described as widows. The bill for refreshment is as follows:

Election expenses.

Dineing Room	29 ordinaries	£1	9	0
Rose and Crown	24 ,,	1	4	0
In the Rose	13 ,,	0	7	6
In the Mermaide	18 ,,	0	9	0
In the Unicorne	10 ,,	0	5	0
In the Parlour	12 ,,	0	6	0
In the Kitchin	23 ,,	0	13	6
In the Boxes	17 ,,	0	7	6
In the Crowne	15 ,,	0	7	6
In the Bell	11 ,,	0	5	6
In Claret, Sack, Ale, Tobacco, etc.		24	2	10
		£29	17	4
Since the Bill was made		0	15	10
The Ostler's Bill		0	15	10
To the Servants		0	7	0
		£31	16	0

[1] It must be remembered that the civil year began on March 25.

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1689. Lord Colchester.

Richard, Lord Colchester, was the surviving brother of Thomas, Lord Colchester, who had filled the civic chair in 1667, and married a daughter of Lord Derby. Richard succeeded his father as Earl Rivers in 1694. He was a friend of Swift, a soldier by profession, and a handsome rake. He died in 1712.

Thomas Norris.

Thomas Norris, the other member, was the representative of the ancient family of Norris or Norreys of Speke, where they settled at a very early period. There is no mention of their name in connection with Liverpool during the mediæval times; but at the latter end of the seventeenth and commencement of the eighteenth century, several members of the family were very intimately connected with the town's affairs, and will come under our notice in the subsequent pages. Both the new members were Whigs, and Norris seems to have taken an active part in the parliamentary proceedings.

Election.

The convention parliament was dissolved in January 1690, and in March a new parliament was elected, to which Lord Colchester and Thomas Norris were again returned.

William III. visits Liverpool.

In 1690 Liverpool or its neighbourhood had the honour of a royal visit. King William III., attended by Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, and others of the nobility, left London on June 4th, arrived at Chester on Sunday the 10th. His army destined for Ireland was already encamped on Wallasey Leasowe, whence it was embarked at Hoylake, the king accompanying. He landed at Carrickfergus on the 14th, and fought the battle of the Boyne four weeks afterwards.

Levy.

In June 1690 a levy was made of men and horses towards recruiting the army, when the following proclamation was issued in Liverpool. It should be explained that William, ninth Earl of Derby, was dismissed from his office as Lord-Lieutenant of Lancashire in 1687, and Lord Molyneux appointed in his place. After the revolution the latter was in his turn dismissed both from the lord-lieutenancy and from the constableship of the castle of Liverpool, which had been hereditary in the Molyneux family for many generations. To these offices, passing over Lord Derby, the Government appointed Lord Gerard of Brandon, son to the Earl of Macclesfield, whom he soon after succeeded.

Proclamation.

Liverpolle in Count: Lancar} By Command of the Right Honourable Charles, Lord Brandon Gerard, Lord Lieut[t] of the said County, We require you to warn all the persons mentioned in a List

hereunto annexed to appear with a very strong Man and Horse of about Thirteen pounds price, with a good case of Pistolls (all other things being provided for them) att Ormskirk the fifteenth day of this instant June, at eleaven of the clocke the same day. And every of them is to bring fower days' pay, and a proportion of amm̄con as the Law directs; and you the said Constable are to be then and there present to make appear what you have done in Execucion hereof. No person concerned herein is to faile att his p̄ill.

Given under our Hands and seales the third day of June Anno Regni Gulielmi et Mariæ Angl. Rex et Regina [*sic*] tertio, annoque Domini 1691.

To the Constable.

Restoration of mayor.

One of the first acts of the council after the accession of William III. was to restore Oliver Lyme and Silvester Richmond to the offices from which they had been illegally dismissed in 1687.

Effects of revolution.

The revolution of 1688 gave an entire new turn to the principles on which the country was henceforth to be governed. The Stuarts had treated the kingly office as a nobleman would his estate, to be managed for his own exclusive benefit; the axiom was now established that the Crown was a trust to be administered in the interest of the nation at large. The Habeas Corpus Act and the Bill of Rights, the two pillars on which the fabric of our Constitution mainly reposes, securing personal liberty on the one hand, and the rights of property on the other, were the work of this period.

Although the first of these measures was passed in the reign of Charles II., yet it was under the same influences and principally the act of the same men by whom the revolution was subsequently carried out, and was the result of the conclusions at which all reasonable men had arrived after the turbulent contentions between Charles I. and the Parliament. The same principles of responsibility were now sought to be applied to the municipalities, and a struggle ensued in Liverpool as elsewhere to carry them into practice. The charter of Charles II. which constituted the council an exclusive self-elected body had been a source of discontent from the time of its surreptitious grant; that of James II. had been cast aside by common consent.

Political parties.

The Jacobites, who were as far as possible supported by Lord Molyneux, naturally upheld the existing charter, whilst the majority of the burgesses were anxious to obtain a new one on broader and more liberal principles. The first trial of

CHAP. II. 1694. Election.

strength took place in December 1694, upon the election of a member to succeed Lord Colchester, who had been called to the upper house on the death of his father, Earl Rivers. There were two candidates, Jasper Maudit on the liberal interest, and Thomas Bretherton on the Jacobite side.

Maudit had been an attorney in the town, and appears to have taken an active part in local affairs and to have acquired considerable influence. He was elected mayor in 1693, and had just completed his term of office. Bretherton was possessed of landed property at Winwick near Newton. He was a determined Jacobite and an active man in county affairs. He was returned for the borough of Newton in 1695, and is mentioned as taking an interest in the scheme for improving the navigation of the Upper Mersey and Irwell in 1697. The election came off on December 4, when Maudit polled 400 votes and Bretherton 15.

Misconduct of the mayor.

The mayor, Alexander Norris,[1] perversely, as the record says, "to gratifie some persone," returned Bretherton as duly elected, who thereupon took his seat. Maudit petitioned against the return, and was heard at the bar of the House on January 11, 1695, when it was unanimously resolved that Bretherton's election was null and void, and Maudit was voted in his place. The record goes on to say that "the said Alexand[r] Norres, for his false returne was by the parliam[t] comitted to the custodie of y[e] Sargeant-at-arms, where hee lay about seaven weeks, and afterwards, upon y[e] intercession of manie friends to the house, hee was brought to y[e] barr of the said house, where upon his knees hee confessing his ffact, and begging pardon, hee was severely reprimanded and ordered to be discharg[d] paying his ffees; and a new charter being obtained, the said Alexand[r] Norris was turned out of his majoralty, and Thomas Johnson Sen[r] was nominated by his majestie to be maj[r] in his room, and upon the third day of Octob[r] 1695 hee was sworne by Thomas Norres and Jasper Maudit, Esq[r], and took the office upon him accordingly."

The mayor punished.

New charter.

The object now was to obtain a new charter from the Crown, placing the rights of the burgesses upon a broad and intelligible basis. Mr. Thomas Norris was an intelligent and active representative, and worked hard to get the matter com-

[1] Who Alexander Norris was is not known. He could not have belonged to the Speke family, as he is not mentioned either in the pedigree or correspondence.

pleted. On April 2, 1695, he writes to his brother Richard Norris:

I yesterday received several letters giving me the same account with yours, by which I find your Mayor and Aldermen mistake their case. The point is not whether a charter is valid in Lancashire that passes the Duchy Seal (for no doubt it is), but your question is, whether the surrender of the charter granted by King Charles the First be enrolled? I am told it is not. . . . . Now the advice I sent my friends was, that no succeeding charter can be valid if the surrender of your former charter be not enrolled.

I am sure the law is true, and believe the fact to be as them I employed to search the Rolls told me, and if so, you have an undoubted right to your old charter, and it may be your interest to stick to that.

On April 20, he writes:

You may believe that the opposers of your new Charter for the Confirmation of your ould one, have but small hopes, since their whole endeavor is to delay the Attorney Generall from making his report as ordered by the Privy Council, but Wednesday next is to be the day if no new tricks be played.

Opposition.

The opposition to the new charter came principally from the exclusive party in the council, whose tactics were vexatious delays, but a formidable opponent appeared in the cheesemongers of London, who took the same ground as the manufaturers of Manchester a century and a half later in petitioning to be relieved from the exactions of the Liverpool corporation, who claimed 4d. and 12d. per ton port or town dues for cheese put on board any ship anchoring in the river Mersey. This appears to have been considered irrelevant to the question of the charter, but it led to a protracted litigation not terminated until 1700, when the corporation had to repay £68 : 5 : 6 for dues illegally exacted, with £176 : 10s. taxed costs. The corporation of that day carried things with rather a high hand. When the Lord Mayor of London wrote to inquire by what authority the dues were levied, the reply was, "They had a thousand pounds to spend, and the cheesemongers might take their course at law." When process was attempted to be served on them they resisted by threatening the process-server, and when an attorney of the town at length succeeded in serving the writ, they suspended him from practice in their court, and compelled him to sue for a mandamus to be restored.

Suit with cheesemongers.

CHAP. II. 1699.

In 1699 the council found it necessary to take up at interest the sum of £600 towards defraying the expenses of this suit. The sum was raised with difficulty on four bonds, signed by the mayor (Cuthbert Sharples), Alderman Thomas Sweeting, (Sir) Thomas Johnson, William Preeson, James Benn, and the two bailiffs.

Notwithstanding their boasting, this suit greatly hampered the corporation. In 1700 they sent a deputation to attend the trial. On the 20th September it was ordered that £300 additional should be taken up on bond, and on the 10th October £100 more, for which they had to give mortgages on their estate. The thousand pounds of which they boasted having been expended, they were fain to make overtures to the cheesemongers for an accommodation.

On June 8, 1695, Thomas Norris, being at Speke, his brother William writes from London: "I suppose you have been joyfully received att Leverpoole before this, I meane by those you have been assistant to in acquiring their libertys." On July 29 he gives the last information: "Mr. Braddon has been with me this morning, who came directly from the secretary's office, and told me he expected to have the charter returned from Flanders[1] on Tuesday next, and then doubts not to dispatch it in a fortnight, if the petition of the cheesemongers proves no obstruction. I fancy he is in some want of supplies in carrying the business on, for he borrowed £30 of me last week."

- Charter.

The charter was not finally sealed until September 26, after the king's return from the Continent. The charter so obtained continued to be the governing one down to the passing of the Municipal Reform Act in 1835. It commences by reciting in full the charter of Charles I. It then refers to the charter of Charles II. which it sets aside altogether. The charter of James II. is entirely ignored. It then proceeds to enact the future arrangements. A common council is for the first time legally recognised. It was to consist of "forty and one honest and discreet men of the burgesses of the town aforesaid," of whom the mayor and two bailiffs were to form a part. The first mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, recorder, town-clerk, and councillors are named in the charter. The mayor, Thomas Johnson the elder, nominated on September 26, only held office until St. Luke's Day, October 18, when he was succeeded

[1] King William was then besieging Namur.

by his son, Thomas Johnson junior (afterwards Sir Thomas Johnson).

The regulation for the election of councillors is extremely vague in its phraseology. The members were to remain in office during good behaviour, unless removed for a reasonable cause by the mayor, bailiffs, and common council. When any vacancy occurred by death or any other cause, it was to be filled up "by such persons in such manner, time, and form, as in that particular was used and accustomed before the making of a certain charter . . . bearing date the 18th day of July in the twenty-ninth year of the reign of the late King Charles the Second." This was a settlement which really settled nothing. The complaint had been that the council had usurped the rights of the burgesses by filling up the vacancies in their own body, and they expected that under the new charter the election would revert to the general body. The council, on the other hand, contended that inasmuch as the practice of self-election had been the rule with few exceptions from the reign of Elizabeth, this was really the mode of election sanctioned by the charter. Practically things remained *in statu quo* notwithstanding all the contention between the new and old-charter-men. We shall notice hereafter the futile efforts which were made from time to time to alter the system.

Election.

In November 1695, a new Parliament was elected. Thomas Norris now retired from public life, having married Magdalen, second daughter of Sir Willoughby Aston, and settled down at his fine old Hall at Speke. In 1696 he was appointed High Sheriff of Lancashire. He died at Harrogate in June 1700; his body was brought to Childwall for interment. The account of the funeral is a curious illustration of the manners of the time. There was a large concourse of people, all of whom appear to have been treated with liquor, for there is a charge for 899 quarts of ale at 4½d. and £11 : 4 : 1 for wine, tobacco, and broken glasses at Childwall. A burial tax was paid, and a fine for burying in linen.[1]

The two members returned were William Norris, the

[1] At the decease of Thomas Norris, his brother Edward succeeded to the Speke estates. He left an only son, Thomas, who dying without issue, his cousin Mary, the daughter of Thomas, succeeded. She married Sidney Beauclerk, sixth son of the first Duke of St. Albans. His son by Mary Norris was Topham Beauclerk, the friend of Dr. Johnson, by whom Speke was sold to the Watts.

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brother of the late member, and Jasper Maudit, who was re-elected.

1695. Norris's letters.

There is extant a collection of letters written to and from various members of the Norris family, between 1695 and 1707, which lift up the veil which time and obscurity have drawn, and exhibit in a curious light the inner life of Liverpool at this period.[1] The Norrises at this time exercised considerable influence in Liverpool. Richard, the youngest brother, was a merchant; he filled the civic chair in 1700, represented the borough from 1708 to 1710, and was appointed high sheriff of the county in 1718. The increasing trade of the port required better facilities for intercourse with the interior. For a long time yet to come there was no carriage-road passable nearer Liverpool than Warrington. The Mersey was made navigable to Warrington in 1694, principally through the exertions of Mr.

A.D. 1697. Patten of Bank Hall, Warrington. On January 8, 1697, Thomas Patten writes to Richard Norris on the subject of suppressing fish-wears in the Mersey, and of making the river navigable to Manchester.[2] The account of the fish in the Mersey will astonish those who only know the river in its present state. He says: "I am informed that there is a design

Fish-wears. to bring a bill into the House of Commons against fish-wears that hinder navigation in navigable rivers and that take and destroy fish. You very well know the mischief that is done in the river Mersey, or at least have frequently heard what vast numbers of Salmon Trout are taken so as to supply all the country and market towns 20 miles round, and when the country is cloyed, or when they cannot get sale for them, they give them to their swine. Your brother did formerly take three or four salmon a week at a fishing in or near Speake, but of late hath taken very few or none; and he imputes this loss to the destruction of the fry; . . . and besides the fry, they take all summer long great numbers of kippers, which have come up the river to spawn, and come down in the summer poor, lean, and

River Mersey. unwholesome; but our *Mercy* fishermen have *mercy* on none they can catch, for all are fish that come to their net, and none safe they can lay their hands on. Then, again, these wears are as mischievous another way, by hindering the passage of ships, boats, and barges, as for example, in the same river Mercy

[1] This correspondence has been printed, and forms the ninth volume of the publications of the Chetham Society.

[2] This was afterwards carried out under the Act 7 Geo. I. c. 15 (1721).

what a vast advantage would it be to Liverpool if the river were made navigable to Manchester and Stockport. Since I made it navigable to Warrington (only three years before) there have been sent to Liverpool and from Liverpool 2000 tons of goods a year, and I believe as much by land, which if the river were cleared of wears would all go by water; for the river to Manchester is very capable of being made navigable at a very small charge."

A.D. 1698. In July 1698, in consequence of a protest against a standing army, King William dissolved Parliament, and summoned a new one to meet in August. Jasper Maudit retired from the representation, and his place was supplied by William Clayton, Election. one of the most eminent of the enterprising race of merchants who were now pushing forward the rising fortunes of the town with a vigour and energy which have produced such splendid results. William Clayton came of a good family settled at William Clayton. Fulwood, near Preston. One of the race was Bishop of Clogher in the reign of Elizabeth. His father, Robert Clayton, settled in Liverpool about the time of the Restoration, and lies buried in St. Nicholas's Church. His mother was the sister of Sir Richard Atherton of Bewsey. His brother Thomas was mayor in 1680, and William himself filled the civic chair in 1689. He was now elected along with William Norris on the Whig interest. William Norris equally with his brother Thomas William Norris goes to India. was much esteemed in Parliament. At this time there were two rival companies trading to the East Indies, each struggling to elbow their rival out of the field. The new company, incorporated under the title of "The English Company trading to the East Indies," proposed sending an embassy to the court of Aurungzebe, "the Great Mogul," and immediately after the election pitched upon William Norris to act as their ambassador. Before setting out, in order to give greater dignity to the office, he was created a baronet of the United Kingdom. In a letter to his brother Thomas, dated November 29, 1698, he says: "It was in my thoughts forthwith to have named you and your heirs (for the succession), but I durst not venture on my own head without further consultation with brother Henry and brother Doctor, by whom I was resolved to be concluded in this point to act most suitable to your inclinations; and upon weighinge circumstances they were of opinion you might thinke it a load on your posterity, as what would occasion greater retinue and expence, and soe forbore to have you incerted."

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1699. Norris's embassy.

His brother Edward, who had been a physician in practice at Chester, accompanied him as secretary to the embassy. They landed at Masulipatam on September 19, 1699, whence they made their way through much opposition both from their own countrymen and the native powers to the Court at Delhi, or rather Parnella, where the great potentate was encamped. The procession which the embassy formed in approaching the imperial throne is described as very splendid. The sword of state which was borne before the ambassador is now deposited amongst the regalia at the Liverpool Townhall. The embassy was not successful as to its immediate object, but no blame was attached to Sir William, who appears to have comported himself with all due dignity and prudence. Commercially his expedition was a success. The Doctor brought home in his ship, the "China Merchant," freight belonging to the company of the value of 60,000 rupees, and of property belonging to Sir William, 87,000 rupees. In April 1702 they set sail for England, and rendezvoused at the Mauritius, whence Sir William sailed for home on September 7, and died at sea October 10.

Death of Caryl, Lord Molyneux.

On February 2, 1699, died the stout old Cavalier, Caryl, Lord Molyneux, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. His lot had been cast in one of the stormiest periods of English history, and his career had partaken of the same character. In his youth he had been a trusted follower of the fiery Rupert, and led the forlorn hope at the siege of Liverpool in 1644, where he burst in at the end of Oldhall Street, "putting all to the sword for many hours, giving no quarter," and according to Moore's account killing seven or eight men with his own hand. Outlawed by the Parliament, and part of his property confiscated, he was always ready to fight for the Crown or the Catholic cause, of which he was a devoted adherent. In his middle life he applied himself to the improvement of his property, in which, as we have seen, he came into collision with the corporation, and came off but second best. In his old age, at the time of the Revolution, he took up arms on behalf of King James.

He kept up his establishment at Croxteth with considerable splendour, and interchanged hospitalities with the corporation, though he was disqualified from accepting municipal honours on account of his religion. The improvements he planned in the formation of Lord Street in 1668 he survived to see fully carried out, and enjoyed the first-fruits of the harvest of wealth

which his descendants have subsequently gathered from the progress of the town.

About this time a survey and valuation of the Moore property in Liverpool was made by Mr. Alexander Chorley, with a view to a sale, which was afterwards effected to Lord Derby and others about 1709–12.

Most of the buildings were of wood framing, though many of the more recent were of stone, and a few of brick. The roofs were chiefly thatched. There is generally a garden mentioned; in all cases a yard or "back side," in many both. A number have outhouses and barns attached, particularly in Oldhall and Tithebarn Streets. The land held by the tenants is principally described as so many "lands" in the large undivided town field at the north end of the town.

The rent of the better class of houses was from £4 to £5 a year. One house in Moor Street was let at £18, and one in Phœnix (Fenwick) Street, called Phœnix Hall, at £10. To the rents were usually added so many days of shearing, or 8d. a day in lieu thereof, also, boons, consisting mostly of fowls, but in one case 3 lbs. of soap at 8d.; in another 6 gallons of wine, or 20s.

Liverpool made a parish.

The last public act of the century connected with Liverpool was the constitution of the borough into a separate parish. The parish of Walton was one of the extensive ecclesiastical divisions formed when the county was thinly peopled, comprising ten townships, extending over an area of about forty square miles. Liverpool had now attained a degree of importance which, in the opinion of the inhabitants, entitled it to separate from the mother church, and set up an establishment of its own, particularly as the erection of a new church was in contemplation. A Bill was brought into Parliament with this view, and the following document was put forward as exhibiting the reasons for the proposed change.

Act for forming parish.

"The case of the Corporation of Liverpool in relation to a Bill for making a new church there.

"It was formerly a small fishing town, but many people coming from London in time of the sickness and after the fire, several ingenious men settled in Liverpool, which caused them to trade to the plantations and other places, which occasioned sundry other tradesmen to come and settle there, which hath so enlarged their trade, that from scarce paying the salary of the officers of the customs, it is now the third port of the trade

CHAP. II. 1699.

of England, and pays upwards of £50,000 per annum to the King; and by reason of such increase many new streets are built, and still in building; and many gentlemen's sons of the counties of Lancaster, Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Cheshire, and North Wales, are put apprentices in the town. And there being but one chapel, which doth not contain one-half of our inhabitants in the summer, upon pretence of going to the parish church, which is two long miles, and there being a village in the way, they drink in the said village, by which and otherwise many youth and sundry families are ruined; therefore it is hoped the bill may pass, being to promote the service of God.

"The objections are, that we, being the sixth part of the parish of Walton, the patronage of Walton doth belong to the Lord Mullineux, who is a Roman Catholic; and it is hard that his estate should be taken away. That the town have agreed with the present rector and vicar for their purchase-money, therefore there is no present wrong; and Liverpool takes away but a sixth part, and at the same time taketh off the charge of more souls than is in the whole parish besides. Moreover, they are willing to give for the perpetual advowson that which shall be a reasonable price, considering there is a life upon it, having already offered his solicitor to refer it to two indifferent men, they to choose one and the town another. And it is hoped that so good a work as this bill desires shall not be obstructed by so inconsiderable a claim."

St. Peter's Church.

The Bill, 10 & 11 William III. chap. 36, was carried without difficulty. A new church being projected—the present St. Peter's—it was determined to have two rectors, one for each church, the living to be divided into medieties. Towards the stipends the corporation and the parish mutually agreed to contribute.[1] The first rectors appointed were the Rev. Robert Stythe and the Rev. W. Atherton.

The act provided that the rector of Walton, Rd. Richmond, should receive an annuity during his life of £55 in compensation for tithes and oblations from Liverpool; and Thomas Marsden, the vicar, should receive £6 per annum of like compensation. Also that the rectors of Liverpool should in future pay one-sixth part of all first fruits, tenths, procurations, and other ecclesiastical charges, levied on the parish of Walton.

[1] By an Act 1 and 2 Vict. c. 98, this arrangement has been altered, and, since the decease of Archdeacon Brooks in 1856, there has been only one rector of the parish.

CHAP. II. 1699. Summary.

We have now arrived at the close of the seventeenth century, a very important period in the history of Liverpool. The commencement of the century found it a quiet mediæval appendage to the duchy and the neighbouring lords, not only not progressive but decayed and decaying. The close of the century left it a thriving, busy, prosperous town, with all the elements of business and commerce in full activity and progress. Half a millennium had passed since the charter of John, but it might be truly said that the last forty years had made more progress than the preceding four centuries and a half. The document just quoted gives a very fair statement of the causes of this rapid prosperity. The population had now reached 5145; the number of vessels in the year 102, with a tonnage of 8619. Building was in full activity, new streets being erected between Castle Street and the river. Lord Molyneux's new street (now Lord Street) had been completed, and ground had been broken and buildings commenced on the great heath across the pool stream. Everything about the place showed signs of vigorous life and energy. Liverpool was fortunate at this time in the men who took the lead in the town's affairs. The Norrises, Johnsons, Claytons, Clevelands, Houghtons of that day were no common men; they were shrewd, intelligent, far-seeing, sagacious individuals, who identified their own interest with that of the town, and could see "coming events cast their shadows before." The future history of the town is that of constant ever-accelerating progress.

CHAP. III. 1701.

CHAPTER III.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

In December 1700, Parliament was dissolved, and the new Parliament was called together on February 6, 1701. Sir William Norris was absent in India, but was brought forward by his friends. The state of parties at this time was rather singular. The Whigs for a time were alienated from their idol, William III., which strengthened the hands of the Tory or Jacobite party. William Clayton, the former member, and Thomas (afterwards Sir Thomas) Johnson, both aldermen, stood upon the Whig interest. Sir Cleave Moore, the grandson of the regicide John Moore, was brought forward by the Tories, aided by any family influence he could muster, but was defeated—Clayton and Johnson being returned.

Election.

Thomas Johnson.

Thomas Johnson was a very remarkable man, and played a very important part in the town's affairs in the early part of the eighteenth century. His father, Thomas Johnson, senior, came from Bedford Leigh (Lancashire). In 1655 he took up his freedom by servitude to Thomas Hodgson (mayor in 1649). In 1659 he was elected councillor—bailiff in 1663. In this capacity he is noticed by Edward Moore in his "Rental," where he is described as "one of the hardest men in the town." In 1670 he was elected mayor. In 1677, when the surreptitious charter of Charles II. was obtained, he retired from the council, and so remained in exclusion until the charter of William III. was granted in 1695, in which he was nominated mayor *pro tem.*, in place of Alexander Norris, cashiered. From all this it may be gathered that he was a staunch Whig. He seems to have been very successful in business, having left at his decease in 1700 a considerable property behind him. The younger Johnson was elected on the council during his father's exclusion, and served the office of bailiff in 1689; he was the first mayor appointed under the new charter after his father's temporary

occupancy of the chair. Being of an active and enterprising turn of mind, he was very closely mixed up with the town's affairs at a period of transition, when the latent capabilities of the port were just being discovered, and to no one was the town more indebted for their early development.

Petition.

Sir Cleave Moore petitioned against the return of Clayton and Johnson, but was unsuccessful. Indeed, before the petition could come to a hearing Parliament was again dissolved in November 1701.

Disaffection.

Political affairs in Lancashire were at this time in a very disturbed state, great apprehensions being entertained of a rising of the Roman Catholics on behalf of the exiled monarch—who died in September 1701—or of his son. On April 8, 1701, the mayor of Liverpool receives a letter from the High Sheriff, "that the justices in each hundred should meet at the respective places agreed on, to receive an account of the Papists and other disaffected persons in each township, and to send out particular summonses to all so presented to us, for their appearance at the Quarter Sessions to take the oaths." Johnson was now a justice of the peace. On April 12, 1701, Mr. Secretary Hodges writes to the mayor of Liverpool, acknowledging the care and zeal of his worship and Mr. Justice Johnson in denouncing the disaffection of two Catholic gentlemen—Harrington of Huyton,[1] and Blundell of Ince Blundell.[2] On the 30th of the same month another Catholic gentleman, Mr. Scarisbrick of Scarisbrick, writes to the mayor in a very humble strain to procure his intercession in obtaining the supersedeas of a warrant which had been issued for his appearance at the next sessions. On May 13 Clayton writes to the mayor: "I received yours,

[1] The Harringtons of Huyton were a branch of the Lords of Haverington or Harrington in Cumberland. In the middle of the seventeenth century they were possessed of the Aigburth Hall estate, afterwards sold to the Tarletons.

[2] A descendant of this gentleman, Henry Blundell of Ince, born in 1724, was an eminent patron of the arts. He visited Italy, and purchased the marbles of the Villas D'Este and Mattei, with many other statues. He erected in his grounds a pavilion for their reception, where they are still exhibited. He also made a collection of pictures. He was an eminent musical amateur, and assisted both personally and in purse the musical performances at the old Music Hall in Bold Street. Before his decease he invested in the hands of trustees £1600 for the promotion and encouragement of art in Liverpool by an annual exhibition. This sum was ultimately handed over to the Royal Institution on its establishment in 1817. Mr. Blundell died in August 1810.

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and am glad that you so proceeded at the Quarter Sessions, and hope we shall never be afraid to put the laws in execution against the Papists." On March 7, 1702, Johnson writes to the mayor, "That it may be convenient to double the guard in the castle for some time; we do not know what people may carrie on; we have but little guard in England at this time save our fleet." In January 1703 Mrs. Norris writes from Speke: "I believe mischief is in hand; for our Gentles meet more than ordinary, and are very well mounted: if they have any ill designs I pray God defeat them, for I fear we are not like to do much towards it." This feverish state of things continued to prevail in Lancashire down to the outbreak in 1715.

1701. Warrant against Catholics.

A.D. 1703.

A.D. 1701. In 1701, the Earl of Macclesfield, who had superseded Lord Molyneux as constable of Liverpool Castle, and the Earl of Derby as lord-lieutenant of the county, died. The constableship was given to Earl Rivers, and the lord-lieutenancy was restored to the existing Earl of Derby. Lord Molyneux, who claimed the constableship as an hereditary office, put in a caveat against the appointment, and not content with this, he took possession of the castle *vi et armis*. On November 15, Mr. Morris, Lord Macclesfield's agent, writes to the Mayor, "to get affidavits taken before Mr. Mayor or Mr. Mauditt of the manner of the Lord Molyneux's seizing the castle, and to send them next post to London." On February 10, 1702, Morris again writes: "My Lord Mullineux put in a caveatt against the passing of my Lord Rivers's Patent for the constableship of the castle, and there hath been a hearing before my Lord Stanford, Chancellor of the Duchy, and the Attorney-General, who have given their opinion my Lord Mullineux's pretensions are all void in law by several Acts of Parliament." Within twenty years from this time, the castle was razed to the ground, and all questions about its custody were set at rest.

Disputes about castle.

Election. The new Parliament was elected in December 1701, when Clayton and Johnson were again returned, apparently without opposition. The state of parties was at this time extremely fickle and changeable. Both the Liverpool members were returned on the Whig interest; yet we find Johnson, who was the more decided of the two, voting, in December 1702, against the grant of £5000 per annum to the Duke of Marlborough. He soon, however, returned to his allegiance, from which he never afterwards swerved. Clayton, whose connection with the

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Athertons of Bewsey brought him into close contact with the Tories, eventually went over to that party.

Whilst attending to his duties in Parliament, Johnson ever had a watchful eye to the affairs of his native town. Under date of December 30, 1701, he writes to his confidant, Richard Norris, "My humble service to Mr. Mayor and Bailiffs, my brethren the Aldermen, and all good friends. Good sir, forward the raising money for the church (St. Peter's) in time; its a shame, and pray attend often the service of the Corporation, whose concerns does, for want of a little care, bleed."

Tobacco trade.

Along with the West India commerce, the tobacco trade with Virginia began to take root in Liverpool, where the article has ever since been a staple. Johnson was largely engaged in this branch of commerce. At this period the collection of the customs duties was loose and irregular, and transactions continually took place which would now be branded with the harsh names of fraud and bribery. Johnson was far from scrupulous in these matters. He seems to have adopted the principles of the Jesuit father recorded by Pascal: "Les hommes sont aujourd'hui tellement corrompus, que ne pouvant les faire venir à nous, il faut bien que nous allions à eux." His correspondence brings to light many of the schemes adopted to outwit the customs authorities. One principal means was by the allowances for tobacco opened and repacked, in which by collusion on the part of the officers the merchant could be greatly benefited. His colleague, Mr. Clayton, an honourable and upright man, wished these practices to be put a stop to; and desired a clause to be adopted that the tobacco should be exported as imported without alteration, in the same cask, mark, and number. This, Johnson vehemently opposed. He writes: "I told him all our allowances were at an end, if such practice was on foot, and then where was our trade? And then adieu to half of our ships in Leverpole."

Customs frauds.

A.D. 1702. Customs inspection.

On October 20, 1702, Johnson's brother-in-law, Peter Hall, writes: "Since my last, we have had two surveyors come down from London; one Mr. Walker, the other Mr. Manly; no one had any notice of them till they came into the custom-house yard on Saturday morning, who immediately joined themselves to our surveyors to view tobacco, and asking whether they had viewed any. They said one, which Mr. Manly desired to see again, which was showed him and had 130 lbs. allowed in, but he said it was too much, and reduced it to 50 lbs., and put all

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the Pilgarlicks into a cold sweat." These London surveyors at first carried things with a high hand, securing the officers' books, weighing the hogsheads over again, and disputing sharply on every point; but, says Hall significantly, "with much ado we have brought them tolerably to stand on their legs, and hope in a few days to learn them to go." What were the persuasive arguments which convinced the London officials we are not informed, but, like Balaam of old, when sent for to curse they ended by pronouncing a blessing. A week after, Peter Hall writes again: "We have now clearly gained our point with Messrs. Manly and Walker, who are honest, rational, and ingenious men, and big with expectation at first, and treated us as they believed us to be, robbers; but our light now shines in darkness, and there is not one word to be believed that was spoken against us by the poor devils; they declare that they find us to be an honest, industrious people, and that we deserved encouragement."

A.D. 1704. Scarborough prosecuted.

In 1704, Mr. Scarborough, collector of customs at Liverpool, was prosecuted for defrauding the government, at which the tobacco importers felt very uneasy. In the midst of the proceedings the delinquent died, but the commissioners in London were slow to believe in his decease, and sent an officer to ascertain the fact. Johnson writes on January 26, 1705: "This day we have been at the funeral of Mr. Scarborough. I know you will have a great deal of talk about it, and therefore I will give you exactly what passed. As we were invited, Mr. Clayton and I went, and there we met Mr. Morris, who came with a power from the Comm^rs of the Customs to see the corpse. A hole at the top of the coffin was open, and truly at the first sight I was startled, and did not know what to think, and it proved we all three were so. Mr. Morris desired to have it opened, which was done, and we viewed the corpse again, and some others that came in, and then everybody was satisfied. You will say, why all this scruple? The manner of his death caused it, for the men said on Monday night he was pretty well, and went from them on Tuesday morning. To hear the alderman talk you would never forget, and there is a mighty intimacy between him and the custom-house in the matter."

Municipal affairs.

During the whole of Johnson's parliamentary career he kept up a close connection with local politics, and maintained his position in the municipality. Party politics ran high in the council. The agitation consequent on the granting of the

1702. Election of mayor.

charter in 1695 had not yet subsided, a party called the "old charter men" not having yet abandoned the idea of obtaining its repeal. The following gives a photographic glimpse of the proceedings of the day in reference to the election of mayor. Johnson writes to Richard Norris, October 9, 1702: "I think the town not like itself, we being at such a loss for a man as I never knew. Mr. Benn and Mr. Sweeting[1] will inform you the Sunday before they left Liverpool, Mr. Cleaveland having positively denied us, we concluded to put up Mr. Jos[h] Prior, with which I must own I was not well pleased; I complied with the rest; Mr. Mayor some days after spoke to him, but Joseph confessing truly that he had a distemper in his head, he could by no means that year serve. Then we were again to seek. Last Monday we again (mayor and 3 ald[m]) could think of no other but Mr. Briggs; he was sent for, and readily accepted of the offer, but being too much elevated with the thoughts of it, was not able to govern himself, but after his usual manner, himself to make the thing public, was drunk two nights together. This made an end for him, and to be plain with him and short with you, I desired he would wait on Mr. Mayor and desire to be excused for reasons he might give him, for we found he was not able to govern himself. This he took in the wrong sense; however, I told him I would be of my promise, and the next day being the council, I found gentlemen willing to be the same, and we all agreed to choose our friend Jo. Cockshut."

St. Luke's Day (October 18, 1702) happened on Sunday. Peter Hall, writing to Richard Norris, thus describes the election: "On Sunday (to give you a journal of our proceedings) after divine service we went to the exchange to elect a new mayor, and the old mayor (Thos. Bicksteth) immediately proposed as a very suitable person Mr. Jos. Briggs, for whom he gave his vote, on which Mr. Johnson demanded a poll for Mr. Cockshutt, which was granted, and then began old Jasper (Maudit), Mr. Sharples, and most of the council for the first, who went on very briskly, insomuch I was astonished, and saw it was a trick of the old-charter men, there being Ald. Tyrer, Ald. Windle, Mr. Hurst, and many others to back them, who at first seemed mightily pleased to see the poll on their side; but Mr. Johnson began to labour very hard, and when once the townsmen, no way biassed, perceived the matter, they came in

[1] Benn was mayor in 1697, and Sweeting in 1698. Their names are respectively recorded in *Benn's Garden* and *Sweeting Street*.

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whole droves for J. C., who quickly ran ahead the first, which put the gentlemen into mighty trouble, seeing their plot blasted, and to our credit we set J. C. on the seat."

A.D. 1703. Council proceedings.

Municipal honours, however, were not always so strenuously contended for. On October 15, 1703, Johnson writes to Richard Norris: "I observe you approve of our choice of council men, which is well, since which we have gone further, and are resolved to try what we can do. Mr. Earle[1] refusing put me a little upon the thoughts, so we resolved to advise with counsel if we could fine any persons that was elected council men and refused to serve, or could we choose these mayor or bailiffs, though they were not actually sworn; to these we have received a satisfactory answer, that they may be indicted and after fined, or a mandamus brought against them to show cause; upon that Mr. Mayor called a council, and voted Mr. Cleveland, Mr. Hurst, and Mr. Earle, councilmen, and served them with the election under our corporation seal, and this day they appeared, but all refused to be sworn. Now we do resolve to elect Mr. Cleveland mayor, Mr. Earle one bailiff, and if they refuse us we believe they will have one mandamus for all; if we now look back we are shamed."

On the 19th, Johnson again writes: "I can now advise you our friend Mr. John Cleveland was sworn this day mayor. He was carried off by some persons yesterday, and would not come in, but went direct out of town; great threats and endeavours have been used, but now vanished, all people generally well pleased to see some people disappointed." Although Mr. Cleveland consented thus unwillingly to serve, Mr. Earle continued recusant, though two years afterwards we find him acting as bailiff, and in 1709 filling the civic chair.

It will be observed that, notwithstanding Johnson's sneers at the "old-charter men," the vicious system of self-election still continued, precisely as in the obnoxious charter of Charles II.

A.D. 1705. Election.

On April 5, 1705, Parliament was dissolved, and a new one elected in May. The election in Liverpool was a contested one. Clayton had gone over to the Tories, and Richard Norris, Johnson's dear friend, was put forward as a candidate. A London correspondent writes to Norris: "Our friend T. Johnson is too easie and unwilling to displease his present colleague,

[1] The Earles, after the lapse of 170 years, are still flourishing merchants in Liverpool. The present head of the family is Sir Hardman Earle, Bart., of Allerton Towers.

and very unwilling to stand himself; why cannot you fix on some person to stand with you that might carry it, and so lay the two old ones aside, the one with his will, the other whether he will or not. Pray think of this." Another correspondent also writes: "I am heartily concerned you stand in opposition to Alderman Clayton, who is a very necessary man in Parliament, and therefore I shall long to hear some means may be found for you to set your horses together and not to oppose the one the other: pray endeavour, if it be possible, for, as I said before, the alderman is both useful and necessary in the House of Commons."

Norris did not succeed on this occasion, the old members Clayton and Johnson being returned.

Norris superseded.

For some cause not explained, Norris was struck off the Commission of the Peace. On September 11, 1705, his brother-in-law, William Squire, writes to him:

"Madam Scarborough came to me late last night to tell me she was informed you were struck out of the Commission of Peace, which I did not at first believe, but inquiring into it, found it to be true. One may easily guess from whence it came; therefore I think it might do well to acquaint my Lord Derby of it, and if possible endeavour to be restored, that our enemies may not have the satisfaction to triumph at it, which I am told they do, therefore do not neglect it."

Daniel Defoe.

In the year 1705, we catch a passing glimpse of a man whose fame will probably survive as long as the English language exists—the author of "Robinson Crusoe." On September 25, Johnson writes to Norris: "We have had Mr. Defoe here. I did not see him. Mr. Done was very busy, and invited him to his house, which in my opinion had been better let alone." Again, on September 28, Hall writes to Norris: "Mr. Dan^{l} Defoe hath been for some days in town, which hath been the great subject talked of, and been great matter of speculation to some persons."

It may seem strange that Johnson, a strong Whig partisan, should have been so cool in his reception of the great Whig champion; but the circumstances of the time may explain it. An election had just taken place in which each party had put forth its utmost powers, and the practices and manœuvres adopted would not always bear too close observation. Defoe went down occasionally into the provinces to observe the state of political parties. In the early part of the year 1705 he had

CHAP. III. 1705. Danl. Defoe

advertised a book, entitled "A new test of the efficacy and extent of English Acts of Parliament, being a collection of the briberies, feastings, drunkenness, caballings, treatings, corruptions, making of freemen, and horrid practices, now in their full and free exercise in this miserable nation, for debauching the electors in the choice of a new Parliament before the present house is dissolved." He afterwards abandoned this intention, and in his *Weekly Review* the same year thus states his reasons: "When I came to enter into the vast field, I found such an ocean of villany, such a depth of corruption, that it was endless to finish it, having no leisure to write large volumes in folio on so unpleasant a subject." Holding such views, it cannot be surprising that his presence at Liverpool immediately after the publication of his opinions, and after a general election, should be distasteful to Johnson, of whom—whatever virtues he might possess—it could not be said that scrupulousness was one of them.

The outward form and presentment of a celebrated man is always interesting. About two years previously Defoe had been prosecuted for his work entitled *The shortest Way with the Dissenters*, and in the *London Gazette*, No. 3879 (January 10, 1703), an advertisement was inserted for his apprehension, in which his *personnel* is thus described: "He is a middle-sized spare man, about forty years old, of a brown complexion, and dark-brown coloured hair, but wears a wig; a hooked nose, a sharp chin, grey eyes, and a large mole near his mouth."

In 1707 a rate of 3d. in the pound on houses, land, and *stock*, produced £292 : 13 : 4. The rateable value of all property, personal and real, was therefore £23,413.

Previous to 1707, leases granted by the corporation were for terms of years certain. In this year a proposal was first made for granting leases for lives and years.

Stanley family.

The relations of the town with the Stanley family continued on the most friendly footing, James, tenth Earl of Derby, being elected mayor in 1707. With the Molyneuxs causes of disagreement were continually cropping up. At this time the corporation were in treaty with the Crown for a grant of the site of the castle, to which I shall have hereafter to refer.

Dispute about castle.

Lord Molyneux set up a counter claim to the site, arising out of some supposed rights as hereditary constable. The cause was tried at the assizes, and resulted in the discomfiture of his lordship. Johnson writes to Norris, April 5, 1707: "I have

yours of the 7th cur^nt^ from Preston, and am very glad you got the cause against Lord Mullineux; no doubt it is a great mortification. Now the subject of the discourse will be how to improve this ground, and that in my poor opinion will require some consideration and is not to be determined hastily. I think a handsome square might be made very well, but then you should let it to people that would build good houses, and make them uniform; and as the custom is here not to let to any that opens shop, I do hope it may be built by merchants or such private families; this would be a mighty ornament to the town." It is interesting to see in Johnson's correspondence, whatever he may be engaged in, how his heart always warms towards his native town, and how his thoughts are constantly directed to some projected improvement.

Town-clerk dismissed.

In 1707, Mr. T. Sandford, town-clerk, was dismissed from his office, "for a number of high omissions and irregular transactions" relating to the records, and other matters pertaining to his duties. His successor was Mr. Ralph Peters, who was required on his appointment to pay to the former town-clerk £40 per annum during his life, and 100 guineas to his representatives within three months after his decease.

The same year the mayor was allowed, towards the expenses of his office, two of the best fines which should be paid by any two freemen during his term.

A.D. 1708.

The system of trafficking for parliamentary support was carried with a high hand in these days. In January 1708, the collector of customs at Liverpool had made himself very obnoxious to the merchants and traders. Harley—then Secretary of State—actually offered to induce the collector to resign by giving him a sum of money, and to place the office at the disposal of the members and of Lord Derby, at that time mayor.

Wine duties.

In 1708 a lease was granted from the duchy of Lancaster to the corporation of Liverpool, of the prisage duties of all wines brought into the port for thirty-one years, at £3 : 6 : 8 per annum. This was renewed in 1736 for twenty-seven years, and in 1753 for twenty-seven years for the last time. In 1791 these duties amounted to more than £400. The proceeds were sometimes made over to the mayor to defray the expenses of his office.

After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 more than 7000 Protestants took refuge in England. In 1688 the

CHAP. III. 1708.

Palatinate was ravaged by the French armies, and many of its inhabitants fled to England. Money was voted by Parliament for their relief, and collections were made through the country. There is a record of two collections in Liverpool, one of £40 : 18 : 1 ; another of £85 : 14s. A hundred of the "poor Palatines," as they were called, were sent to Liverpool, and in 1708 it was ordered by the council that they should be received as settled inhabitants ; and that on payment of £5 each they and their issue should be permitted to exercise their trades without disturbance.

Palatines.

Some of the houses on the north side of Derby Square are stated to have been built by the Palatine workmen. Sir Thos. Johnson is said to have erected workshops for them in Sir Thomas' Buildings.

Pretender.

In March of the same year, on the announcement of a threatened invasion by the Pretender, the corporation presented through the members a loyal and dutiful address to the queen, on which occasion Johnson received the honour of knighthood. There seems to have been some suspicion that the astute Johnson had rather overreached his straightforward and upright colleague by presenting the address in his absence. It is only fair to give Johnson's own account of the transaction. Writing as usual to his friend Norris, under date March 10, 1708, he says :

Johnson knighted.

This day, about half-an-hour past twelve, or near one, I went to the House of Lords, to know when the Lord Derby would please to present the Corporation address, upon which my lord told me when the Queen came to the house, in the Princess Chamber, and desired I would stay, upon which, Mr. Poole with me, I did stay the Queen's coming, and after the Queen returned from the House, the Lord Derby carrying the sword, he presented the address ; and I being there, the Lord Derby against my knowledge spoke to the Queen to confer the honour of knighthood. God knows I kneeled to kiss the Queen's hand, and to my great surprise the other followed. I am under great concern about it, knowing I no way desired that I had, and must undergo a great many censures ; but the Lord forgive them as I do. I had not mentioned this thing, but I knew it will be said, this address was presented without giving notice to Mr. Clayton—he was this morning at my lodging, and said he was going to Wapping—I told him I was to go to the Custom House, after to the House, and intended to wait on the Lord Derby to know when his Lordship would present the address, and promised to give him notice, not thinking but there would be time to do so ; but I leave you to judge if it was pos-

sible in less than an hour I could do this. . . . I am sure the surprise has put me more out of order than I have been since I came to London. CHAP. III. 1708.

In April Parliament was dissolved. In the election for Liverpool Clayton was thrown out, and Richard Norris and Sir Thomas Johnson were returned.

In 1709 the Mayor not being properly attended in his processions on public occasions, the Grand Jury at the Sessions ordered that all persons formerly required to pay their attendance on the Mayor on Sundays, festivals, and council days, have their names fixed on the Exchange, that every one obliged thereby may take notice. A.D. 1709.

In consequence of non-attendance several were fined 6d. each.

The year 1709 was memorable for the commencement of the system of floating docks, in which Liverpool stands unrivalled as a port. The Blue Coat Hospital was also commenced in this year. To both of these I shall have again to refer in future chapters. In the same year an attempt was made to utilise, for the benefit of the town of Liverpool, the copious springs of water at Bootle. An Act was obtained (8 Anne, chap. 25) to enable the corporation to make a grant to Sir Cleave Moore to bring water into Liverpool from Bootle springs. The scheme was an excellent one, but it was in advance of the age, and remained a dead letter until revived and carried out nearly a century later. Soon after this the connection which had existed between Liverpool and the Moore family for four centuries and a half was dissolved. The estates, which extended into thirteen townships, were heavily incumbered, and Sir Cleave having obtained by marriage another property in the south, agreed to their sale by the mortgagee, Sir John Moore, alderman of London. Sir Cleave Moore sat as member for Bramber in Sussex, and died on March 29, 1730. Docks. Blue School. Bootle water.

In 1710 another election took place. A.D. 1710.

Party spirit ran very high at this time. The old member, William Clayton, again tried his chance. Richard Norris stood along with his friend and colleague Johnson; but a new candidate in the person of John Cleveland carried all before him and stood at the head of the poll, the numbers being: Cleveland, 542; Johnson, 492; Norris, 447; Clayton, 439. Election.

The population at this date is given as 8168.

A pamphlet, giving an account of this election, was printed

CHAP. III. 1710.

at the time. The author, whilst professing perfect impartiality, displays a very bitter and malignant spirit of partizanship. The following description is illustrative of the manners of the time.

"The candidates were all seated on a sort of scaffold or stage, made of deal boards in the east corner of the Exchange, together with the clerks. . . . The candidates being seated, the poll began, which was carried on with great hurry and noise, and a numerous crowd was gathered together." Fights continually took place and cudgels were freely used. The election was concluded in one day, the poll terminating about 7 P.M.

The cries, on the part of the Tories, were "A Church! a church! no Whigs! no Palatines! no roasting of Parsons! no shovel-board players!" The Whig cries were "No Doctor Sacheverell, no Prince of Wales, no King of France, no Papist!"

Cleveland family.

The family of the Clevelands were originally from York, and settled at Loughborough in the early part of the seventeenth century. One of the family, John Cleveland (born in 1613, died in 1659), was no mean poet. In his own day he enjoyed a reputation equal to that of Milton. The last edition of his works was printed in 1687, since which they have gradually dropped out of sight.[1] John, the subject of our present notice, was born at Hinckley in 1661, and at an early age settled in Liverpool, where he engaged in commercial pursuits with great success. In 1691 he served the office of bailiff, and that of mayor in 1703 with considerable reluctance, as mentioned above. John Cleveland sat in Parliament three years. He died in 1716. About the year 1700 he purchased from the Powells the manor and priory of Birkenhead, which by marriage with his daughter passed to Francis Price of Bryn y Pys, Esquire, in whose family it remained until laid out for building within the last half century.

He lies buried in St. Nicholas's Church. His monument is in the east corner of the south wall, and bears the following inscription.

"Here lies the body of John Cleivland, Esq., formerly a representative in Parliament for Leverpoole, who died the 1st day of Aug. 1716, in the 55th year of his age; and of William Cleivland, Esq., his son, Representative in Parliament for Lever-

[1] Cleveland was the author of an epigram which was very popular at one period:

"Had Cain been a Scot, God had changed his doom—
Not forced him to wander, but confined him at home."

poole, who died the 25th day of March 1724, in the 28th year of his age." CHAP. III.

In 1713 William Clayton was elected along with the irrepressible Johnson. The Parliament lasted only a year, at the expiration of which a new Parliament was called, to which the same members were returned. 1713. Election.

At the decease of Queen Anne, William Clayton retired from the representation, and soon after died. He was buried in St. Nicholas's Church, where a monument was erected bearing the following inscription : A.D. 1714.

Clayton's monument.

To the Memory
Of William Clayton
Of Fulwood, in the County Palatine
Of Lancaster, Esq.,
Who being a great Incourager
Of Trade,
And having good judgment in it,
Represented this borough
In Six distinct
Parliaments.
He died the 8th July,
1715.
Erected by Elizabeth his relict,
Daughter of George Leigh
Of Oughtrington in the
County Pal[a] of
Chester, Gent.

Mrs. Clayton survived her husband thirty years, dying in 1745. In 1741 she presented £1000 to the Blue Coat Hospital.

To the Parliament of 1714, elected on the accession of George I., Liverpool returned Dr. Edward Norris, who had accompanied his brother Sir William, in 1701, in his embassy to the Great Mogul, along with Sir Thomas Johnson. Election.

In 1715, the county of Lancaster was thrown into confusion by the rising on behalf of the Pretender, the *soi-disant* James III. On June 10 in that year, the birthday of the prince, a great commotion took place in several of the towns in South Lancashire. At Warrington the bells of the parish church rang a merry peal, most of the inhabitants turned out in their Sunday attire, and a riotous mob collected in the streets, crying, "The Church in danger!" "Down with the Dissenters!" "God A.D. 1715. Rebellion. Warrington.

CHAP. III. 1715. Rebellion.

save King James the Third!" At Manchester, the mob was called together by the beating of drums, and formed a sort of military procession through the principal streets, denouncing the Dissenters, proclaiming King James, and damaging the houses of the loyal portion of the community. The magistrates, probably themselves disaffected, took no steps to put down the rioters, who had the town at their mercy for several days. Led by a barber named Syddall, who afterwards suffered death for the cause, they attacked and destroyed several meeting-houses in Manchester and the neighbouring villages. Encouraged by their impunity they increased to a formidable array, and sent detachments into Yorkshire, Staffordshire, and Shropshire, to incite to similar outrages. In Shrewsbury they issued a proclamation as follows: "We gentlemen of the loyal mob do issue this proclamation to all Dissenters of what kind soever, whether Independents, Baptists, or Quakers. If you, or any of you, do encourage or suffer any of that damnable faction called Presbyterians to assemble themselves in any of your conventicles at the time of Divine worship, you may expect to meet with the same that they have been treated with. Given under our hands and seals on the eleventh day of July, 1715. God save the King!"

Manchester.

The affair had now assumed so serious an aspect that it could no longer be neglected. The House of Commons stimulated the Government by an address to the Crown, praying for the suppression of the riots, and that the penal laws against Papists and Nonjurors might be rigorously enforced. A proclamation was issued that any person convicted of demolishing a meeting-house would incur the punishment of death without benefit of clergy. Troops were sent to Manchester, by whom the rioting was suppressed before the end of July. Syddall, the ringleader, was tried at Lancaster, and sentenced to stand in the pillory; but so popular was the cause for which he suffered that bouquets of flowers were substituted for the rotten eggs and filth with which such culprits were usually saluted.

Hostilities

Such was the feverish state of things in South Lancashire when the little army of the Pretender's adherents burst over the border, and on November 7 entered the town of Lancaster, and with colours flying, claymores drawn, and bagpipes playing, proclaimed King James the eighth of Scotland and third of England.

Alarmed by this intelligence, the inhabitants of Liverpool, who were loyal to the core, took the best means in their power

1715.

towards the impromptu defence of the town and port. The water of the brook flowing into the pool was dammed up so as to protect the eastern margin. An intrenchment was thrown up on the north side, probably a rehabilitation of that existing at the time of the siege seventy years before, and seventy pieces of ordnance were mounted. The ships in the harbour were so arranged as to avoid danger and aid in the defence, and the seamen organised to act in case of need. Fortunately these precautions were rendered unnecessary by the defeat and surrender of the rebel army at Preston, on Sunday, November 13. Amongst the prisoners were the unfortunate Earl of Derwentwater and Lord Kenmure, who were beheaded on Tower Hill, and the Earls of Nithsdale and Wintown, who succeeded in effecting their escape.

Proceedings in Liverpool.

Defeat of rebels.

The Government, which had been culpably remiss in taking measures to suppress the rebellion, made amends for its fault by barbarous severity. A judicial commission was sent down to try the prisoners, and Liverpool, as the most loyal and Hanoverian town in the county, was fixed on as the place. Baron Montague, Baron Bury, and Mr. Justice Eyre, were the judges selected, and most thoroughly did they carry out their instructions to strike and spare not. Accounts differ as to the numbers put upon their trial, one statement making them as high as 161, and another as low as seventy. However this may be, no less than thirty-four persons were executed for high treason, twelve at Preston, four at Garstang, five at Wigan, five at Manchester, four at Lancaster, and four at Liverpool. The Liverpool place of execution was a field on the north side of London Road, a little to the east of Stafford Street. Two windmills which stood near the spot hence acquired the name of the Gallows Mills, which they retained till their demolition. The usual barbarities of quartering the bodies and setting up the heads were rigidly carried out. Several of the prisoners were persons of considerable distinction, amongst others, Richard, Chorley, Esq., of Chorley, the head of a family settled there since the Conquest, and Collingwood, of Northumberland, possessed of a landed estate of £2000 per annum.

Trial of rebels.

Executions.

Besides the prisoners thus tried in Liverpool, there were others sent from various parts of the country to be transported to the plantations. A contract was entered into with one Sir Thomas Johns[1] to convey a hundred and thirty for the sum of

[1] Query, "Johnson"?

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£1000. Another batch of thirty was shipped for the West Indies; but before they had been many days out of Liverpool they rose upon the master and crew, and having overpowered them, carried the ship into a French port, where they disposed of both ship and cargo.

After the suppression of the rebellion, the town-clerk was directed to proceed to London to solicit repayment by the government of the charge incurred in fortifying the town. Whatever money could be obtained was to be applied towards the building of the new church (St. George's).

Charters.

It will be remembered that in some of the earlier charters power was given to form a guild, and to prevent any traders not belonging to the guild transacting any business within the borough. The charter of Philip and Mary struck out this clause, and threw the trade open, and so it continued down to the charter of Charles I. (1626). This charter did not in terms re-enact the obnoxious prohibition, but it did what was tantamount thereto, by giving power to frame by-laws *ad libitum*, with power to enforce such enactments by fine or imprisonment. Armed with this authority, the corporation were not slow to exercise their protective power, and it was not long before a by-law was framed that no person should exercise his trade within the borough unless he was free of the guild by birth, servitude, or purchase. Practically the only effect of this was to open up a source of revenue to the municipality, for the privilege was freely sold to all who would buy. In this way the amount of the fines received becomes a valuable test of the influx of strangers into the town, for it was they alone who contributed to this branch of the revenue. We find that in 1667 the fines for freedom amounted to £43 : 13 : 4; in 1694 they produced £134 : 14 : 2; in 1701, £208 : 14 : 8; and in 1707-8 they had reached the sum of £352 : 18 : 6. The actual increase from this source, and still more the progressive ratio in which it advanced, are striking indications of the prosperity of the town, and the immigration which had set in.

Fines for freedom.

After the rebellion of 1715, the oaths of supremacy and allegiance were strongly enforced on all suspected persons; and an Act of Parliament was passed, requiring that all Roman Catholics, Nonjurors, and others, who refused to take the oaths, should transmit to commissioners appointed for the purpose, a register of their estates, with full particulars of their situation, occupation, and value. From the returns made by the commis-

Roman Catholics.

sioners, it appears that the estates of the recusants in the county of Lancaster were of the yearly value of £13,158, of which no less than £5901—not far short of one-half—lay in the hundred of West Derby, constituting the district adjacent to Liverpool. When we consider the rude state of agriculture, and the undeveloped condition of the county, it is evident that the estates held by the disaffected part of the community must have constituted a very large proportion of the landed property of the district.

In the midst of these political contentions, the means for commercial progress were not neglected. Inland navigation, the great feature in the material development of the eighteenth century, had begun to attract attention. I have already alluded to the improvement of the navigation of the Mersey to Warrington. In 1720 the river Douglas, an affluent of the Ribble, was made navigable to Wigan, giving access to the sea for the product of the great Lancashire coal-field. In 1721 the Act was passed for the improvement of the Rivers Mersey and Irwell, rendering them navigable as far as Hunt's Bank, Manchester; and about the same time powers were obtained for making the river Weaver, which falls into the Mersey near Runcorn, navigable to Winsford and Northwich, opening up the interior of Cheshire, and bringing into easy communication the extensive salt mines of the district.

Inland navigation.

The population in 1720 is given as 10,446. In 1721, a fixed payment to the mayor as salary was first introduced, when £40 was allowed for entertainments. In these days, wine was seldom or never called for. Ale and tobacco were the two principal stimulants, until punch was introduced, though but sparingly distributed to the company by the hands of the swordbearer.

A.D. 1721. Population.

Sunday dinners were given by the mayor, to which one of the ministers in the town was always invited, with about half-a-dozen other guests, when never more than a single joint and a pudding appeared on the board; and if wine was introduced, after one glass it was removed. This custom of Sunday dinners afterwards became abused, and had to be discontinued.

The public entertainments given in 1720-1 had not been paid for, the mayor having died insolvent, but the accounts were honourably discharged by the corporation. To provide against this difficulty, it was ordered that in future, the mayor

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should not receive his stipend until the end of his year of office, nor till all the bills for entertainments were discharged.

In April 1722 a new Parliament was called, to which Liverpool returned Sir Thomas Johnson and William Cleveland, son of John, the former member.

Retirement of Johnson.

The year 1722 witnessed the termination of Sir Thomas Johnson's connection with Liverpool. Probably no man, except it may be Ralph Sekerston, in the reign of Elizabeth, ever laboured more assiduously for the welfare of the town; and certainly to none is Liverpool so much indebted for the development of its nascent energies. He filled a prominent place in the town's affairs for more than thirty years, having been elected bailiff in 1689, the first mayor under the new charter in 1695, and having served as member for the borough in ten Parliaments from 1701 to 1722. His associates in Liverpool affairs—the Clevelands, Claytons, Cunliffes, Earles—accumulated fortunes which descended to future generations; but Johnson possessed that mercurial speculative temperament to which gold seldom long adheres. What was the special cause for his retirement we are not informed. In the summer of 1722 he had been re-elected along with William Cleveland. On January 23, 1723, a new writ was ordered for Liverpool on his acceptance of the office of collector of customs on the river Rappahannock, in Virginia, where he must have deceased early in 1729, for his place in the council was filled up in May of that year. Notwithstanding his eminent services, no monument exists to his memory, and but for an occasional glance at the list of mayors and members of Parliament his name would be utterly forgotten. "Whilst Clayton and Cunliffe repose under their marble monuments in the parish church, in all the odour of municipal sanctity, Johnson, who was always poor, lies probably in some obscure corner of Virginia. If, however, the separation of the parish from Walton—the building of St. Peter's and St. George's churches—the formation of the first dock—the creation of the corporation property—and the seeking out new sources of wealth by distant and daring adventures, entitle the merchants of Liverpool who lived in the reigns of William and Anne to be considered as the founders of the town's prosperity, of those traders Johnson was the acknowledged head; and therefore to him more than to any one else is the town indebted for its vigorous and well-omened commencement."[1]

[1] Mr. Thomas Heywood, F.S.A. Introduction to the Norris Papers, Chetham Society's Pub., vol. ix.

The only existing memorial of Johnson's work is the street called Sir Thomas's Buildings, leading from Dale Street to Whitechapel. It was commenced by his father, the hard-headed "baly," and carried out by the knight. The site of the "Buildings" erected by him is—very appropriately—occupied by the municipal offices.

A marble tablet has been placed at the expense of one of the councillors in one of the rooms of the municipal offices, bearing the following inscription :—

In Memory
of
Sir Thomas Johnson, Knt.,
Mayor of Liverpool in MDCXCV.,
And its Representative in Ten Parliaments,
From 1701 to 1722,
To whose Activity and Energy
The Town is indebted for many of its
Early Improvements ; amongst others
The Formation of the Parish,
The Construction of the first Dock,
And the Erection
Of St. Peter's and St. George's Churches.
This Tablet is placed, A.D. 1873,
On the site of the buildings erected by him,
From which the adjoining street
Takes its name.
Born 1670, died 1729.

Johnson's career is a very striking illustration of Luther's pithy macaronic distich :

Wer dient dem Pöbel, et similibus horum,
Der hat Undank, in fine laborum.

Who wastes his strength for the public and neighbours
Shall get no reward at the end of his labours.

The impecuniosity of Johnson is curiously illustrated by an entry in the books of the Blue Coat Hospital. In the year 1720, soon after the completion of the building, it was considered desirable to procure a charter, for which Johnson, as one of the members, was desired to make application, which however failed. In 1726, the following entry occurs :—

"To Sir Thos. Johnson, cash sent in 1720 to procure a charter ; had never any account or cash back £20."

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Writing to Richard Norris in 1702, Johnson mentions having recommended to the Chancellor of the Duchy a Mr. Brettargh of Aigburth for a Justice of the Peace. "Oh"! said the Chancellor "he is in debt and young." "I wonder," replied Johnson, "who is out of debt or not once young!"

About this time circumstances occurred which gave a great impulse to the trade of the port.

Trade with West Indies.

The Manchester manufactures, which at first consisted chiefly of checks, Osnaburghs, and coarse goods, from their quality and cheapness began to compete advantageously in the West India markets with the French and German cloths. At that time a chartered company had the exclusive right of exporting all goods from Old Spain to her colonies. These were procured from Germany and France, and the heavy export duties, combined with the monopoly, increased the price of the goods in the colonies three hundred per cent. A contraband trade, therefore, sprang up, by which Spanish West India traders ran down in periaguas, schooners, and large canoes from the Havanna, Portobello, Carthagena, and other small ports and creeks on the Spanish main to Jamaica, where they found the Manchester goods so much superior and cheaper than they had been accustomed to, that frequently there was not a piece of check remaining in Kingston market. Payment was made in specie and Spanish dollars, which were largely imported into Liverpool between 1722 and 1740.

About that time the remonstrances of the Spanish Court led to the interference of the British Government.

A.D. 1747. Grenville's Act.

In 1747, a Bill was carried in Parliament by Mr. Grenville, which condemned all foreign vessels found in the ports of the British West India Islands. This drove away the Spanish traders and annihilated the trade. It is said that this contraband Spanish trade contributed at least £1,000,000 per annum to the town of Liverpool.

A.D. 1722. Bryan Blundell.

In 1722, the year of Johnson's retirement, the civic chair was filled by another Liverpool worthy, Bryan Blundell. It cannot be maintained that his services in their permanent influence on the community at all approached in usefulness those of his knightly predecessor, but a work of charity, when its memorials are continually before the eyes of posterity, naturally and deservedly calls up the grateful memory of the founder. It is not always true that

The evil that men do lives after them,
The good is oft interred with their bones.

Blue Coat Hospital.

As long as the Blue Coat Hospital continues its godlike work of rescuing orphans from destitution and vice, and educating them to be useful members of society, so long will the name of Bryan Blundell be cherished and honoured. He was born in 1674, descended from the old Catholic stock of the Blundells of Ince, his grandfather, Bryan, a younger son, having been disowned, through embracing the Protestant religion. Being brought up to the sea, as his father and grandfather had been, he sailed as captain from the port of Liverpool, and by industry and integrity acquired means to purchase a vessel, which he commanded himself. In the intervals of his voyages his attention was called to the destitute and neglected condition of many of the children, and in conjunction with his friend the Rev. Robert Stythe, one of the first rectors, he made an attempt to remedy the evil by establishing a school—in the first instance a simple day school for fifty boys, for which a small building was erected by subscription in 1708, and a master engaged at a salary of £20 per annum. Between 1708 and 1713, Captain Blundell had contributed out of his hard earnings the sum of £250. In that year Mr. Stythe died, and in the absence of its benefactor at sea the school became neglected. In a simple and modest memoir he says: "In a little time I saw some of the children begging about the streets, their parents being so poor as not to have bread for them, which gave me great concern, insomuch that I thought to use my best endeavours to make provision for them, so as to take them wholly from their parents, which I hoped might be promoted by a subscription." In order that the school might be better attended to he gave up the sea, and settled in the town. The subscription amounted to nearly £3000, £750 of which was given by Mr. Blundell, being the tenth part of his property. He also formed a resolution to give a tenth part of which it pleased God to bless him with to the school. The school was completed in 1718, but has at various times been greatly enlarged. As a merchant he became very successful, and was greatly respected by his townsmen, having been elected mayor in 1721 and again in 1728. His liberality kept pace with his prosperity, his contributions in the whole amounting to £3000. He says in the memoir: "I may truly say whilst I have been doing good for the children of this school, the good

A.D. 1713.

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providence of God hath been doing good for mine, so that I hope they will be benefactors to this school when I am in my grave."

1723. Blue Coat Hospital.

The subject of our notice lived to the year 1756, dying at the age of eighty-two, having been treasurer to the institution forty-two years. "A good man leaveth an inheritance to his children's children," and it is pleasant to record that the descendants of Bryan Blundell have been eminently prosperous, and have until recently been connected with the commerce and institutions of the town.

A.D. 1723. Boundaries of port.

In 1723 the boundaries of the port, which had hitherto been indefinite and sometimes in dispute, were defined by commissioners appointed under the 10 Geo. I., and set out as follows: "From the Redstones in Hoylake on the point of Wirral southerly to the foot of the river called Ribblewater in a direct line northerly, and so upon the south side of the said river to Hesketh Bank easterly, and to the river Douglas there, and so all along the sea-coasts of Meols and Formby into the river Mersey, and all over the rivers Mersey, Irwell, and Weaver."

A.D. 1724. Election.

William Cleveland died early in 1724, and a new writ was ordered for Liverpool on March 31. He was succeeded by Mr. Langham Booth, of the family of Dunham Massey, brother of the first Earl of Warrington. This gentleman was groom of the bedchamber to Frederick, Prince of Wales, and M.P. for the county of Chester in the Parliaments of the 4 and 7 of Anne and the 1 George I.[1] He enjoyed his new dignity for a very short period, having departed this life a few months after his election. A new writ was ordered by the House on November 12, 1724.

A.D. 1725. First map of Liverpool.

In 1725 the first map of Liverpool was issued. It bears the title as follows: "The Mapp of all the Streets, Lanes, and Alleys within the town of Liverpool, with one side of the River Mersey, layd down by a scale of 80 yds. in an inch, by J. Chadwick, 1725." The streets and enclosed lands seem accurately surveyed, but the buildings are merely indicated by parallel lines of shading along the streets. The number of

[1] His grandfather, Sir George Booth, was a conspicuous and active partisan of the Parliament in the civil wars. He sat during the whole period of the Long Parliament as representative of the County of Chester. Towards the end of Cromwell's career he deserted his old allies, and joined in the insurrection of 1659, in which he was defeated by General Lambert. He took an active part in the Restoration of Charles II., by whom he was created Baron Delamere of Dunham Massey. He died in 1684, aged 63.

streets, alleys, and places is fifty; the number of houses, as near as can be ascertained, about 2000; the number of inhabitants about 11,000. Northwardly, Oldhall Street was built on to Union Street, and on the south side, a little beyond; Tithebarn Street was built as far as Key Street. Dale Street, being the great outlet from the town, was lined with buildings on both sides as far as the present Fontenoy Street; and Hackin's Hey, Moorfields, and Cheapside were built up between Dale Street and Tithebarn Street. Sir Thomas's new Buildings occupy a portion of the upper part of the street so called, but the rest is marked as "The Rope-yard." The spaces behind the buildings in Dale Street are open fields, forming on the south side the "Crosse Hall" estate. 1725. Map.

View of the town.

The course of the brook along Whitechapel had not long before been arched over and converted into a road, but building had scarcely commenced. Lord Molyneux's new street, now called Lord Street, was nearly completed, and the streets between Pool Lane (now South Castle Street) and Paradise Street, were built on to about half their extent. Paradise Street was partially built on at the south end. Across the pool St. Peter's Church is conspicuous. Church Street is laid out, but only very sparsely built on. The Blue Coat Hospital had just been erected. Hanover Street is an old high road. It was at the date of the map beginning to be occupied by the fine old aristocratic mansions, of which some still remain, devoted to baser uses. Duke Street was a country lane. The old dock is shown filled with shipping, with the Custom-house at the east end standing near the site of the present Sailors' Home. On the south side of the dock Mersey Street is the only completed road. The salt-works are shown near the site of the present Salthouse Dock. The site of the castle is built on, with a small square called "the New Market" left in the centre. The course of the castle ditch is converted into an irregular street running round the site. Between Castle Street and the margin of the river the town is the most densely occupied, but the streets are narrow and tortuous. The arrangement of them differs considerably from that existing at present. On the west side the buildings extend to the river beach. The New Quay was an actual quay protected by a sea wall, and open to the river. West of Strand Street a quantity of land had been gained from the river, which was partly built

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on, and partly occupied by an octagonal entrance basin and graving dock. At the entrance to the basin a wooden pier projected into the river, supported on piles.

Buildings.

The general character of the buildings was somewhat mean; principally brick, with a few timber-framed structures, and here and there a stone erection. Since the commencement of the century the increased wealth of the town had led to a craving for something better, and some of the architecture at this time erected would be no disgrace to any town. Old Drury Lane, Fenwick Street, Water Street, etc., presented fine specimens of doorways elaborately carved and ornamented.[1] The old Custom-house was by no means devoid of taste, and some of the rising mansions in Hanover Street, especially one near Seel Street (afterwards occupied as the Branch Bank of England), were worthy of a town "whose merchants are princes, and whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth." The

Churches.

new church of St. Peter was certainly not much to boast of in point of design, but the proposed church of St. George, the plans of which were at this time in preparation, was a very handsome building, with a tower and spire of rare beauty.[2]

Election.

The seats vacant by the resignation of Sir Thomas Johnson in 1722, and the decease of Mr. Langham Booth in 1727, were filled by Thomas (afterwards Sir Thomas) Bootle and Thomas Brereton. Mr. Bootle being mayor at the time, and so legally the returning officer, had to resign before the election. A Common Hall was called to receive the resignation, which was objected to, and a poll demanded, when the resignation was accepted by 545 votes to 441. Mr. George Tyrer was elected in his place August 1, 1727. Both the new members were Liverpool men identified with the interests of the town. The family of Bootle or Botyll in all probability take their name from the township (now the borough) of Bootle adjoining Liverpool on the north, but had settled at Melling from the time of Henry V. Hugh Botyll of Liverpole succeeded to the estates 9 and 10 Henry VI. Thomas Bootle, of whom I am now speaking, was a man of some note. He was a counsel learned in the law, chancellor to Frederick, Prince of Wales, king's counsel, and Attorney-General for the County Palatine of Durham. He

Thomas Bootle.

[1] Specimens of these may be seen in the plates to Herdman's *Ancient Liverpool*, first and second series.

[2] The present church is not a reproduction of its predecessor, and in point of style is the Satyr to Hyperion.

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served for Liverpool in two Parliaments, and afterwards sat for Midhurst. In 1751 he purchased Lathom House[1] and estates, which had previously passed out of the possession of the Stanleys. Dying without issue his brother succeeded; whose daughter and heiress married Richard Wilbraham of Rode Hall, Cheshire. Their son, Edward Bootle Wilbraham, M.P., successively for Newcastle-under-Line, Clithero, and Dover, was created Baron Skelmersdale in 1828.

Thomas Brereton.

The other member, Thomas Brereton, although he married a Cheshire heiress, I cannot identify with any of the Cheshire families of that name. He seems to have been connected with Liverpool, as he filled the civic chair in 1732-3. He married Catherine, only daughter and heiress of Salusbury Lloyd, Esq., of Ledbroke and Shotwick, who bequeathed his estates to him on condition of his assuming the name and arms of Salusbury, which he accordingly did on his father-in-law's decease. He represented Liverpool in four Parliaments, with one intermission, from 1727 to his decease in 1754. His only son (by a previous marriage) was Owen Brereton, who on succeeding to the estates, added the name of Salusbury to his patronymic.

A.D. 1727.

Owen Salusbury Brereton.

Owen Salusbury Brereton was a person of considerable eminence in his day. He was born in 1715, educated at Westminster School, from whence he passed to Trinity College, Cambridge. He took to the profession of the law, became ultimately a Bencher and the Treasurer of Lincoln's Inn, and Baron of the Exchequer of the County Palatine of Chester; represented Ilchester in Parliament, was Vice-President of the Society of Arts from 1765 to his death, and a member of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies. He was appointed Recorder of Liverpool in 1746, and held the appointment for the long period of fifty-two years. So greatly was he esteemed in Liverpool, that when in 1796 from age and infirmity he proposed to resign, the corporation pressed him to retain the office, and appointed a deputy to relieve him of its more onerous duties. He died in 1798 in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and was interred in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. He was a man of

[1] It is related that Sir Thomas Bootle was very desirous of purchasing the manor of Bootle from Lord Derby, but his lordship peremptorily refused to part with it. Soon afterwards, the Lathom estate being in the market, Sir Thomas sent word to the earl, that as he would not let him be Bootle of Bootle, he was determined to be Bootle of Lathom (the ancient seat of the Stanleys). The families have since intermarried.

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literary tastes and acquirements, a writer in the *Archæologia*, and in 1774 published *A Tour through South Wales and Shropshire*.

1727. The election of these gentlemen must have been contested, for a petition against the return was presented by William Cotesworth and Thomas Ashurst, Esqrs., but unsuccessfully. They were again returned to the first Parliament of George II.

A.D. 1729. In 1729 Mr. Brereton was appointed to a post under Government; a Commissionership of the Victualling Office. On presenting himself to his constituents for re-election, he was rejected in favour of Sir Thomas Aston, Bart., of Aston Hall, Cheshire, the last scion of a long race. Brereton petitioned against the return, but his rival was declared duly elected.

Party spirit ran very high at this time in municipal affairs. In Easter term, 1730, a mandamus was issued against William Pole, one of the bailiffs, and against Richard Norris and others, being twenty-two of the council, to show cause "by what warrant they without the mayor, and not being twenty-five of the common council of the town, claim to use and enjoy the liberty, privilege, and franchise of electing, approving, and admitting persons to be burgesses of the town." This rule after several pleadings was made absolute.

Connected with these disputes is a resolution of the council, November 12, 1731, "that no foreigner, not being free, shall open a shop, or set up any trade, until he or she hath compounded with the Mayor." It will be subsequently seen that this resolution was entirely impotent.

Earl of Derby mayor.

The Right Hon. James, 10th Earl of Derby, took much interest in the town's affairs at this time, and was a steady supporter of the popular rights. In 1734 he was elected mayor, on which occasion he gave a grand entertainment at his ancient mansion, the Tower in Water Street. He subsequently, with the concurrence of the two bailiffs, held a Common Hall of the free burgesses, at which sundry by-laws were made. This was in direct contravention of the exclusive system, which in spite of all charters, the council of Liverpool persisted in maintaining. He was unfortunately cut off by death on February 1, 1735, before the expiration of his term of office, when the council resumed their power, and carried things with a high hand, dismissing the two bailiffs from their office of common

Council. councilmen, declaring in express terms that "in holding the common hall they had acted manifestly in breach of the trust reposed in them as common councilmen."

In November 1733, during the races held on the north shore, a sudden darkness came on, accompanied with violent wind, so sudden and extreme, that the people could not find their way, and had to take refuge in any shelter they could obtain, many remaining out all night. After this the races were discontinued for forty-three years. 1734. Races.

With the death of James, Earl of Derby, the intimate connection which had subsisted for more than three hundred years between the house of Stanley and the town of Liverpool almost entirely ceased. The old race, the Stanleys of Lathom House, who seem to have taken a pride in filling the municipal offices and in the interchange of hospitalities, terminated with him. The new line, the Stanleys of Bickerstaffe, did not preserve the same traditions. Within two years after Earl James's decease, the old tower was sold to the Clayton family, let to the corporation, and converted into the borough gaol, the chapel being used as a public assembly-room. Death of Earl of Derby.

In 1734 a new Parliament was summoned, in which Liverpool reinstated Mr. Brereton, but rejected Mr. Bootle after a smart contest, in which the numbers polled were as follows: Thomas Brereton, 1074; Richard Gildart, 1030; Thomas Bootle, 990; Sir Ellis Cunliffe, 941. The second member, Mr. Richard Gildart, was of an old Liverpool family. His father, also named Richard, mayor in 1714, had in 1709 purchased a portion of the Moore estates on the north side of the town near Bevington Hill, where he resided. The street called "Gildart's Gardens" commemorates the site of the house and grounds. Richard junior, who married the daughter of Sir Thomas Johnson, was elected mayor in 1731, and again in 1736, and 1750. Francis Gildart, brother of the member, filled the office of town-clerk of Liverpool for the period of thirty-eight years from 1742 to 1780. The family continued in Liverpool down to the commencement of the present century. The last representative was the Rev. James Gildart, curate of St. Nicholas's Church from 1808 to 1813, and subsequently rector of High Wycombe, Bucks. Election. Richard Gildart.

Messrs. Brereton and Gildart continued to represent the borough in the Parliaments of 1741 and 1747.

In 1741 there is an entry in the parish books, "paid for ringing at uniting the King and Prince 12s." This alludes to the reconciliation, after a long estrangement, of George II. and Frederick Prince of Wales.

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1734.

The next few years down to the rebellion of 1745 are singularly barren of incident in the annals of the town.

Circumstances had greatly changed since the former outbreak in 1715. No doubt the barbarous severities with which the earlier insurrection had been crushed, had left strong and resentful feelings in the minds of the Catholic population of Lancashire, but a new generation had sprung up in the interval, to whom nonjuring and Jacobite principles were strange and repulsive. Liverpool was intensely loyal. When the first news was brought of the landing of Prince Charles in the Isle of Skye, by a Liverpool captain who had touched there on his passage from the Baltic, immediate action was taken. An express was forwarded to the Secretary of State; a trusty emissary was sent to Scotland to watch, and report on the progress of the rebels. Vigorous preparations were made for the defence of the town. All the powder was carried on board the ships in the harbour, and all boats and small craft removed from the shore. The zeal of the inhabitants was practically shown by a subscription amounting to £6000, of which the corporation contributed £2000, for arming and equipping a regiment of foot 648 strong, to be placed at the disposal of Government. The regiment was raised and called "the Liverpool Blues." The Honourable Colonel (afterwards Brigadier-General) Graham received the command, with Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon and Major Bendish as his subordinates. For home service a battalion of six companies of volunteers of seventy men each was raised, officered by leading men of the town.

A.D. 1745. Rebellion.

Liverpool preparations.

Whilst these loyal exertions were being made in Liverpool, a very different scene was being enacted in a neighbouring town. Manchester was at this time the head-quarters of Lancashire disaffection. One Doctor Deacon, a nonjuring clergyman, who had a chapel or conventicle in Fennel Street, was the leader of the Jacobites. He was said to be in the confidence of the clergy of the collegiate church (now the cathedral), who were undoubtedly strongly suspected by their diocesan, Bishop Peploe, of treasonable practices, and not without cause, as subsequently appeared. As a specimen of the party feeling of the period, it may be mentioned that a clergyman named Richard Assheton was about this time elected chaplain by the fellows, but rejected by the warden on the ground, as admitted by himself, that he would never enter a tavern called "the George," and never baptize a child by that hated Hanoverian name.[1]

Manchester Rebellion.

[1] *Nonconformity in Lancashire*, by R. Halley, D.D., vol. ii. p. 371.

Convivial meetings of the adherents of the Stuarts, at which many of the clergy attended, were regularly held in different taverns in Manchester and the neighbourhood, at which the health of the king "over the water" was drunk in toasts pottle deep. The agent of the Pretender was Colonel Francis Towneley, fifth son of Charles Towneley of Towneley, who, though a Roman Catholic, was in intimate association with the collegiate clergy.[1] On November 28, 1745, the vanguard of the rebel army entered Manchester, and on the following morning the main body joined them and encamped in St. Ann's Square, then newly built. Their friends collected in crowds and greeted them with a hearty welcome. A regiment was raised in Manchester as in Liverpool, but it was for the service of the opposite side. Commissions were eagerly sought after, that of a captain being sold for £50. Three sons of Dr. Deacon were officers in the corps. Thomas Syddall, son of the barber who took so conspicuous a part in the rising of 1715, was adjutant, and made an active and able officer. One of the first enrolled was Captain James Dawson, the "Jemmy Dawson" of Shenstone's touching ballad.[2] The Rev. Thomas Coppock, of Brazenose College, Oxon, a teacher in the grammar school, was appointed chaplain. Dressed in full canonicals, he accompanied a drummer through the town, and exhorted the townsmen in the name of their God to enlist in the service of their rightful sovereign. The regiment mustered about 500 strong.

On Saturday, November 29, the prince was proclaimed in St. Ann's Square amidst loud applause. The Rev. Mr. Clayton, one of the chaplains of the collegiate church, offered prayers for the new king in the public street of Salford. The rejoicings and festivities of the day were closed with fireworks in the evening. On Sunday, November 30, a grand demonstration was made. Being St. Andrew's Day, service was celebrated in the collegiate church according to the liturgy of the Scottish Episcopal Church. The new Manchester regiment mustered in the churchyard, with their flag inscribed "Church and country." The men mounted blue and white cockades, and the officers wore

[1] After the suppression of the rebellion, Colonel Towneley was beheaded. His head is still preserved in the possession of the family.

[2] Young Dawson was a gallant boy,
A brighter never trod the plain ;
And well he loved one charming maid,
And dearly was he loved again, etc.

CHAP. III. 1745.

waistcoats of Stuart tartan. Ladies with tartan ribbons, plaids, and shawls, crowded the church and paraded the streets. In the church, Prince Charles occupied the warden's seat, and Mr. Coppock preached a sermon from the text "The Lord is King, let the earth be glad thereof." Everything demonstrated an amount of enthusiasm which entirely cowed the Hanoverian adherents, who for the time withdrew from the scene.

Liverpool regiment.

The Liverpool loyal regiment had marched on November 15, directing its course to Warrington, breaking down the bridges as it proceeded. At Warrington they encountered a reconnoitring party of Highlanders, whom they took prisoners. The regiment was then ordered to Liverpool to defend the town in case of attack. One of the most zealous volunteers in the regiment was Mr. John Johnson, a relative of the former member, Sir Thomas Johnson, who was the pastor of a Baptist congregation at the foot of Stanley Street. The Manchester Jacobite regiment, in the beginning of December, followed Prince Charles in his advance to Derby beyond Macclesfield; but their zeal soon began to flag. They perceived that a collapse was imminent, and seeing many of their Scotch allies already turning their faces northward, a sort of panic seized them, and in despite of the indignant remonstrances of their chaplain, Coppock, and their adjutant, Syddall, the most earnest and thorough of their band, they made the best of their way homeward, and dispersed for safety.[1]

Liverpool Blues at Carlisle.

When the Duke of Cumberland advanced northward in pursuit of the rebels, the Liverpool Blues were ordered to join him, and were present at the siege of Carlisle. The Liverpool corporation, aware that the nothern counties had been plundered by the enemy and that provisions would be scarce, transmitted thirteen tons of biscuit to the army then before Carlisle, which were received very graciously by the duke. After the surrender of Carlisle the Liverpool Blues were dismissed from further service, with very high compliments for their conduct and bearing. In a letter written by an officer of the staff, the writer says: "No regiment in the campaign made a better appearance than the Liverpool Blues; their officers were a set of soldier-like gentlemen, though they had not been bred in the military way, being mostly gentlemen, tradesmen, etc., yet had a very good discipline,

[1] For most of the particulars relating to Manchester at the rebellion, I am indebted to the Rev. Dr. Halley's *Puritanism and Nonconformity in Lancashire.*

having thrown off their trade and merchandise for a time, and ventured their lives and fortunes, and everything dear to them, in defence of their king and country. Such men ought to be had in the greatest esteem by all true lovers of our happy constitution." So ended the last passage of arms which it is to be hoped Liverpool and Manchester will ever see.

Suppression of rebellion.

The suppression of the rebellion produced the usual bloody harvest, though the executions were not quite so indiscriminate as in 1715. Coppock, the chaplain, was executed at Carlisle in full canonicals, and prayed on the scaffold for his true and lawful superior, Prince Charles. Adjutant Syddall and Lieutenant Deacon were sent to London, and executed on Kennington Common, dying with wonderful calmness and heroism. Syddall spent an hour in his private devotions. While he was so engaged, a pile of faggots, by which his heart was to be burned, accidentally ignited. He calmly looked on the fire and prayed "Lord, help me!" He avowed his faith in the true British Church, not the corrupt Church of the Pope, nor the schismatical Church of the Hanoverians. He prayed for James III., his rightful king, and for Charles Edward and Henry Benedict, the true Prince of Wales and Duke of York. He entreated God to forgive his enemies, and protested that he had acted from a deep and settled conviction of the justice of the cause for which he was ready to die. Finally he prayed, "May all my dear children have grace to tread the dangerous steps which have led me to this place, and may they also have the courage and constancy to endure to the end, and to despise power when it is opposed to duty."[1] The heads of Syddall and Deacon were sent to Manchester, and placed on poles on the Exchange. Dr. Deacon was among the first who went to look upon the head of his son and that of his friend. He raised his hat, and, uncovered, thanked God for their faith and constancy. His friends performed the same act of reverence, and as long as the heads remained upon the Exchange, the Jacobites never passed without respectfully stopping and raising their hats. A reaction of course took place. A day of public thanksgiving was observed, when the partisans of the House of Brunswick, who had skulked in the shades when danger threatened, now came out in all the exuberance of demonstrative loyalty. St. Ann's Church and Cross Street meeting-house were as gay with Orange ribbons as the collegiate church had been in November with the Stuart

Executions.

Manchester.

[1] Halley, *Nonconformity in Lancashire*, vol. ii. p. 376.

CHAP. III.

1745. Riots.

tartan. Unfortunately, it did not end in mere show. A Whig mob collected and attacked the house of Dr. Deacon, mourning for his son, and of widow Syddall weeping for her husband with her four orphan children, and in cruel mockery of their grief made them contribute to the illumination by putting lights in their windows.

A.D. 1746. Riots in Liverpool.

In Liverpool, the same ungovernable excitement arose, but with far less cause, since the town had been thoroughly loyal throughout. On April 30, 1746, a mob of ship-carpenters, sailors, and others, attacked and set fire to the Roman Catholic chapel of St. Mary, Edmond Street, which they completely destroyed, with four adjoining houses and all their contents. On Tuesday, May 20, the riots were renewed, when the mob attacked the house of a widow lady, in which there was a private Catholic chapel; the mayor and town-clerk, with what feeble police the town could muster, attended and read the Riot Act, but all in vain; they were driven off by the mob, who set fire to the house and carried off as plunder whatever was rescued from the flames.

In 1745, died in Liverpool, John Oldmixon, the historian, who had been promoted to an office in the custom house here.[1]

Defence of the "Ann Galkey."

In 1746, one of the most gallant defences recorded in naval annals was made by Captain Nehemiah Holland and crew, of the Liverpool ship Ann Galkey, bound for Antigua. Her crew consisted of fourteen men, with four guns of 1½ in. bore, six muskets, six pistols, and six cutlasses. When in sight of Antigua she was attacked by a French Privateer, mounting ten six pounders, with 100 men. The action was fought in view of the people on the island. The French boarded the Ann Galkey three several times, but were driven back each time with considerable loss, leaving ultimately eighteen of their crew dead on the English ship, and fifty to sixty wounded on their own vessel. The Ann Galkey did not lose a single man. The defence was conducted with considerable skill. Preparations had been made by barricades to protect the crew against boarding, and trains of powder were laid to explode every time the assault was made, which made havoc amongst the boarders. The Ann Galkey took fire twice during the engagement.

On the ship's return to Liverpool Captain Holland was pre-

[1] He was the author of a *History of England from Henry VIII. to George I.*, 3 vols. fol., 1735, which enjoyed in its day considerable reputation.

sented by his owners with a silver punch bowl containing two gallons, with the following inscription engraved: 1746.

"The gift of the owners, to Nehemiah Holland, Captain of the Ann Galkey, who with inimitable bravery preserved and defended her against the infinitely superior force of a French enemy, Aug. 21, 1746."

In 1748 the first stone of the new town-hall was laid, to which I shall have again to refer in a future chapter. A.D. 1748.

In 1751 an Act was obtained for the establishment of a "Court of Requests," for the recovery of debts under forty shillings. The court was constituted of seventeen commissioners, amongst whom were to be the recorder, two aldermen, and four common councillors, and the remaining ten, discreet and reputable inhabitants of the town. They were to sit every Wednesday. This court continued with various modifications, subsequently introduced, until it was finally merged into the County Court. A.D. 1751. Court of Requests.

We have now reached the middle of the eighteenth century, and it may be well to pause and take a general view of the progress made and of the position of the town at this time. In this survey we are considerably aided by a local publication[1] issued in 1753, eked out from other sources. Survey of town. A.D. 1753.

From a little above 5000 at the beginning of the century, the population now amounted to upwards of 22,000. The town had broken the natural barrier of the stream by which it was limited, and had extended into a new quarter southward and eastward, with more spacious and regular streets. The style of building had greatly improved. Many of the more recent mansions would not have disgraced the metropolis. At the beginning of the century Liverpool was a mere hamlet in the parish of Walton, with a small chapel of ease. Now she could boast of a separate parish, with two rectors, and four churches with towers and spires, two of them at least very handsome buildings, and seven Nonconformist places of worship, of which none existed in 1700. Of other public buildings, there existed the Exchange in course of erection, the Custom House, the Infirmary and Seamen's Hospital at the top of Shaw's Brow, and the Blue Coat Hospital. Buildings.

The progress made during the half century is probably most clearly shown in the increase of its commerce. In 1700 the number of vessels entering the port was 102, with a tonnage Shipping.

[1] Williamson's *Liverpool Memorandum Book* for the year 1753.

CHAP. III. 1753.

of 8619 tons. In 1751 the number of ships was 543, with a tonnage of 31,731. In 1700 no docks whatever existed for the accommodation of ships. In 1750 the docks covered an area of eighteen acres, with a length of quay frontage of more than a mile and a half.

The number of ships belonging to the port was 347, of which there were engaged in the West India and North American trades, 106; in the African trade, 88; in the trade with Europe, 28; and in the coasting and Irish trades, 125; besides 80 river craft, of 40 to 70 tons each, engaged in the coal and salt trades.

Manufactures.

At this time the principal manufactures in the town were blue and white earthenware and china—which has entirely disappeared—and watches, a trade in which Liverpool still successfully competes with London and Coventry.

Markets.

The markets of the town were in 1750 situated as follows: the butchers in High Street, on the site of the present Exchange flags; the fish markets in Pool Lane (South Castle Street) and Chapel Street; and the general markets round St. George's Church, in Castle Ditch, and at the White Cross—the intersection of Tithebarn and Oldhall Streets.

Amusements.

Public amusements were provided by the theatre in Drury Lane, the tennis court in Dale Street, and two bowling greens, bowling being at this time a very fashionable game. Balls and assemblies were accommodated in the ancient chapel in the Tower.

In 1753 there were four private carriages kept in the town—Mrs. Clayton's, Mrs. Bankes's, Mr. Cunliffe's and Mr. Atherton's.

It does not appear that at this time any newspaper was published in Liverpool. Attempts had been made some years previously, but without success.[1] The first number of Williamson's *Advertiser* appeared on May 25, 1756.

Notwithstanding the commercial progress made by the town during the previous fifty years, the facilities for travelling remained in a very rude and primitive condition. There was no

Roads.

highway into the town fit for carriages. No stage-coach or public conveyance approached nearer than Warrington. The general mode of travelling was on horseback. It is advertised that every Friday morning, William Knowles, George Glover, or others, started from the "Swan with Two Necks," Lad Lane,

[1] In a pamphlet published in 1710, giving an account of the Parliamentary election of that year, reference is made to a local newspaper then existing.

London, with a gang of horses for the conveyance of passengers and light goods, and reached Liverpool on the Monday evening following.

The London and foreign post came in every Sunday, Tuesday, and Friday morning, and departed on the evening of the same day it arrived.

Municipal.

Although repeated decisions by the courts of law had demonstrated the illegality of their proceedings, the common council continued their system of self-election, and making by-laws without the consent of the burgesses. In order to legalise these usurped powers, the exercise of which led to continual litigation, the council in 1751 petitioned the Crown for an explanatory and confirmatory charter. They allege in their petition that the governing charter of William III., though it did not give the power in express terms, was evidently intended to enable the council to make by-laws, in the same manner as was provided in the abrogated charter of Charles II.; and they pray accordingly that this power may be given. They also desire to increase the number of justices, by placing on the commission four additional aldermen next to the senior alderman who already possessed the dignity. The petition was referred to the Attorney and Solicitor-General, Sir Dudley Ryder, and Mr. (afterwards Lord) Mansfield, who recommended that the petition should be withdrawn, excepting so far as it related to the appointment of additional justices and other minor matters. This was accordingly done, and a short charter was granted which confirmed all former privileges, but left the council as to their authority in the same situation as they stood by the charter of William III. Notwithstanding this rebuff, the council still continued to make by-laws as before, but they were rarely acted upon, and in case of resistance were never enforced by legal proceedings.

Petition for charter.

Charter refused.

In the autumn of 1754 a new Parliament was elected. There were three candidates for Liverpool, John Hardman, the old member Thomas Brereton, who had now assumed the name of Salusbury, and Edward Lloyd. The last-named gentleman had been in the War Office, and resided between St. Asaph and Denbigh. He came to Liverpool only a few days before the election, and it was supposed he might have succeeded if he had been earlier in the field. He or his friends ordered some hogsheads of ale to be brought into the street and tapped at both ends, which had a wonderful effect on the populace.

A.D. 1754.

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Mr. Gildart was the great supporter on one side, and Mr. Foster Cunliffe on the other. Much riot ensued, and the pavement in Castle Street was torn up for missiles. The poll stood at the close: Hardman, 1236; Salusbury, 746; Lloyd, 552.

Hardman.

Mr. Hardman belonged to a family settled in Rochdale. About 1735, having married the only daughter of Alderman Cockshutt,[1] he established himself in Liverpool, and purchased from Mr. Percival[2] the Allerton Hall estate, where he resided. His parliamentary career was cut short by death within a few months after his election. His brother, Mr. James Hardman, a wealthy Rochdale manufacturer, who had married a lady of Liverpool connections, came to reside at Allerton Hall, which had been rebuilt by his brother. He died in 1759. His widow was a lady of intelligence and acquirements, and of great benevolence of character. She lived to an advanced age, and died in 1799. Mr. Roscoe, who was her intimate friend for many years, wrote a tribute to her memory, which thus concludes: "A life of temperance and virtue secured to her an old age of cheerfulness and respectability, and enabled her to wait the close of her days with calmness and resignation.

Mrs. Hardman.

"When Virtue, nipt in early bloom,
Untimely from the world retires,
With just regret we mourn the doom
That blasts the hope which youth inspires.

"But when to Virtue's arduous task
Extended length of days is given,
The work complete, no more we ask,
But yield the ripened fruit to Heaven."

At her death, Mr. Roscoe purchased the Hall and the greater part of the estate, which was afterwards sold to Mr. Pattinson Ellames, nephew of Mr. Peter Ellames, formerly an

[1] John Cockshutt came from Stanton Harold, Leicestershire. He was bailiff in 1698, mayor in 1702.

[2] Allerton Hall at the time of the Commonwealth belonged to Richard Lathom, of a family of that name at Parbold. In 1653, it was adjudged to be forfeited, and was sold to John Sumner of Midhurst. In 1670, by an arrangement between the Sumner and Lathom families, the estate was sold to Richard Percival and Thomas his son for £4755. Richard Percival was bailiff of Liverpool in 1651, and mayor in 1658. About 1735, the estate was sold by John Percival to John and James Hardman for £7700. James Hardman's wife, Roscoe's friend, was daughter of Leigh of Oughtrington, and granddaughter of Richard Percival.

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attorney in Liverpool. For many years there was a protracted litigation respecting this estate, arising out of a disputed succession in the Hardman family, which was not decided until a comparatively recent period.

Mr. Brereton Salusbury, the other member, also died during the year of his election. The vacant seats were filled by Sir Ellis Cunliffe, Bart., and Mr. Charles Pole.

Cunliffe.

The family of the Cunliffes were settled from very early times at Cunliffe or Cunlive near Whalley, and afterwards at Hollings near Haslingden, and at Whycollar near Colne.

Foster Cunliffe.

Foster Cunliffe came to Liverpool as a youth about the beginning of the century, and seems to have been connected with Richard Norris, the friend of Sir Thomas Johnson and M.P. for Liverpool in 1708. In 1706, Henry Watts, landlord of the "Axe Inn," Aldermanbury, London—a great resort of Liverpool travellers—writes to Richard Norris: "I thank you for your kind remembrance in recommending Mr. Cunliffe to my house, and him for his good company: please to give my service," etc.

The young merchant was enterprising and successful, and soon came into notice. In 1708, at the age of twenty-three, he was made bailiff, and he filled the civic chair in 1716, 1729, and 1735. He was an active, vigorous, energetic man, a fitting successor in the town's affairs to Sir Thomas Johnson, than whom, however, he was more fortunate, having realised before his decease in 1758 a very large fortune. He was one of the first to appreciate and turn to account the incipient African trade in slaves. "When he began work as a merchant, the traffic of Liverpool was chiefly with Ireland and the English coast towns, while the Virginian tobacco trade was just rising into importance." At the time of his death, that trade, though still vigorous, had become insignificant in comparison with the newer African trade.[1]

Though somewhat stern and obstinate in character, he was a liberal and benevolent man. He was successively treasurer and president of the Infirmary, and was a liberal contributor both to that charity and the Blue School, to which he gave £1000. The idea of anything contrary to religion or morality in the slave trade never troubled the consciences of the worthies of that period. A handsome monument to the memory of Foster Cunliffe was erected in the chancel of St. Peter's, in which he is described as "A merchant whose sagacity.

[1] *English Merchants*, vol. ii. p. 58.

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honesty, and diligence procured wealth and credit to himself and his country; a magistrate who administered justice with discernment, candour, and impartiality; a Christian devout and exemplary," etc. His son, Ellis Cunliffe, represented Liverpool in Parliament from 1754 to the time of his death in 1767. He was appointed a Lord of Trade and Plantations in 1762, and made a baronet, which distinction his descendants continue to enjoy. He was succeeded in the title by his brother Robert, who purchased the estate of Acton Park, Denbighshire, which is still the family residence. His grandson, Foster Cunliffe, married the only daughter of Lord Crewe, and represented Chester in Parliament. He was prematurely cut off in the prime of life in the year 1832.

Sir Ellis Cunliffe.

Chas. Pole.

The other member, Charles Pole, who succeeded Mr. Brereton Salusbury, belonged to an old Liverpool family, various members of which have at different times filled the civic chair and other municipal offices. He was a merchant, carrying on business both in Liverpool and London, and had recently left Liverpool to reside in the metropolis. He was maternal uncle to Sir Ellis Cunliffe.

George Whitfield.

In 1755, a visit was paid to Liverpool by George Whitfield. He remained a week, and preached nearly every day. John Newton, then residing in Liverpool, writes: "We shall try to keep him till Monday, though he says he never was in a place where he had so little encouragement to stay as here." He had been once before in 1753, but only stayed a single night.

A.D. 1755. Sankey Canal.

In 1755 the Act was passed (28 George II. chap. 28) for rendering navigable the Sankey Brook, connecting the St. Helen's coal-field with the River Mersey. This was really the first navigable *canal* constructed in England. The "navigations," as they were called, hitherto constructed, had been merely the widening, deepening, and straightening the course of existing rivers; but in this instance the genius of Brindley struck out a bolder path, which has ever since been adopted. He found it easier to construct an independent channel, avoiding altogether the sinuosities and irregularities of the natural stream, but making use of it to feed the canal and take off its superfluous waters when necessary. So fixed was this idea in Brindley's mind, that when on a subsequent occasion he was under examination before a committee of the House of Commons on a canal bill, and very enthusiastic in his preference for canals over

river navigation, being asked what he thought was the use of rivers, he promptly replied, "to feed canals."

1755. Sankey Canal.

The Sankey navigation was opened in November 1757, and very soon proved a mine of wealth to its fortunate proprietors. There was a peculiarity about this canal which is worthy of being put on record. When the Act was obtained for its construction, the landowners on the line were apprehensive that if teams of horses were permitted along the towing path, injury would be caused by trespassing; a clause was therefore inserted, that the barges were not to be drawn by horses. Since the wind was generally insufficient to impel them, it was necessary that human aid should be brought in. Gangs of men were therefore employed, six or eight abreast, yoked to a common rope, who wearily tugged the barges along the eight or ten miles of their course. This grew up into a profession and a vested right, insomuch that when an Act was applied for to do away with this degrading practice, there was a general rising against it amongst those employed, which was with difficulty suppressed.

John Wesley.

In 1758 John Wesley visited Liverpool, and preached in Pitt Street Chapel twice a day during an entire week. On March 31 he sailed for Dublin.

A.D. 1756. War with France.

The seven years' war with France and Spain, which broke out in 1756, and after very humiliating disasters terminated so gloriously for England at the peace of Paris in 1763, had a very important bearing on the commerce of Liverpool.

French privateers.

The French commenced the war with considerable spirit, and in addition to their regular navy, overran the narrow seas with swift, well-armed privateers. The result was such an enormous increase in the premium for insurance against sea risks, as almost to put an end to commercial operations. From twelve to twenty-five guineas per cent were the ordinary rates of insurance.

Liverpool privateers.

Restricted in one direction, the Liverpool merchants took a lesson from the enemy, and armed and sent out their merchant ships as privateers, acting on the maxim of ancient Pistol:

> "Why, then, the world's mine oyster,
> Which I with sword will open."

The first privateer sent out was the "Anson," of 150 tons and 100 men, carrying sixteen guns and twenty-four swivels. She soon returned with two French West Indiamen as prizes, worth £20,000. The next, the "Brave Blakeney," was equally successful. This naturally caused great excitement in the port.

CHAP. III. 1756.

The whole community rushed into privateering, and shares in these expeditions were as eagerly sought after as railway shares in the feverish period ninety years subsequently. Even the ordinary trading ships partook of a quasi-naval character.

The "Nancy" Privateer.

Advertisements like the following were common: "With or without convoy for Jamaica, and will sail in May (1759) from Liverpool, the new ship 'Nancy,' Benjamin Holland, commander; burthen 500 tons; carries 22 carriage-guns of 9 and 6 pounders, 10 swivels, and 70 men, and will carry a Letter of Marque." The "Nancy" was ultimately captured by the French on her voyage from Liverpool to Jamaica.

"One of the most noted of the Liverpool privateers was the "Liverpool," which was launched and fitted out soon after the commencement of the war. On September 8, 1758, the following advertisement appeared in Williamson's *Advertiser*:

A.D. 1758.

The "Liverpool."

"For a third cruise against the enemies of Great Britain.—The ship privateer "Liverpool," under the command of Captain John Ward, and will be ready for sea as soon as possible. She carries 22 guns (18 of which are 12 pounders) and 160 men. All gentlemen, seamen, and others, who are willing to try their fortunes, may apply to the commander, or Mr. Henry Hardware, merchant."

The promises of glory and prize-money thus held out do not appear to have been sufficiently attractive, for on September 15 we read in the same journal the following statement:

"On Saturday last Captain William Hutchinson,[1] late commander and part owner of the "Liverpool" privateer (notwithstanding he had appointed his lieutenant to the command of the ship, intending to stay at home, in order to promote his scheme

[1] Captain William Hutchinson was a remarkable man. He was born at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and was brought up to the sea in a small collier. In 1750 he obtained the command of the Lowestoft frigate, and after engaging in privateering and other schemes, he was in 1760 appointed dock-master of Liverpool. He was a man of varied qualifications and pursuits, amongst other things the inventor of reflecting mirrors for lighthouses, the first of which he erected at Bidston in 1763. In 1794 he published a treatise on naval architecture. From January 1768 to August 1793 he continued a series of observations on the tides, the barometer, the weather, and the winds, the MSS. of which are in the Athenæum and Lyceum Libraries. From these were obtained the data by which the Holdens, father and son, calculated the tide-tables. He was also the founder of the Marine Society, and a contributor to all the benevolent institutions of the town.

He died February 14, 1801, and lies interred in St. Thomas' churchyard.

of supplying this market with live fish), proposed to undertake the command of her once more, and attempt to curb the insolence of Mons. Thurot, of the "Marshal Bellisle" privateer, cruising in the north channel to interrupt the trade of this neighbourhood; upon which the principal merchants generously opened a subscription to indemnify the owners of the privateer, and to advance each seamen five guineas in hand for one month's cruise, exclusive of their right to the customary shares of prize-money. Notwithstanding 207 seamen had signed the articles, yet as soon as the ship was ready for sea on Tuesday only 28 appeared, which obliged the subscribers to drop the cruise, knowing that unless she got out immediately, it would be impossible to execute the proposed expedition in time."

1758. Mons. Thurot.

The cruise was accordingly abandoned, the ship was sold by auction on April 12, 1759, and subsequently employed in trading between New York and Liverpool.

A circumstance occurred in 1756, related by Smollett the historian, which exhibits in a striking point of view the pluck and daring of the Liverpool privateers-men. The "St. George" of Liverpool, carrying twelve guns and eighty men, commanded by Fortunatus Wright, was in the port of Leghorn, when a large French xebeque, mounted with sixteen guns and about 160 men, fixed her station at the mouth of the harbour to intercept British commerce. Wright could not brook this insult: he weighed anchor, hoisted sail, engaged the xebeque, and after an obstinate action, in which the French captain, lieutenant, and about sixty men were killed, he returned to the harbour in triumph with the captured vessel. In his voyage home to England, his vessel foundered, and all on board perished.

A.D. 1756. Fortunatus Wright.

About this time great alarm and consternation were caused by the proceedings of Mons. Thurot, a daring French adventurer, who had brought out of Dunkirk a small squadron of privateers, and almost swept away the commerce of the Irish Channel and the west of Scotland.

M. Thurot.

The state of feeling in Liverpool is displayed in the following paragraph from Williamson's "Advertiser," of November 9, 1759:

A.D. 1759.

"On Sunday evening the account of a French squadron being sailed from Dunkirk, destined for the north channel, arrived here; upon which Lawrence Spencer, Esq., Mayor, convened the gentlemen merchants and tradesmen at the Exchange, to consider of putting the town immediately into a proper state of

CHAP. III.

1759. Liverpool alarm.

defence against any sudden attempt of the enemy, when it was unanimously resolved to enter into an association and subscription for defending the town in the best manner, and a committee of gentlemen was appointed to manage the whole. Expresses were that night despatched to His Majesty, praying for a commission, to be granted to the Mayor in the same manner as was done in the year 1745, and as soon as the commission comes down it is proposed to raise at least 20 companies of 100 men each. At the request of the committee a return of the muskets in the hands of the merchants and dealers has been made, and it is found that on an emergency upwards of 4000 men may be completely armed, exclusive of the arms in private persons' hands; and it is expected that the gentlemen of the field and saddle will form themselves into squadrons of light horse, being at least 500 strong. Pilot boats have been sent out and properly stationed, to give the earliest intelligence in case of the enemy's steering this course, and regular measures concerted to destroy on their approach all the buoys, and blow up the landmarks leading into the harbour. To-morrow being Saturday, November 10th, the anniversary of the birth of our most gracious Sovereign George II., the five new batteries will be opened, and a royal salute given on the occasion. They are deemed the completest of the kind in England, and were erected at the private expense of the gentlemen merchants and tradesmen, who voluntarily opened a subscription for that purpose; and consist of two *batteries d'enfilade* scouring the whole river; *a battery en charpe*, which plays obliquely; *a battery per camerade*, so contrived as to fire at the same time upon one body; and a battery in form zigzag, making several angles, completely sheltering the garrison from being enfiladed or fired on in a straight line. This week upwards of 70 heavy cannon have been mounted on the platforms, and several hundred men employed in completing them."[1]

Preparations for defence.

Mons. Thurot continued his depredations for some time with impunity. He is heard of occasionally "picking up a great many of our merchantmen," whilst the British fleet was lying in harbour deliberating what course to adopt. He lost by bad weather two of his ships and half his men. About the middle of February 1760, he put into the Isle of Islay, and procuring some provisions, crossed the channel to Carrickfergus, which he

A.D. 1760.

[1] One of these batteries was erected in St. Nicholas's Churchyard, on the lower ground fronting the river.

took and plundered after a short siege. On the approach of some troops sent by the lord-lieutenant, he took to his ships, carrying off the mayor of the town and three of the principal inhabitants. His career, however, was drawing to a close. On March 4 he was attacked off the north-west coast of the Isle of Man by Captain Elliott, with a squadron of three ships. Thurot and his men fought with desperate valour, and he fell covered with wounds on his own deck. His three ships were taken and carried as prizes to the Isle of Man.

Defeat of Thurot.

Volunteers.

The efforts of the corporation and inhabitants to raise a volunteer force for the defence of the town were crowned with success; for we read on March 14, 1760, "On Tuesday last, Col. Spencer's (the Mayor), Capt. William Ingram's, and Capt. John Tarleton's independent companies of this town, were reviewed by the Right Hon. the Earl of Scarborough, in Price's (now Cleveland) Square, and went through the manual exercise, platoon and street firing, etc. The companies were all clothed in their new uniforms at their own private expense; the Colonel's company in blue, lapelled and faced with buff; Capt. Ingram's in scarlet coats and breeches, lapelled and faced with green; green waistcoats, gold laced hats, and queue wigs; and Capt. Tarleton's in blue, with gold vellum button holes; Capt. Thomas Johnson's company of the train of artillery wear the uniform of the navy, blue and buff, with gold laced hats."

Losses by privateers.

It has been sometimes asserted that the merchants of Liverpool greatly enriched themselves in the last century by the practice of privateering. At a subsequent period there were a few exceptional instances of this, but during the Seven Years' War the results to the Liverpool merchants were most disastrous. From a list published in July 1760, it appears that in four years from the commencement of the war there had been taken by the French, of vessels *belonging to Liverpool alone*, the number of 143, or 36 in each year. The tonnage is not given; but as they were all sea-going vessels, principally in the West India and American trades, the losses must have been enormous.

The pursuits of the Liverpool merchants during a great part of the eighteenth century will not bear very severe scrutiny in a moral point of view, taking the standpoint of the present day. The practice of privateering could not but blunt the feelings of humanity of those engaged in it, combining as it did the greed of the gambler with the ferocity of the pirate. War is hateful

CHAP. III. 1760.

in any form, but undertaken by a nation with the discipline and courtesies of a regular force, it assumes an amount of dignity which hides to some extent its harsher features; whilst marauding expeditions undertaken by private parties combine all the evils without any of the heroism of war; greed is the motive power, and robbery and murder the means of its gratification. Its influence on the community which encourages it cannot but be deleterious.

Slave trade.

Another pursuit which can hardly be held in higher estimation, morally, had now assumed in Liverpool a very extensive and important character. I allude to the African slave-trade.

The English first began to trade with Africa in 1553. Queen Elizabeth in 1588 (the year of the Armada) granted letters patent, and limited the trade to a company, which was also encouraged by James I. and Charles I. The Dutch, having committed great depredations upon the English traders, Charles II. in 1662 granted an incorporation to a body of merchants, under the title of "The Company of Royal Adventurers of England to Africa." This Company, becoming much involved and unable to proceed, resigned their charter in favour of another Company called the "Royal African Asiento Company,"[1] which in 1689 entered into a contract to supply the Spanish West Indies with slaves. This Company obtained a royal charter, which was abrogated by the Bill of Rights (1 William and Mary, c. 2), but the Company continued to be masters of the situation, carrying things with a high hand, and seizing the ships of private traders. They had a depôt in Kingston, Jamaica, for the reception of their human cargoes, called the Southsea House.

A.D. 1689.

Bristol.

Bristol was the first to interfere with the Company's monopoly, after it had been rendered illegal by the Sections 1 and 2 of the Bill of Rights (1689), and carried on the trade under considerable disadvantages, until the Asiento Company was broken up in 1698, and the trade thrown open. In the early part of the eighteenth century the Bristol merchants exported slaves from Africa to the Windward islands and Virginia, which gave them great advantages in the return voyage with West India produce.[2] Liverpool at that time being engaged in

[1] *Asiento* in Spanish means a contract or undertaking.

[2] From 1701 to 1709, fifty-seven ships per annum were employed in this trade.

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1730. Slave-trade.

the exportation of Manchester goods to Jamaica, to supply the contraband trade with the Spanish main, had no inducement to enter into the slave-trade. In 1709, a single barque of 30 tons burden from Liverpool made a venture, and carried 15 slaves across the Atlantic. Nothing more was done for the next 21 years.

When the trade was thrown open in 1698, it was enacted by Parliament that private traders should pay to the company 10 per cent for the repairs of the forts, and the expenses of the factory. This led to disputes and dissensions, and in 1730 Parliament granted a certain sum for this purpose, and enacted that persons trading to Africa should pay to the chamberlain of London, the clerk of the Merchants' Hall, Bristol, or to the town-clerk of Liverpool, 40s. for the freedom of the new company, which should consist of all his Majesty's subjects trading between Cape Blanco and the Cape of Good Hope. London, Bristol, and Liverpool were each to send three committee men to manage the business, and to take charge of the forts and factories.

Thus encouraged, Liverpool went heartily into the new trade. In 1730, immediately on the adoption of the regulations, fifteen vessels were despatched, of the average burden of 75 tons each. In 1737, the number of slave ships from Liverpool had increased to 33. The Grenville treaty of 1747, alluded to in the preceding pages, by cutting off the legitimate trade in Manchester goods, threw a great temptation in the way of the Liverpool merchants to employ their ships in the African trade. In 1751, A.D. 1751. 53 ships sailed from Liverpool for Africa, of 5334 tons in the aggregate. From this time the trade set in with such a steady current, that it soon became one of the most lucrative branches of the commerce of the port. The voyage was threefold. The ships sailed from Liverpool for the west coast of Africa, where they shipped the slaves from depôts where their living freight had been collected; thence to the West India islands, where the slaves were sold, and the proceeds brought home in cargoes of sugar and rum. Custom has a wonderful effect in blinding the moral perceptions. Many of the merchants engaged in the trade were honourable, kind-hearted, benevolent men in their own sphere, and when we remember that John Newton, subsequently John Newton. the celebrated rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, was actually studying for the ministry whilst in command of a slave ship, we

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1751. Slave-trade.

must make large allowance for circumstances and associations. At the same time no casuistry can convert wrong into right; the perversion of the instincts of humanity must, to some extent, undermine the foundation of all morals, and imperceptibly lower the tone of the society in which it is allowed. It cannot be denied that such was the result in Liverpool during the last century.

The capture of the French West India islands gave a great impulse to the trade, which was further stimulated by the bounties and prohibitory duties in favour of West India produce. Liverpool became the great emporium of this traffic. The greatest number of slaves deported in English bottoms was about 60,000 per annum, of which Liverpool ships carried about one-half. From a return in the year 1771, during that year 105 ships sailed from Liverpool for Africa, and carried to the West Indies 28,200 negroes. In 1788, when the question of the suppression began to be agitated, it was stated that the profit to Liverpool from the slave-trade amounted to £300,000 per annum. At the period we have now reached (1760) the trade was in the full tide of prosperity, and no warning voice, except the feeble wail of a few obscure Quakers, had as yet been raised against its enormity.

A.D. 1771.

A.D. 1760.

Bill of lading.

A bill of lading of a cargo of slaves may now be looked at with some curiosity. I give the following, copied *verbatim et literatim* from the original:

> Shipped by the grace of God in good order and well-conditioned, by Irving and Fraser, in and upon the good snow called the Byam, whereof is master under God for this present voyage George Martin, and now riding at anchor in the Rispongo, and by God's grace bound for the West Indies; to say two hundred and eight slaves, being marked and numbered as in the margin; and are to be delivered in the like good order and well conditioned at the aforesaid port of West Indies, the danger of the sea, mortality and insurrection only excepted; unto order or their assigns. Freight for the slaves paid, vessel belonging to the owners, with primage and average accustomed. In witness whereof the master and purser of the said ship hath affirmed to three bills of lading, all of this tenor and date; one of which bills being accomplished, the other two to stand void; and so God send the good ship to her desired port in safety. Amen. Dated in Kissing, 14th May, 1803.
>
> GEO. MARTIN.

In the margin :—

Men	97
Women	39
Boys	44
Girls	25
	205
Died	3
Shipped	208

It will be observed that in this precious document the name of God is invoked four times for His blessing on the transaction.

The traffic in human flesh and blood was not kept altogether at a distance, but polluted our own country by its hateful presence, until the noble stand made by Granville Sharp in the case of the negro Somerset in 1772 led to the memorable decision by the twelve judges, that "slaves cannot breathe in England." The following advertisement appears in Williamson's *Liverpool Advertiser* of September 8, 1758 :

Run away from Dent, in Yorkshire, on Monday the 28th August last, Thomas Anson, a negro man about 5. ft. 6 ins. high, aged 20 years and upwards, and broadset. Whoever will bring the said man back to Dent, or give any information that he may be had again, shall receive a handsome reward, from Mr. Edmund Sill, of Dent ; or Mr. David Kenyon, merchant in Liverpool.

The following appeared in 1765 : A.D. 1765.

To be sold by auction at George's Coffee-house, betwixt the hours of six and eight o'clock, a very fine negro girl about eight years of age, very healthy, and hath been some time from the coast. Any person willing to purchase the same may apply to Capt. Robert Syers, at Mr. Bartley Hodgett's, Mercer and Draper near the Exchange, where she may be seen till the time of sale. Sales of negroes.

In Williamson's *Advertiser* of September 12, 1766, the following advertisement appeared :

To be sold
At the Exchange Coffee House in Water Street, this day the 12th inst.
September, at one o'clock precisely,
Eleven negroes
Imported per the Angola.
* * * * * *
BROKER.

CHAP. III.

1760. Derrick's letters.

We have a glimpse of Liverpool in 1760 from the pen of no less a personage than the Master of the Ceremonies at Bath (Samuel Derrick), who published in 1767 a small volume entitled, "*Letters written from Leverpoole, Chester, Corke, etc.*, by Samuel Derrick." After describing the river and the docks—then three in number—he states, that "the docks are flanked with broad commodious quays, surrounded by handsome brick houses, inhabited for the most part by seafaring people, and communicating with the town by drawbridges and floodgates, which a man must be wary in crossing over, as they are pretty narrow."

Town-hall.

He gives a description of the Exchange (now the Town-hall) as it existed in its original condition:

"The Exchange is a handsome square structure of grey stone supported by arches. Being blocked up on two sides with old houses, it is so very dark that little or no business can be transacted in it; but the merchants assemble in the street opposite to it, as they used to do before it was erected, and even a heavy shower can scarcely drive them to a harbour. In the upper part are noble apartments, wherein the corporation transact public business. The court-room is remarkably handsome, large, and commodious; here the mayor tries petty causes, and has power to sentence for transportation. The assembly-room, which is also upstairs, is grand, spacious, and finely illuminated; here is a meeting once a fortnight to dance and play cards; where you will find some women elegantly accomplished and perfectly well dressed. The proceedings are regulated by a lady styled 'the Queen,' and she rules with very absolute power."

This, from the man who dictated the etiquette to the *beau monde* of Bath, is no slight testimony to the deportment of the Liverpool belles of the day. He also speaks very highly of the *mise en scène* at the theatre (then in Drury Lane).

The following is worth extracting for its raciness if not for its truth: "The great increase of commerce is owing to the spirit and indefatigable industry of the inhabitants, *the majority of whom are either native Irish or of Irish descent;* a fresh proof my lord, that the Hibernians thrive best when transplanted, engage in trade, as in battle, with little or no spirit at home, but with unparalleled gallantry abroad."

Manners and customs.

"Though few of the merchants have had more education than befits a counting-house, they are genteel in their address. They are hospitable, nay friendly, even to those of whom they have the least knowledge. Their tables are plenteously furnished,

and their viands well served up; their rum is excellent, of which they consume large quantities, made, when the West India fleets come in, mostly with limes, which are very cooling, and afford a delicious flavour. But they pique themselves greatly upon their ale, of which almost every house brews a sufficiency for its own use; and such is the unanimity prevailing among them, that if by accident one man's stock runs short, he sends his pitcher to his neighbour to be filled. Though I am not very fond of the beverage usually prepared under that name, I learnt from the peculiar excellency of this, to like it a little. I must add, that I drank some of a superior quality with Mr. Mears,[1] a merchant in the Portuguese trade; his malt was bought at Derby, his hops in Kent, and his water brought by express order from Lisbon. It was, indeed, an excellent liquor."

Trade.

"I need not inform your lordship, that the principal exports of Leverpoole are all kinds of woollen and worsted goods, with other manufactures of Manchester and Yorkshire, Sheffield and Birmingham wares, etc. These they barter on the coast of Guinea for slaves, gold dust, and elephants' teeth. The slaves they dispose of at Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the other West India islands for rum and sugar, for which they are sure of a quick sale at home. This port is admirably suited for trade, being almost central in the channel; so that in war time, by coming north about, their ships have a good chance for escaping the many privateers belonging to the enemy, which cruize to the southward. Thus, their insurance being less, they are able to undersell their neighbours; and since I have been here I have seen enter the port in one morning, seven West India ships, whereof five were not insured."

"It is much to the honour of the inhabitants that all party distinction seems at present to be banished from among them; they agree perfectly well, and no man repines at his neighbour's thriving more than himself."[2]

Inns.

"There are at Leverpoole three good inns. For tenpence a man dines elegantly at an ordinary, consisting of ten or a dozen dishes. Indeed, it must be said both of Cheshire and Lancashire, that they have plenty of the best and most luxurious foods

[1] Mr. Thomas Mears resided in Paradise Street.

[2] A few months after this, one of the severest contests for the Parliamentary representation ever known in Liverpool took place, when party spirit of the most intense character was displayed.

CHAP. III. 1760.

at a very cheap rate; their mutton is small and juicy; their fowl, whether wild or tame, brought in fine order to market; and of fish they have great variety in the utmost perfection."

Troughton in his history states that in the middle of the last century "it was customary on the annual election of the mayor to have a bear baited. This took place on the 10th October, and the demonstrations continued for several days."

The animal was first baited at the White Cross, to the gratification of the populace. He was then led in triumph to the Exchange, where the conflict was renewed. A repetition of the same brutal cruelties was exhibited in Derby Square, and the diversion was concluded at the Stocks Market. The bear was separately assailed by large mastiffs, and if any dog compelled him to yell, or was able to sustain the contest with superior address, he was rewarded with a brass collar.

The population in 1760 had reached 25,787.

George III.

George III. ascended the throne on the death of his grandfather, October 25, 1760. In March 1761 a new Parliament

Election.

was convened. The two old members, Sir Ellis Cunliffe and Charles Pole, again presented themselves, but were met with a strong opposition. The sitting members were closely connected with the common council and represented their interests; the discontent with the recent attempt to alter the charter, and the continued exclusion of the freemen from all influence in the corporation, tended to make them unpopular. The agitation commenced immediately after the decease of the old king. A meeting was called on October 31, when the sitting members were invited to stand, and an address was forthwith issued on their behalf. The Opposition invited the Right Honourable Charles Townsend, treasurer of the chamber and privy councillor,

A.D. 1761.

who, however, declined the honour. On January 16, 1761, an

Sir William Meredith.

address was issued by Sir William Meredith, Baronet, of Hanbury and Bowden in Cheshire; and at a public meeting held at the Golden Lion on January 23, it was unanimously agreed to adopt him as the popular candidate. Sir William belonged to the Tory or country party as they were called, who had inveighed so earnestly in the days of Walpole against standing armies and a national debt. He was educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford. He had stood an unsuccessful contest for the borough of Wigan, and possessed some popular qualifications, which recommended him to the Liverpool public.

Although the newspapers of the period are strangely reticent, and scarcely allude to the election at all, yet we have, preserved in a pamphlet of the day, a complete collection of the squibs, addresses, songs, and epigrams issued during the contest. For the most part they are singularly destitute of wit or point, nor can they be accused of much scurrility. The demon of dulness seems to have presided over their composition; but they nevertheless afford an interesting picture of the popular feeling of the time. Free trade to Africa, or in other words non-interference with the slave-trade, was the watchword, the merit of which was claimed by both parties. The usual charges of bribery and corruption were bandied about. Sir William was accused of being a Jacobite, and of having, at a dinner given to his tenants, many of whom were Dissenters, insisted on their drinking the toast of "Down with the Rump." The sitting members were accused of betraying the interests of the freemen. The style of the squibs may be judged of by the following specimens:

Issued by the Cunliffe and Pole party, March 28, 1761.

All gentlemen volunteers that are willing to enter into the regiment of *true blues* under the command of the Hon. Col. R—— C——d, now raising at Liverpool for present service, and to be compleat by Monday night, may repair to Serjeant R—— K——y's quarters, at the bowling green, near the Flashes;[1] where they shall receive a sufficient allowance of bull seg[2] beef, one gallon of ale, with a proper quantity of *aqua fortis*, sufficient to compose them until Tuesday noon; till which time they shall be lodged in a barn with clean straw, or in some other well-secured close quarters, until they shall pass muster at the bar of the Exchange before their general; when they shall be dismissed with a squeeze of the hand without a penny in their pockets. And so, honest Tom, farewell for seven years to come.

Beware of kidnappers, for that is the roasted seg scheme—touch not—taste not—birds that scrap will be taken—the pawnbroker is the decoy, and the jesuit is the kite—take this hint in time from

Your friend,

Meg Long-Tongue.

Note. It was intended to have covered you all to-day, but it was thought you would not keep till Tuesday.

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[1] The Flashes was a large pool of water, situated at the end of Tithebarn Street, near the top of Great Crosshall Street.

[2] A bull seg is a provincial term for an ox of inferior quality.

CHAP. III. 1761. Election squibs.

The allusion here is to an *al fresco* feast which Sir William proposed giving to his followers. In a song issued by his friends, the freemen are exhorted to

> Regard not that impious defamer vile Meg,
> A fine ox is roasted and not a bull seg.
>
> This day, boys, the friends of Sir William appear
> To lead you to English roast beef and good cheer ;
> To-morrow, my lads, they'll be ready, you'll see,
> To lead you to dear, ever dear, Liberty.

Another effusion issued by Sir William's party indicates the leading men of the town who were ranged on the opposite side :

Election song.

A NEW SONG.

To the tune of Poo Robin Poo, etc.

> Sir Ellis has lately brought nuncle Pole down
> To try their luck once more at Liverpool town ;
> Quoth Ellis, I've interest enough for us two,
> The borough's my own, and I'll lend thee a poo.
> Fol de rol, etc.
>
> I've Blundells,[1] and Brooks's,[2] Knight,[3] Tarleton,[4] and Pownal,[5]
> Done,[6] Rigby,[7] James Gildart,[8] and great lawyer Brownel,[9]
> John Howard,[10] the Traffords[11] and Crosbies[12] and Goore,[13]
> Little Ralph,[14] Nicky Ashton,[15] and twenty fools more.
> Fol de rol, etc.

[1] The Blundells were sons of Bryan Blundell, the founder of the Blue Coat Hospital.

[2] Joseph Brooks was an alderman, mayor in 1743, ancestor of Archdeacon Brooks.

[3] John Knight was a sugar refiner and glass manufacturer residing in Water Street.

[4] John Tarleton was mayor in 1764. He resided in Water Street.

[5] William Pownall was mayor in 1767, and died during his mayoralty. Pownall Street and Pownall Square are called after him.

[6] Robert Done was a brewer in Lord Street.

[7] John and Peter Rigby were ironmongers, Old Dock. Peter was elected mayor in 1774.

[8] James Gildart, mayor in 1750, was brother of Richard Gildart the former member. He was a merchant and sugar-refiner, residing in Castle Street.

[9] John Brownel was an attorney, residing in Water Street.

[10] John Howard was a brewer in Edmund Street.

The knight and his nuncle in front did appear,
And these mighty gentlemen brought up the rear:
Your vote—was their cry—if you don't you shall rue,
Some promised—but most men refused them a poo.
Fol de rol, etc.

Perceiving the freemen at length were grown wise,
And that thirty years' bondage had opened their eyes,
Ah! woe's me, quoth nuncle, O, what mun I do?
I find I'm i' th' dirt, prithee poo, Ellis, poo.
Fol de rol, etc.

It grieved the knight sorely to see the old squire
(And his good nuncle too) sticking fast in the mire;
Therefore to assist him he instantly flew—
So plumped in himself, and cry'd poo, my lads, poo.
Fol de rol, etc.

Huzza! they're both down boys, and there let 'em lie—
Now listen, O! listen to dear Liberty—
Sir William's her son, and her darling one too,
And offers his hand, boys, to lend you a poo.
Fol de rol, etc.

At length, after a paper war of three months, the nomination took place on March 31st. The election lasted six days, and terminated as follows: Sir E. Cunliffe, 1163; Sir William Meredith, 1138; Charles Pole, Esq. 1039. As Sir William stood alone, most of his votes—982 out of 1138—were plumpers. 2164 freemen voted. Poll.

Immediately after the election Sir William was chaired, and carried from the hustings at the Exchange to the house of his host, Mr. William Ingram, merchant, Pool Lane, amidst general acclamation. The account of the day states that "the ship carpenters and seamen attended and carried a flag before them elegantly painted on one side with his majesty's arms, motto, Chairing.

[11] Trafford and Crosbies were rope manufacturers and merchants in Park Lane. Edward Trafford was mayor in 1742.

[12] John Crosbie was mayor in 1765-6. He resided in Paradise Street.

[13] Charles Goore was a merchant residing in the Old Churchyard. He was mayor in 1754-5.

[14] Little Ralph was Ralph Peters, deputy-recorder. He resided in John Street.

[15] Nicholas Ashton was a merchant residing in Paradise Street. His father invested largely in the Sankey Canal, which proved a source of great wealth. He afterwards purchased Woolton Hall, where the family resided until its sale to Mr. J. R. Jeffrey in 1863.

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"God bless King George:" on the reverse the carpenters' arms with a ship and launch for a crest, motto "Friends to Liberty." A greater concourse of people was never assembled together before in Liverpool at any time. Neither of the other candidates were chaired. In the evening several curious pieces of fireworks were displayed, bonfires, ringing of bells," etc.

Number of freemen.

A word may here be introduced as to the proportion of the voters to the population. Under the original burgage tenure every inhabitant householder had a vote, but as the power of admitting freemen to the guild was exercised, the household franchise gradually became obsolete. As for a long period no person could carry on business without admission to the corporation, and the franchise was obtainable by birth, servitude, or purchase, a very large proportion of the population must have been burgesses or freemen. At the election of 1734, 2064 persons recorded their votes. As the population was at this time about 12,500, this would give, at the usual average of $5\frac{1}{2}$ persons to a dwelling, one voter to every household, making a small allowance for freemen who did not vote. At the time of the election in 1761, the population had more than doubled, but the number exercising the franchise only amounted to 2164, being one in thirteen of the population.

The diminution arises from the fact that the illegal prohibition against non-freemen exercising their trades within the borough could no longer be maintained. The inducement therefore to purchase the freedom being taken away, the proportional number rapidly diminished. This change must have taken place before 1760, for Samuel Derrick, writing in that year, attributes the rapid increase of population "partly to its being free for anybody to settle in the town and follow business." In 1812, when the population had increased to about 100,000, at the hotly contested election between Canning and Brougham, the number polled was 2762, being 1 in 36 of the inhabitants. At the last real contest under the old franchise, between Ewart and Denison in November 1830, when every available voter was hunted up from the ends of the earth regardless of expense, the number of freemen polled was 4319, which in a population of nearly 200,000 is less than 1 in 46 of the inhabitants. At the general election in 1868, under the household suffrage, there were on the register 39,645 voters in a population of 500,000, being one in 12·6 of the inhabitants. It would therefore appear that in 1734, under the old system of freeman franchise, the

number of voters was more than twice as great in proportion to the population than at the present day under the system of household suffrage.

In January 1763 Sir Ellis Cunliffe was appointed a Lord of Trade and Plantations. It is to be supposed he was re-elected on accepting the office, but there is no record extant of the fact.

Sir William Meredith occupied a position of considerable eminence in the House of Commons. In the stormy discussions which took place in 1764 on the legality of the general warrant, by which Wilkes was arrested and his papers seized, Sir William came to the front by moving on February 14 a resolution, "That a general warrant for apprehending and securing the authors, printers, and publishers of a seditious libel, together with their papers, is not warranted by law." All the great leaders took part in the discussion. Pitt (Lord Chatham) delivered one of his grand orations in favour of the motion, which was made the turning point of the Grenville ministry. On the last day of the debate, the lame, the sick, the halt, and the blind were brought to vote by both parties. Horace Walpole says, "One would have thought that they had sent a search warrant for members of Parliament into every hospital. Votes were brought down in flannels and blankets, till the floor of the House looked like the pool of Bethesda." After a most stormy discussion the ministry carried a motion for postponement by a majority of 14, 232 against 218. Sir William Meredith.

Meredith's services were not forgotten; and on the change of ministry in July 1765, which placed the Marquis of Rockingham at the head of affairs, Sir William Meredith was appointed a Lord of the Admiralty, and in December he was re-elected without opposition.

In June 1760 the high road from Liverpool to Warrington was first made practicable for carriages. An Act of Parliament had been obtained in 1720 for repairing and enlarging the road from Liverpool to Prescot, and other roads therein mentioned, but it had lain dormant for many years. On the 4th of July we find it advertised: "Post chaises and able horses to be had to any part of England by applying to Mrs. Rathbone, at the Golden Talbot Inn, near the Exchange, Liverpool." Travelling.

In May 1760 the first stage-coach to London was advertised to make the journey in two days with six passengers; fare £2 : 10s.

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The following advertisment appeared in September of the same year :—

Manchester, Warrington, Prescot and Liverpool Machine,

Sets out on Monday, September 1, 1760, and on every Monday and Thursday morning at six o'clock, from Mr. Budworth's, the Bull's Head Inn, in Manchester ; will call at the Red Lyon Inn, in Warrington, at Mr. Reynolds's, the old Legs of Man, in Prescot ; and lies at Mr. Banner's, the Golden Fleece, in Liverpool ; returns from thence every Tuesday and Friday morning at six o'clock, and calls at the above places on its way back to Manchester. Each Passenger to pay eight shillings, and so in proportion for any part of the road. To be allowed 14 lb. weight of luggage, and all above to pay 1d. per pound.

Perform'd (if God permits), by

JOHN STONEHEWER.
JAMES FRANCE.

Duke's canal.

In 1761 the Duke of Bridgewater obtained the Act (2 George III. chap. 11) by which the canal uniting Manchester with the river Mersey at Runcorn was constructed. He had previously formed a canal from the Worsley coal-field to Manchester, and had intended to continue it to join the river at Hollins Ferry. The genius of Brindley, however, had expanded into the conception of a grander plan, and the result was the construction of the line of navigation which has conferred such great benefits on the two districts which it unites, as well as on the heirs of its founder. The canal was opened between Manchester and the river Mersey at Runcorn on December 31st 1772.

A.D. 1762. New churches.

In 1762 an Act was obtained for building two new churches, St. Paul's and St. John's. To these I shall have occasion again to refer.

In the same year the question of the power of the council under the charters was again brought up, by a published letter from Mr. Joseph Clegg (Mayor in 1748) addressed to the then mayor, Mr. William Gregson. The council had taken proceedings against Mr. John Fazakerley, silversmith, who not being a freeman, had opened a shop in Pool Lane, and encouraged others to do the same, "offering to protect them for two pence each." The council submitted a case to Mr. Joseph Belfield, barrister, whose opinion was adverse to their pretensions, and thus the monopoly claimed came to an end.

The peace of 1763 gave a great impulse to the trade of the

port. In 1765 the number of slave ships had increased to 86, with a tonnage of 9382, carrying 24,200 slaves. 1765.

In 1766 the first musical festival was held in St. Peter's Church, April 30th and May 1st, when Handel's Messiah, Judas Maccabæus, and the Coronation Anthem, were performed under the direction of Dr. Hayes of Oxford.

On September 9th, in the same year, the first stone of an Observatory to be erected on the east side of Hope Street, near the site of the present Philharmonic Hall, was laid by the mayor, Mr. John Crosbie and the municipal authorities. The building was never completed, and was suffered to sink into decay and ruin. Its chief promoter and architect, Mr. William Everard, was a considerable sum out of pocket, which he was never repaid.

In the winter of 1767-8, the weather was severe, and the poor suffered greatly. The corporation, under the auspices of Mr. Thomas Johnson,[1] the mayor, employed a great number of unoccupied hands in throwing up an embankment from the *débris* of a stone quarry near the top of Duke Street. This was at first called Mount Zion, but it afterwards took the name of St. James' Mount, which it has retained. A.D. 1767. St. James's Mount.

Sir Ellis Cunliffe died after a slow and lingering illness on October 16, 1767. His place was filled without opposition by Mr. Richard Pennant of Penrhyn, near Bangor. Mr. Pennant married the granddaughter of Edward Norris of Speke, M.P. for Liverpool from 1714 to 1722.[2]

On the 5th February 1768 a meeting of the merchants was held at the Exchange, on notice from the Mayor, when a proposition was made for throwing open the East India trade. It was proposed that chambers should be established in London, Bristol, Liverpoool, Hull, and Glasgow; that London should advance to Government the sum of £3,200,000; Bristol and Liverpool £1,600,000 each; Hull and Glasgow £800,000 each; in all eight millions sterling, on loan at 2 per cent interest, in consideration of which the trade should be free to the said

[1] This gentleman has been sometimes confounded with Sir Thomas Johnson, who was no connection, and who had been deceased nearly forty years before.

[2] Edward Norris married Anne, daughter of Peter Gerard of Crewood (Cheshire). Their daughter, Susannah, married for her second husband, Warburton of Penrhyn, whose sole daughter and heiress, Anne Susannah, became the wife of Richard Pennant. She was well known in Liverpool as an active electioneering agent, and died June 1, 1816.

CHAP. III. 1768.

chambers only. A committee was appointed to inquire and report. Nothing came of this proposition, and it required the patient waiting of forty-five years longer before the trade to the East was even partially opened.

Election.

In April 1768 a new Parliament was convoked, to which the sitting members, Meredith and Pennant were returned. Mr. John Tarleton was also proposed, and a poll demanded on his behalf, "but," it is stated, "a great number of blubber knives," long knives fixed on poles for cutting up whales, "appearing against him, and he not being himself on the hustings, his friends could not get forward to deliver their votes. About two o'clock the mayor put an end to the business of the day."

A.D. 1769.

In 1769 Mr. George Perry published a map of Liverpool, which for accuracy and completeness has never been excelled.

Extent of town.

The town now extended its boundary northward to the present canal basin; eastward, buildings had crept up the hill to the old Infirmary (the site of St. George's Hall), which was the limit in that direction; Shaw's Brow (now William Brown Street) being the seat of an active and prosperous colony of earthenware manufacturers. Church Street and Ranelagh Street were built as far as Renshaw Street. Duke Street was carried up to the Mount; the upper part was a fine avenue lined with a double row of trees. Southward the district between Park Lane and the Salthouse Dock had begun to assume a busy aspect. Within these limits the interior had become filled with buildings placed with an unfortunate disregard to the necessity for light, air, and open space. This was of comparatively little importance when a few minutes' walk could reach the green fields, or the open expanse of the river beach; but in more modern times, the legacy thus left has entailed serious consequences both in a sanitary point of view and in the enormous expense of widening and improving the thoroughfares.

Population.

The population at this date had risen to about 34,000; the number of inhabited houses was about 6000. There were now seven churches and six Nonconformist chapels, a Quaker's meeting, a Jew's synagogue, and a Roman Catholic chapel.

Streets.

The principal streets, Castle Street, High Street, Dale Street, Water Street, etc., were narrow, and for the most part meanly built, the old houses and modern erections being mingled together in the most admired confusion. A view taken from the river about this time, with the three spires of St. Nicholas,

St. George, and St. Thomas, and the Old Goree warehouses, which were much more ornate than the present structure, in the foreground, presents a pleasing picture.

The number of ships which cleared outwards during this year was 985, with a tonage of 73,828.

In 1770 there were in and about the town twenty-seven windmills; sixteen for grinding corn, nine for grinding colours; one for grinding dye wools, and one for raising water. With the exception of two they have all disappeared.

About this time the construction of ships began to form a prominent feature of Liverpool industry. In 1773 the ship "Kent" of 1100 tons burden was launched from Mr. Baker's yard, the largest ship up to that date built in the north of England. From this time to the end of the century, shipbuilding was a very flourishing trade in Liverpool, many fine frigates for the royal navy having been built in the Liverpool yards. A.D 1773. Shipbuilding.

The cotton trade now showed signs of development from a very small and feeble commencement. The first indication I can find is an advertisement of November 3, 1758: Cotton trade.

> To be sold by auction at Forbes and Cambell's saleroom, near the Exchange, this day at one o'clock, 25 bags of Jamaica cotton, in five lots.

In 1770 the import into Liverpool had increased to 5521 bags, all from the West Indies, principally Jamaica. The American colonies only contributed three bales from New York, four bags from Virginia and Maryland, and three *barrels* from South Carolina.

During the stormy debates in the House of Commons on the Wilkes and Luttrell election, a petition was got up in the town, signed by 1000 inhabitants, praying his majesty to dissolve Parliament. A counter demonstration was prepared by the council in the form of a protest, which, however, only obtained 450 signatures.

In 1770 the Leeds and Liverpool Canal Act (10 George III. chap. 114) was obtained "for making and maintaining a Canal from Leeds Bridge in Yorkshire to the North Lady's walk in Liverpool, and from thence to the river Mersey." The first sod was cut by the Hon. C. L. Mordaunt on the 5th November 1770. On February 18, 1774, the first portion was opened, but the entire undertaking was not completed until 1819, when the Leigh Branch connecting it with the Bridgwater Canal was Leeds canal.

CHAP III. 1772.

constructed. Another branch, called the Douglas Navigation, unites it with the Ribble. The original capital was £420,000, but the entire expenditure on works has been nearly £2,240,000, the balance having been paid out of earnings. The concern has been eminently prosperous, the dividends for many years having been 20 to 25 per cent per annum.

General Paoli.

On the 10th August 1772, General Paoli, the Corsican patriot, visited the town, viewed the docks, and attended the theatre.

Hackney carriages.

In the same year occurs the first mention of hackney carriages. William Griffiths advertises his coach to stand and be ready at the "chaise and horses" in Fenwick Street every day from 10 A.M. to 10 P.M. Rates to any part of the town 1s. for two or three passengers, 1s. 6d. for four, 2s. for six.

Troughton in his history, speaking of this period, says, "A disgusting vulgarity of manners prevailed among the lower class of society; insomuch that boys and even young men made a practice of taking nosegays from ladies on the parade and in the streets in a very rude manner, and several ladies received violent blows on the breast by the force used in snatching the nosegays from them."

A.D. 1773.

In 1773 the names of the streets were first inscribed on the walls, and the houses numbered.

Academy of art.

This is probably the most suitable place to notice a vigorous attempt made about the middle of the century to encourage the arts of design in Liverpool. The Royal Academy was established by charter in 1768. In the year following, a number of resident amateurs of art formed a society for the establishment of an Academy of Painting and Sculpture in Liverpool. The president was Mr. P. P. Burdett, an engraver of some eminence. Amongst the members, we find the names of Ottiwell Worrall, portrait painter; William Everard, architect; John Wyke, watchmaker; John and Charles Eyes, architects; Dr. Turner; Dr. Matthew Dobson; John Baines, master of the Free Grammar School, and others. A room was taken in connection with the Liverpool Library, then recently established in John Street, which was furnished with prints and casts for the use of the pupils. After a few months' trial the scheme was abandoned, but was revived in 1773, when Mr. William Caddick, portrait painter, was chosen president. Besides many of the names mentioned above, we find those of William Roscoe, Matthew Gregson (the antiquary), Egerton Smith the elder, etc.,

in all 59 members. Courses of lectures were delivered— on architecture, by Mr. Everard; on anatomy, by Dr. Turner; on perspective, by Mr. Burdett; and on chemistry, by Dr. Renwick. On December 17, 1773, William Roscoe, then a young man in his twentieth year, read before the society an ode on the establishment of the Academy, which will be found in his collected works. In August 1774, a public exhibition was opened. The catalogue was headed "Pictures, Drawings, Prints, etc., exhibited by the Society of Artists in Liverpool;" 84 pictures were hung, and such an interest was created that the catalogue went through two editions. Several of the exhibitors were amateurs. Amongst the names we find P. P. Burdett, engravings; Daniel Daulby jun. (Roscoe's brother-in-law), landscapes and chalk drawings; Matthew Gregson, designs for furniture; William Roscoe, mother and child, Indian ink; one of the Rathbone family, landscapes.

1773.

A.D. 1774. Arts exhibition.

The time, however, was unpropitious; the disturbances and subsequent war with America, with its derangement of trade and its privateering, engrossed public attention, and the academy again collapsed.

On the 2d November 1775, the whole of the casts and other articles were sold off amongst the members for £11 : 1 : 9, and the society was dissolved. In the preface to a publication subsequently by Mr. Roscoe, it is stated "that the society was not of long continuance, its sudden decay being principally occasioned by the loss of a very ingenious and spirited member, now resident in Germany."

A.D. 1783. Academy of art.

As soon as peace again returned in 1783, an attempt was made to resuscitate the academy. An address was issued, and a society organised—Henry Blundell, Esq., of Ince, president, and Mr. William Roscoe, vice-president. An exhibition took place in the beginning of 1784, to which Sir Joshua Reynolds, then president of the Royal Academy, contributed his well known portrait of Colonel Tarleton. A Liverpool artist, John Deare, exhibited a base-relief of Adam and Eve from the fourth book of *Paradise Lost*, which had gained the gold medal at the Royal Academy. The place of exhibition was a new house on the east side of Rodney Street, now No. 35, afterwards the residence of Mr. Pudsey Dawson.

In 1786, another exhibition was held, in the catalogue of which are found works by Sir Joshua Reynolds, Gainsborough, Wright of Derby, Beechey (afterwards Sir William), Fuseli,

CHAP. III. 1786.

Paul Sandby, etc. An anniversary dinner took place on November 4, on which occasion William Roscoe, then just beginning the career as a man of letters, in which he subsequently became so distinguished, produced the following lines:

Mr. Roscoe's Ode.

In elder Greece, when arms and science reigned,
The finer arts an equal rank maintained;
High 'midst the rest the Muse of Painting shone,
And bade th' admiring world her wonders own;
To nature true the graceful outline flowed,
With more than life the vivid colours glowed;
Applauding nations saw with grateful joy,
And wealth and honours crowned the fair employ;
Yet, whelmed amid the wreck of former days,
Lie the gay monuments of ancient praise;
And though revolving years have spared the name
Dimm'd is the radiance of the painter's fame.
Long droop'd the sacred art, but rose at length
With brighter lustre and redoubled strength;
When great Lorenzo 'midst his mild domain,
Led the gay muses and their kindred train;
Then as the bard th' imagined story drew,
The kindling artist bade it rise to view;
Till the strong comment shamed the sister art,
And found a nearer passage to the heart.

Liverpool artists.

During the latter half of the eighteenth century, several artists of some eminence sprang from, or were connected with Liverpool.

Stubbs.

George Stubbs, celebrated as an animal painter, was born here in 1724. He settled in London and became very successful, his works appearing in the Royal Academy Exhibitions, and several of them having been engraved. In 1766 he published a work on the anatomy of the horse. He died in 1806, and was buried in Marylebone Church.

Wright.

Richard Wright, born in Liverpool in 1735, acquired fame as a marine painter. In 1760 he was elected an R.A. In 1764 he obtained the premium offered by the Society of Arts for the best sea-view. In 1766 he obtained another prize for the picture of "The Fishery," which was engraved by Woollett. Several of his other works have been engraved. He died in 1775.

Caddick.

Richard Caddick was an eminent portrait painter, residing at No. 30 Oldhall Street from 1766 to 1800. The fine portrait

of Mr. Joseph Brooks which hangs in the Board room of the workhouse is from his easel. He was a leading member of the first Art Society established in Liverpool in 1769.

Burdett. P. P. Burdett, an engraver of some celebrity, was connected with Liverpool and its Art Society. He contributed to the first exhibition in 1774, and delivered lectures on perspective and the art of design. The invention of aquatint engraving is claimed for him.

Tate. William Tate practised as a portrait painter in Liverpool from 1780 to 1800.

Chubbard. Thomas Chubbard was a painter of portraits and landscapes. He also invented a mode of engraving on glass. He was a member of the Art Society of 1769, and contributed to the first exhibition in 1774. He resided in Lord Street, and afterwards in Springfield Street.

The society continued until the outbreak of the French revolutionary war, when the distracted state of the commercial world led to its suspension from 1794 to 1810.

Mr. Daniel Daulby, writing, June 4, 1794, to Mr. John Holt of Walton, says "The society is again dormant, not for want of subscribers to support it. The subscriptions would be ample, the visitants and students would be sufficiently numerous to carry it on, and a triennial exhibition would again be honoured with the works of the first artists. It is much to be regretted that in a mercantile town like Liverpool, it is extremely difficult to meet with gentlemen who have leisure to conduct such a society; to the want of such gentlemen may be attributed the present suspension of the society for promoting the arts."

Sir Wm. Meredith. To return to the thread of our narrative; at an early period of the disputes with America Sir William Meredith published *Historical Remarks on the Taxation of Free States*, in which he strongly advocated concessions to the colonists, and asserted that "it is necessary for the mother country to govern the colonies exactly on the same rules, forms, and orders as her resident citizens are governed by."

A.D. 1774. Election. In September 1774 Parliament was dissolved, and Meredith and Pennant were again elected without opposition. In January 1775, Sir William Meredith received the appointment of Comptroller of his Majesty's Household, and was re-elected on March 29.

Stirring times were now at hand. The revolt of the North

CHAP. III.

1774. American revolt.

American colonies very seriously affected the commerce of Liverpool. The first symptom was manifested by an Order in Council prohibiting the exportation of gunpowder, which greatly affected the slave-trade, a large portion of the exports to Africa consisting of this article. The unemployed sailors congregated in crowds, and threatened destruction to the whole town. Cannon were brought into Castle Street by the rioters and pointed to the Exchange, and several shots were fired, inflicting considerable damage. The riot was finally suppressed by a troop of light horse sent from Manchester.

A.D. 1775. Meeting of merchants.

In January 1775 an influential meeting of merchants from all parts of the kingdom trading with America was held at the King's Tavern, Cornhill, London, to remonstrate against the violent proceedings of the Government towards the colonists, and to petition for the repeal of all Acts which interfered with their friendly relations towards the mother country. The West India merchants from Liverpool and other towns also assembled at the London Tavern for the same purpose, when strong resolutions were carried by a large majority. These remonstrances proved all in vain. Within a month afterwards, 8000 tons of shipping had to return from America without cargoes, the blockade not allowing them to land. In November of the same year it was stated that 600 ships, previously engaged in the American trade, were lying idle in the Thames. Liverpool suffered in like proportion. In Gore's *Advertiser* of September 29, it is alleged, "Our once extensive trade to Africa is at a stand; all commerce with America is at an end. Peace, harmony, and mutual confidence must constitute the balm that can again restore to health the body politic. Survey our docks; count there the gallant ships laid up and useless. When will they be again refitted? What will become of the sailor, the tradesman, the poor labourer, during the approaching winter?"

Loss of trade.

Loyal address.

On the 11th September 1775 the Council presented a loyal address to the king, expressing "their abhorrence of all traitorous and rebellious disturbers of his Majesty's peace and government, and hoping that the rebellious Americans might soon be sensible of their error, and return to an acknowledgment of the power of the British Legislature."

But whatever might be the sentiments of the people of Liverpool on the vexed questions at issue, they did not lose "one jot of heart or hope," nor allow a stain upon their loyalty. The Americans had begun to fit out privateers in the autumn

of 1775, and very soon they swarmed about the West India islands, and crossing the Atlantic, intercepted British commerce in the narrow seas. The Liverpool merchants, as their predecessors had done twenty years before, turned their attention to privateering, and for some time met with considerable success. In 1777 it is recorded that thirteen seamen received *each* £1828 : 2 : 9 as share of prize money, their proportion being only one-third of the value of the prizes taken. In the following year the richest prize ever taken by a Liverpool adventurer fell into the hands of Captain John Baker, of the "Mentor," in the "Carnatic," French East Indiaman, of the value of £135,000. This was a lucky hit. Fortune favours the brave. War with France had commenced in April; but Admiral Keppel only put to sea to look for the French fleet on June 17. Captain Baker boldly sailed southwards to intercept the East Indiamen which had sailed before the declaration of war, and his sagacity was richly rewarded. The mutual destruction caused by this fratricidal war was enormous. In February 1778, an inquiry took place before the House of Lords as to the amount of injury done to British commerce from the beginning of the war, in which it was stated that the number of vessels destroyed or taken since the commencement of the war was 773, or, allowing for those retaken, 559; that their value, at a very moderate computation, was £1,800,000; that of the ships thus taken, 247 were engaged in the West India trade; that all articles imported from America had risen enormously in price; tobacco from 7½d. to 2s. 6d. per pound; pitch from 8s. to 35s. a barrel; and tar, turpentine, oil, and pig-iron in the same proportion. It was also stated that the injury inflicted on American commerce amounted to about the same sum, which appears to have been considered highly satisfactory.

1775. American war.

A.D. 1777. Privateers.

War with France.

A.D. 1778. Loss of shipping.

From August 1778 to April 1779, 120 privateers were fitted out in Liverpool alone; their total tonnage was 30,787, with 1986 guns, and 8754 men. The weight of metal ranged from 6 to 18 pounders. The privateer crews were very naturally a rough and lawless set, the terror of the town when on shore, committing many outrages, and breaking open the guard-house to release the impressed seamen there confined. Nor was the state of things much better on the opposite shore of the Mersey. A Liverpool privateer, the "Mersey," having brought into port a French prize, "L'Equité," stranded her near the New Ferry. Lighters were employed to take out the cargo, consisting of sugar

Privateers.

CHAP. III. 1778.

and coffee; but the country people assembling in crowds, put in an equal claim to the proceeds, and a battle ensued, in which firearms were employed, and one man was shot. The assailants remained masters of the field, and carried off the cargo.

Paul Jones.

In April 1778, the celebrated Paul Jones cruised in the Irish Channel, in the "Ranger" privateer, and did much mischief. He ran into the harbour of Whitehaven and set fire to the shipping. Thence sailing northward, he made inroads on the Scottish isles. When short of supplies, or pressed by English cruisers, he took refuge in the French or Dutch ports. More fortunate than his predecessor, M. Thurot, he escaped all attempts at interception, and retired safe to America with his booty.

Privateers.

From a list of 71 privateers belonging to Liverpool, published about this time, it appears they were of all sizes, from the "Lady Granby" cutter of 45 tons, to the ship "Mersey" of 1400 tons. The number of hands seems to have been most unequally distributed, vessels of 160 tons shipping crews of 100 men, whilst those of 1200 and 1400 tons had only the same number.

Between the privateers on the one hand and the press-gang on the other, poor Jack at this period had a very hard time of it. We read, for instance, in the *Liverpool Advertiser* as follows:

Press-gang.

"Capt. Thomson, of the 'Golden Lyon,' Greenland ship, is discharged from the 'Vengeance,' man-of-war, on board of whom he and several of his crew had been carried by force, by the press-gangs out of the Custom House here; several bullets have been found that were fired from the pistols in the Custom-House by the press-gangs, and we are assured that the magistrates and the merchants are determined to prosecute them for their insolence, one of the magistrates being then in the Custom House, and very ill treated for commanding the peace," etc. Again: "On Tuesday last arrived here the letter of marque ship 'Ingram,' from Africa and Jamaica. The crew having secured the captain, attempted to get clear of the man-of-war and four tenders; the tide being spent, the ship's company and officers were all impressed, except the chief mate and commander; on their being brought on board the man-of-war, the captain *ordered each man to be tied up, stripped, and whipped.*" The editor adds: "This needs no comment, for had the seamen committed any offence against the laws of this realm, they were entitled to an English-

Impress-ment.

man's right." This scandalous treatment of the sailors was rather aggravated by the fact that protections from impressment might be procured by those who were willing to pay for them, with official sanction, as appears by the following advertisement of the period in question: "Protections from the press for ship's companies, sailors upwards of 55 years of age, apprentices, foreigners, or landsmen who incline to betake themselves to the sea service, may be had with the greatest expedition by applying to Thomas Statham, at the Post-office, Liverpool."

Liverpool Blues.

Liverpool had not forgotten her ancient warlike traditions. In the year 1778, when France and Spain united with America and presented a most formidable coalition united in arms against England, a regiment was raised and equipped in the town, principally at the expense of the corporation, which contributed £2000 out of about £3000, the total cost. In memory of the battalion raised in 1745, the regiment was called "the Liverpool Blues." It was not a volunteer force, but a regiment of the line intended for active service. Lieutenant-General Calcraft was the Colonel; Mr. Pole, Lieutenant-Colonel; the Honourable Thomas Stanley, Major. The subaltern officers were principally Liverpool gentlemen.

The Liverpool Blues mustered 1100 strong. On May 25, 1778, they were reviewed on the sands near Bank Hall, and presented with their colours. On June 17 they marched out to active service, and in a short six years the poor remnant of them returned from Jamaica (February 9, 1784) reduced to eighty-four in number, and deposited their colours in the Exchange. After the departure of the Blues, the town was garrisoned by a regiment of Yorkshire militia, commanded by Sir George Saville.

Fort.

It was at this time that the old fort and barracks on the north shore near the bottom of Denison Street were erected, now forming part of the site of the Prince's Dock.

At the close of the year 1778, a proclamation was issued by the Mayor, William Pole, Esq., that "great complaints have been made, that of late numbers of seamen and others, entered on board the privateers, equipping at the port, assemble themselves and go round in a riotous manner through the town without any officers, to the great annoyance of the inhabitants, and have committed outrages in breaking open and rescuing impressed seamen," etc., and threatening to call out the military.

"In the beginning of 1779 a French letter of Marque 'La

CHAP. III. 1778.

"La Modeste" Prize.

Modeste' was taken by the 'Dragon' privateer, of Liverpool. When she struck, the sea ran so high that it was impossible to board her, upon which she was ordered to steer towards Ireland, and carry a light, the 'Dragon' being close upon her quarter. When the weather became more moderate, an attempt was made to man the prize, in which all the boats belonging to each ship were stove. The impatience of the 'Dragon's' crew was now raised to such a pitch, that, regardless of all danger, five seamen stripped themselves, leaped into the sea, swam to the prize, and took possession, to the astonishment and admiration of the French."[1]

The following particulars of an engagement between a Liverpool privateer, the "Nanny," and an American of superior force, is contained in a letter from the Captain (Beynon) dated Cadiz, June 2d, 1779 :—

"Nanny" privateer.

"On the 20th May, off Cape Finisterre, saw a ship in chase of us. Being resolved to know the weight of his metal before I gave up your property, I prepared to make the best defence I could. Between eight and nine o'clock he came alongside, with American colours, hailed, and told me to haul my colours down. I desired him to begin and blaze away, for I was determined to know his force before I gave up to him. The engagement began and lasted about two hours, our ships being close together, having only room to keep clear of each other. Our guns told well on both sides. We were soon destitute of rigging and sails, as I engaged him under our topsails and jib. we were sadly shattered alow and aloft. I got the 'Nanny' before the wind, and fought an hour that way, one pump going, till we had upwards of seven feet water in the hold. I thought it then almost time to give up the battle, as our ship began to be waterlogged. We were so close, that I told him I had struck, and hauled my colours down. The privateer was in a sad shattered condition. By the time we were all overboard the 'Nanny,' the water was up to the lower deck. When Captain Brown heard the number of men I had, he asked me what I meant by engaging him so long? I told him, as I was then his prisoner, I hoped he would not call me to any account for what I had done before the colours were hauled down. He said he approved of all I had done, and treated my officers and myself like gentlemen."[2]

A.D. 1779. In 1779 John Howard, the philanthropist, paid his first visit

[1] Troughton's *Hist. Liverpool*, p. 165.
[2] Troughton, p. 166.

to Liverpool, which he repeated on several subsequent occasions. In his notes on his first visit he mentions that the '*ducking stool*' was in use in the House of Correction here. He describes it as follows: "At one end (of the pond or tank) was a standard for a long pole, at the extremity of which was fastened a chair. In this, all the females (not the males) at their entrance, after a few questions, were placed, with a flannel shift on, and underwent a thorough ducking thrice repeated, a use of a bath which I daresay the legislature never thought of, when in their late Act they ordered baths, with a view to cleanliness and preserving the health of prisoners, not for the exercise of a wanton and dangerous kind of severity." This practice was discontinued soon after the publication of the report.

John Howard.

Ducking stool.

The Corporation of Liverpool have always been distinguished by a somewhat exuberant display of loyalty. At a special council held on June 26th, 1779, it was resolved that an address under the common seal should be presented to the king; "As a testimony of our duty and affection for your Majesty's royal person, and of our attachment to the welfare and prosperity of your kingdoms, at the present alarming juncture; when from the perfidious alliances of our natural and combined enemies, the House of Bourbon, with your Majesty's revolted Colonies in America, to succour rebellion against the parent state, this nation and the most formidable powers in Europe, must be unavoidably involved in all the calamities of war." Their loyalty did not evaporate in mere professions, for at the same council it was ordered, 'that a bounty of ten guineas for every able seaman, and five guineas for every ordinary seaman, should be offered, and be paid by the corporation treasurer to every volunteer who should enter on board any of the king's ships of war at Liverpool."

Corporation address.

In September 1779, the dreaded Paul Jones still hovering about the channel, a special council was held to take into consideration the most effectual method of putting the town into a state of defence, at which various orders were passed; to remove the gunpowder from the magazines in Cheshire to the New Fort and St. George's Battery; to apply to the Government for a thousand stand of arms for the use of such gentlemen and privates who may offer themselves to serve as volunteers in case of the enemy landing on the coast; that steps be immediately taken to receive names for volunteer service; that application be made for the removal of the French and Spanish prisoners

Defence of the town.

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now confined in the gaol at Mount Pleasant to the castles of Chester, Carlisle, etc., and for the removal of the prisoners now on parole at Ormskirk and Wigan to some more inland situation; that a pilot boat be sent out to cruize off Point Lynas, to give intelligence upon the appearance of an enemy, and that boats be stationed at the different buoys along the coast to sink them in case of imminent danger.

A.D 1780. Election.

In the midst of these stirring events, the excitement of which was intensified by anti-Catholic riots at Edinburgh and London, stimulated by the crazy fanatic Lord George Gordon, Parliament was dissolved and writs issued for a new election.

Sir William Meredith, owing to a dangerous illness, withdrew his claims in a letter to the freemen, dated 3d September.

Mr. Pennant, the other sitting member, came forward, and two new candidates were found in Bamber Gascoyne junior and Henry Rawlinson.

Meredith and Pennant had usually been in the opposition. This led to Mr. Bamber Gascoyne senior, who represented Truro in Parliament, and resided at Childwall Hall, being frequently applied to by the corporation to assist them with the Government on Liverpool affairs.

Bamber Gascoyne.

Bamber Gascoyne senior was the only son of Sir Crisp Gascoyne, Lord Mayor of London in 1753, who possessed an estate at Barking in Essex, and died in 1761. Bamber Gascoyne, by marriage with Mary, co heiress of Isaac Green,[1] inherited the estate of Childwall near Liverpool. He appears to have been born under a lucky star, for, in addition to his estates acquired by inheritance and marriage, he held the office of Receiver-General of her Majesty's Customs, was one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and Verderer of Waltham Forest, Essex. He died at Bath in 1791, aged sixty-four, and

[1] Isaac Green was an attorney of Liverpool and Prescot. He married Mary Aspinwall, sole heiress of the ancient family of the Irelands of Hale, and became possessed of the manors of Hale, Childwall, West Derby, Wavertree, and Everton. He died in 1749, leaving two daughters. One of them married Thomas Blackburne of Orford, and inherited the Hale property. The other married Bamber Gascoyne, as above. The daughter of Bamber Gascoyne junior married in 1821 the Marquis of Salisbury, to whom descended the estates and manors of Childwall, West Derby, Wavertree, and Everton. These large estates, in default of male heirs, have passed three times in little more than a century by marriage to successive families. The same has taken place with the neighbouring estate of Speke.

was interred with great pomp at Barking. Bamber Gascoyne junior seems not to have distinguished himself in any special manner. He and his brother successively represented Liverpool in an unbroken line for the period of fifty-two years.

Henry Rawlinson.

The other new candidate, Henry Rawlinson, was a Liverpool merchant, residing in York Street, but of his family and history I have not been able to glean any particulars.

The squibs, addresses, etc., were published in a pamphlet extending to 128 pages. No special political subjects are referred to, and it is remarkable, considering that the country was in the very crisis of the American war, how little reference is made to it. Personal scurrility, and anxiety to preserve the slave-trade, constitute the staple. There was a five days' contest, but only 1173 freemen polled; the numbers at the close being—Gascoyne, 608; Rawlinson, 572; Pennant, 462.

Al fresco feast.

The elected members were chaired at the close of the poll amidst the acclamations of several thousand people. On the Monday following, Mr. Gascoyne senior gave an *al fresco* entertainment at Childwall to the partisans of his son, who was again chaired from the house of Mr. Peter Baker in Manesty's Lane, and carried in procession to Childwall, accompanied with music and colours. The whole affair was so mismanaged that it turned out a complete *fiasco*. No precautions having been taken, the attractions of the procession brought together a large mob from the town and the neighbouring country, who invaded the grounds and claimed their share of the viands and liquor. All attempts to restrain them were resented and treated with contempt. The ox which was roasted turned out a tough old bull, a general scramble ensued, and the proceedings terminated in confusion, disorder, and dissatisfaction. For many years afterwards "Bull beef and cabbage stalks" was a slang phrase with which the Gascoyne party were greeted by the mob at the elections.

This election cost Gascoyne £8000. Rawlinson was a weak man and a great debauchee, and soon lost credit.

Diminution of voters.

I have already alluded to the curious phenomenon, that whilst the population was continually increasing, the number of freemen voters remained almost stationary, and that this arose from the corporation having abandoned the prohibition against non-freemen carrying on business within the borough. In this matter a singular revolution had taken place. Down to nearly the middle of the eighteenth century, the purchase of freedom

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was compulsory, and the fines for admission formed an important part of the corporate revenues. To this succeeded the optional system, the freedom being sold to all who sought it, but enforced on none. It was soon discovered, however, that this was a losing game for the corporation, as the outsiders by purchasing their freedom, being exempt from town dues, benefited to a much greater extent than the amount of their fine. In June 1777 the council passed the following resolution: "Whereas it has been represented to this council that the admitting persons to the freedom of this borough and corporation, on purchase for any sum or sums of money, is attended with many great inconveniences and losses to the public estate and revenue by greatly lessening the town's duties and customs, it is now ordered and agreed, that from henceforth no person or persons shall be admitted a freeman or freemen of this borough and corporation, upon purchase for any sum or sums of money or other valuable consideration for granting such freedom."

Sale of freedom.

This resolution was not literally acted upon, but only three grants were subsequently made, two in 1780; one to Mr. William Dickson, who paid twenty guineas; and one to Mr. George Bowden, who paid fifty. The third was granted in 1792 to Mr. J. L. Lloyd, who paid 100 guineas for the privilege. The freedom of the town was occasionally voted as a mark of honour to distinguished personages, which conferred the same privileges as those of ordinary freemen; but under the exclusive system, the freemen constituted a caste apart, gradually diminishing in proportionate numbers, and belonging chiefly to the artisan class, particularly to the ship carpenters, coopers, and other handicrafts. The natural result was corruption and debauchery of the most shameless kind, and influence exercised by the employers upon their workmen, whose political opinions were never thought worth inquiring into. This system took fifty years longer to reach its culminating point.

Freemen.

I have alluded above to the first introduction of hackney coaches in 1772. In the year 1780 they had so increased in number that it became necessary to put them under regulations.

A.D. 1782. Volunteers.

In 1782, nearly at the close of the war, a volunteer company was raised, of which Mr. Gill Slater was captain, and Mr. Joseph Brooks (father of Archdeacon Brooks) lieutenant. In February 1783 they received a pair of colours, one of them the gift of the king, the other presented by Mrs. Rawlinson, wife of one of the sitting members.

In 1784, on the return of peace, the corps was disbanded, and the colours were deposited in St. Ann's Church on Sunday, July 11th.

Refusal of mayor to serve.

A curious and unprecedented difficulty arose at this time in the municipal affairs. In October 1782, Mr. John Brown, merchant, Hanover Street, was elected mayor, but refused to take the oath of office when tendered. The matter remained over until March 1783, when notices were issued for a fresh election, which took place on April 7. Whether as a punishment for his contumacy, or whether from his great popularity, the burgesses would have no other candidate, and Mr. Brown was again unanimously elected. He still continued his refusal to take the oaths, but on September 12, 1783, when within little more than a month of the termination of his year of service, he suddenly relented, apologised for his contumacy, and took the oaths. The following entry was made in the Council Book on December 3, 1783: "Mr. Brown having made an apology in council for the trouble and expense to which this corporation was put, on account of his refusing to take upon himself the office of mayor, ordered that such his apology be accepted of."

A.D. 1783.

On the 14th October 1783, Lord Hood visited the town, and was fêted by the mayor and council for several days, in honour of his naval victory on 12th April 1782.

A.D. 1784. Mr. Fox's Bill. Election.

In 1784 the famous contest took place in Parliament respecting Mr. Fox's India Bill, when the ministry were dismissed and the youthful Pitt installed as premier. The new cabinet appealed to the country, and a general election took place in April. The candidates for Liverpool were Mr. Bamber Gascoyne junior; Mr. Pennant, who had recently been created an Irish Peer under the title of Lord Penrhyn; and Colonel Tarleton, just returned from the American war. Mr. Rawlinson did not again offer himself.

Sir William Meredith, once so great a favourite with the Liverpool Freemen, made an attempt to gain their suffrages; but so fickle is popular favour, that he only obtained thirty-six votes. He soon after retired from public life, and died at Lyons, January 2, 1790, without issue.

Bamber Gascoyne, notwithstanding the Childwall "bull beef and cabbage stalks," stood at the head of the poll. The real contest lay between Lord Penrhyn and Colonel Tarleton. The colonel was a man of very popular manners, and made

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himself especially familiar with the shipwrights and market women. He had lost two fingers during his military service, and, when his eloquence failed, was rather fond of exhibiting his crippled hand to excite the sympathy of his auditors. But military service and popular manners were no match for the fascinations of Lady Penrhyn, who had extensive hereditary Liverpool connections, and made the utmost possible use of them. Influence prevailed over popularity. After a six days' poll, in which, however, only 1950 votes were recorded, the numbers stood as follows:—Gascoyne, 960; Penrhyn, 869; Tarleton, 856; Meredith, 36. Colonel Tarleton petitioned against the return, but withdrew before the hearing.

Musical festival.

In September 1784, the second festival of sacred music was held in the town, and was very successful. The performances took place in St. Peter's Church, and continued three days, during which the oratorios of the Messiah and Judas Maccabæus were performed, with a selection of sacred music. This led to the erection of a music hall in Bold Street two years subsequently, which, however, was never used for such performances.

Sunday schools.

In November 1784, a combined effort was made for the establishment of Sunday schools in the town. The system originally proposed differed very materially from that subsequently carried out. According to the published "Heads of the Plan for Sunday Schools"—

"It is proposed to have thirty; one or more masters or mistresses to each school, as the number of scholars may require.

"The children to go to school at one o'clock, and to be kept till the evening comes on, according to the season of the year. When they have learnt to read, and are brought into order and decorum, to be conducted by their respective masters and mistresses to church."

First mail coach.

The first mail coach, according to Palmer's system, started from Liverpool to London on July 25, 1785. It was to arrive in thirty hours, with one guard all the way. Fare £3 : 13 : 6.

Population and trade.

The population had now reached about 41,000. The churches had increased to nine; and the docks extended from George's Basin on the north to the Queen's Dock at the south. The number of ships entering the port had increased to 3420. The number of ships belonging to the port was 446, with a tonnage of 72,730.

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1787. John Howard.

John Howard visited Liverpool again in 1787, and inspected the gaol recently erected in the street called after the philanthropist, "Great Howard Street," where he gave a dinner on Christmas Day to the inmates. In the course of fifteen years he visited Liverpool five times on his benevolent mission.

A.D. 1786. Widening streets.

The increasing population and commerce of the town began to be seriously inconvenienced by the extreme narrowness of the thoroughfares. What was the controlling cause it is now impossible to ascertain; but sooth to say, it would have been difficult to find a town of anything like the importance of Liverpool with more crooked, narrow, and ill-built streets. The main avenues, such as Castle Street, Oldhall Street, Tithebarn Street, etc., were not more than six yards wide. Lord Street, the great avenue to the south-east, had to be approached by a circuitous route following the line of the old castle ditch. In the year 1786 the council came to the determination to take active measures to remedy this state of things. At a special council held on January 10, 1786, it was resolved, "That it is the unanimous opinion of this council that a Bill be drawn and brought into Parliament for the purpose of improving and widenning the streets." This resulted in the passing of the Act 26 George III. ch. 12, "For improving certain streets in Liverpool; for supplying the town with water," etc. Under the powers of this Act, which were speedily and vigorously carried out, Castle Street, part of Dale Street and Water Street, and the streets round St. George's Church, which were crowded and close, were opened out and widened. The Town-hall was cleared of the buildings which encumbered it on the north and west sides; a number of courts and alleys on the west were cleared away; and a new street, the present Brunswick Street, was carried down from the west side of Castle Street to George's Dock.

Street improvements.

This was the commencement of a long series of improvements which have to a considerable extent removed the reproach which formerly attached to the town for its mean and crowded appearance.

In sec. 42 of this Act, there is a singular provision, that "no butcher's stall, shop, or shamble, shall be allowed fronting a public street or passage after January 1st, 1788."

It is needless to add that this enactment has remained a dead letter from that day to this.

CHAP. III. 1786.

From 1786 down to the purchase of the town's dues by the Dock Board in 1857, the corporation had expended in street improvements the sum of £1,197,977, without imposing any rates upon the inhabitants.

Slave-trade.

During the war of American Independence, owing to the activity of the American privateers, the African slave-trade had considerably fallen off. In 1779 only eleven Liverpool vessels were engaged in the trade, which carried to the West Indies 1205 negroes. After the peace in 1783, the trade rapidly revived, the number of Liverpool ships in 1783 being 85, conveying 12,294 slaves. Hitherto, whatever private opinion might have been on the lawfulness of the traffic, no public demonstration of a hostile character had manifested itself; but the time was fast approaching when this monster evil was to be grappled with, and, after a fierce and long-continued struggle, finally suppressed. The little cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, foreboding the coming storm, appeared in 1787, in the form of a petition to the House of Commons from some members of the Society of Friends, praying for the suppression of the trade in human flesh.

Anti-slavery Society.

In May the same year, a society was instituted in London for the purpose of bringing under public notice the wrongs of the negro, with a view to the abolition of the man-traffic. The main promoters were William Dillwyn, an American Quaker; Granville Sharp, who had already distinguished himself in the protection of the negroes in England; and Thomas Clarkson, then or recently a student at Cambridge. William Wilberforce soon after joined their ranks. It would be out of place here to pursue the subject; but a few words may be said as to the course which the question took in Liverpool, the head-quarters of the trade. The only Liverpool names in the list of the first members of the London Society are those of William Rathbone and Dr. Jonathan Binns, both members of the Society of Friends. Others, however, felt keenly on the subject. William Roscoe in his juvenile poem of "Mount Pleasant," written in 1771, had recorded in strong terms his abhorrence of the unhallowed trade. In the summer of 1787, he published the first part, and in the year following the second part, of a poem called "The Wrongs of Africa," in which he describes the scenes of cruelty and rapine, and foretells the ultimate triumph of justice and mercy. This poem was warmly received by the public, carried abroad, and translated and published in Germany.

Anti-slavery efforts.

William Roscoe.

In 1788 Mr. Roscoe issued a pamphlet, entitled, "A general View of the African Slave-Trade, demonstrating its injustice and impolicy; with hints towards a Bill for its abolition." This pamphlet did not go unchallenged. A reply was put forth by the Rev. Raymond Harris, a Spanish Jesuit of English extraction, who had settled in Liverpool, entitled, "Scriptural Researches on the Licitness of the Slave-Trade, showing its conformity with principles of natural and revealed religion, delineated in the sacred writings of the Word of God." It would be useless to attempt to disinter arguments which are now utterly dead, repudiated and forgotten, and are only referred to as singular specimens of sophistry and perversity. Several rejoinders were immediately published; but the most eloquent was that of Mr. Roscoe, which was widely circulated, and called forth the hearty thanks of the London Committee. Nothing daunted, Mr. Harris again returned to the charge in defence of the lawfulness of man-stealing: but his death, soon after, put an end to the paper controversy.

1786. Anti-slavery efforts.

Raymond Harris.

Mr. Harris's defence of the slave-trade met with the cordial approbation of the Common Council, who presented him with a gratuity as a mark of their esteem.

The waters once troubled continued to be agitated. Those whose craft was in danger could not tamely submit to see their gains cut off, and their trade annihilated. Dr. Currie, in a letter written at the time, says, "The general discussion of the slavery of the negroes has produced much unhappiness in Liverpool. Men are awaking to their situation, and the struggle between interest and humanity has made great havoc in the happiness of many families. The attempts that are continually made to justify this gross violation of the principles of justice, one cannot help repelling; and at the same time it is dreadful to hold an argument, where, if your opponent is convinced, he must be made miserable."

The subject was fully discussed in the newspapers, principally in the interest of the African merchants. The line of defence adopted was the great importance and magnitude of the trade —the ruin of the West India islands if the negro importation were discontinued—that slavery was not so very bad, even for the negroes themselves—that the blacks were an inferior race incapable of living as freemen. "In what light," says one correspondent, "but in that of enemies of their country, can we look upon those who, under the specious plea of establishing

Controversy on slavery.

CHAP. III.

1786. Slave-trade.

universal freedom, endeavour to strike at the root of this trade, the foundation of our commerce, the support of our colonies, the life of our navigation, the first cause of our national industry and riches? What vain pretence of liberty can infatuate people to run into so much licentiousness as to assert a trade is unlawful which custom immemorial, and various Acts of Parliament, have ratified and given a sanction to?"

The agitation of this question could have only one possible termination; but during the long protracted contest the effects produced in Liverpool were of a very injurious character. The secret consciousness that the trade would not bear the light either of reason, scripture, or humanity, combined with the conviction that the prosperity of the town depended upon its retention, produced an uneasy feeling of suspicion and jealousy, and a dread of all change, which could not but impart a peculiar character to those at least connected with the occupation.

In 1787 a proposition was made to divide the town into four police districts, St. Thomas's, St. Peter's, St. George's and St. Nicholas's, with a salaried magistrate in each to act as head constable, with two sub-constables under him. This was never carried out.

A.D. 1789. Loyalty.

In March 1789, on the occasion of the king's recovery from an afflicting mental malady, there were great rejoicings throughout the country. The loyalty of Liverpool to the Hanoverian dynasty has ever been conspicuous, and nowhere were the celebrations more hearty and extensive. A general illumination took place on March 26, ushered in and closed by the firing of cannon from the fort. The front of the Town-hall was adorned with transparencies and wreaths of coloured lamps. On April 16, a grand ball and supper were given at the Town-hall, which by the contemporary descriptions must have been a brilliant affair. The central area of the building was roofed over, and the upper floor formed into a grand saloon with subordinate apartments, illuminated with coloured lamps, festoons, stars, and other devices. The company began to arrive at seven, and were received by a committee of the council. "At nine the country dances began, and the supper was announced at twelve, when eight hundred persons sat down to an elegant repast, in one superb room illuminated with ten thousand lights. The ladies wore bandeaux, and favours, with devices and applicable mottoes. The gentlemen had crowns, cyphers, and mottoes on their breasts and collars. The toasts given were the king, the queen, and

Loyal demonstrations.

the Prince of Wales, and the rest of the royal family; and prosperity to the town and trade of Liverpool. The company in general retired at four o'clock, highly gratified with the magnificence of the entertainment."[1]

French revolution.

The proceedings in France which preceded the first revolution excited great interest in England. In Liverpool as elsewhere opinions were greatly divided, and parties formed according to political predilections. In 1788 the centenary of the English revolution was celebrated by a banquet, at which Mr. Roscoe produced a poem which was recited on the occasion, commencing as follows:

Banquet.

Since Freedom here fixed her immutable throne,
A hundred long years wing'd with blessings are past,
Our fathers the sweets of her favour have known,
But 'tis ours to complete the full circle at last:
Then grasp the deep bowl, the full chorus prolong,
To William and Freedom be sacred the song. etc.

In the following year, when the French National Assembly had commenced its bright career of promise, so soon to be overclouded by storm and tempest, Mr. Roscoe issued "An Ode to the People of France," of which the following is a portion, imitated and partly translated from Petrarch's invocation *Libertà! dolce e desiata bene":*

Freedom! blest gift whom none condemn who know;
Dear is thy presence to this world below!
Life vigorous grows where'er thy steps have trod,
And man walks forth the semblance of a god;
If thou be absent, life no joy affords,
Despised its titled pomps, its useless hoards;
But in thy presence every cottage charms,
And Peace reposes in thy sheltering arms.

[1] The above account is worth extracting to illustrate the changes in manners which eighty-six years have produced. We read nothing of quadrilles nor of round dances. The good old country dance is the staple of the ball. Our forefathers and mothers must have been hearty and vigorous both in body and mind to engage in country dances for nine mortal hours with the interval of supper. In the description of the building it must be understood that the present town-hall, minus the addition at the north side, is the one alluded to. The area described as roofed over is now occupied by the staircase. How it was possible to seat eight hundred persons at one time at the supper table is a problem I cannot take upon myself to resolve. It is a feat which has certainly never been performed in modern times, even with the greatly increased accommodation.

CHAP. III. 1790.

Election

On June 10, 1790, Parliament was dissolved, and on the 13th and 14th, the two sitting members, Bamber Gascoyne and Lord Penrhyn, issued addresses to the "freemen," soliciting their votes. Colonel Tarleton also put in his claim in a manifesto published at the same time. There is not a single political allusion in either of the addresses; the candidates simply base their claims on their attention to the interests of the borough. Actually, however, they represented two different interests; the corporation, who were now pretty well identified with the Tory party, supporting Gascoyne, and Lord Penrhyn being supposed to have the confidence of the independent electors.

Colonel Tarleton.

The friends of the old members having coalesced their forces, Colonel Tarleton proposed to withdraw, seeing no chance of success; but as our great dramatist sings

> As you all know, security
> Is mortal's chiefest enemy.

The matter being considered settled, the tap which had been turned on for the "free and independent" electors was suddenly stopped, which gave rise to great discontent. A friend of Colonel Tarleton's, Mr. George Crump, solicitor, adroitly took advantage of this feeling. He brought out a barrel of ale into the street near the Exchange, and having knocked out the head of the cask, began to distribute its contents, haranguing the mob on the injustice of the coalition and the expediency of supporting Colonel Tarleton. The feeling spread, and an impromptu address was got up and presented to the colonel, requesting him to come forward again. A meeting which had been called by the mayor and bailiffs of the merchants and tradesmen "to settle the question with as little interruption as possible to the trade of the town," broke up in confusion, both sides claiming the majority in the show of hands. A very severe contest followed, which lasted seven days. During the first two days, the polling was nearly equal, but as the struggle proceeded, the enthusiasm for Tarleton increased. The exasperated freemen rushed to the poll in crowds to plump for Tarleton, and at the close the numbers stood: Tarleton, 1269; Gascoyne, 888; Penrhyn, 716.

Election squibs.

The squibs, addresses, and doggerels issued during the election were rather smarter than usual.

The following is worth extracting for its peculiar phraseology:

THE COLONEL'S BALLAD.

Freemen, where is your great magnanimity?
Where's your boasted courage flown?
Quite perverted by pusillanimity,
Scarce can call your souls your own.

What your colonel has won so victoriously,
Crowned with conquest in the field,
You have relinquished, and O most ingloriously
To oppression tamely yield.

Freedom now for her flight makes preparative,
See her weeping quit the shore!
Freemen's loss is past all comparative,
Never to behold her more!

Great God, arise! and with fate now *exorgitate*
Strike with Thy vindictive frown,
Make oppressors their plunder *egorgitate*,
And relieve a weeping town.

As might naturally be expected, the protection of the slave-trade formed the staple of a large portion of appeals to the constituency, and great credit is claimed for the old members, who, it is said, "In the late violent attempt to abolish the supply of the West India islands with labourers from Africa, have given the most convincing proofs of superior abilities, unremitted attention, and invincible perseverance."

Again, inquires a champion who signs himself Common Sense, "Was not the African trade in danger? Was not Mr. Pitt, the minister, against it? Was not Mr. Fox, the leader of Opposition, against it? Was not the House of Commons against it? Was not the whole nation against it? Who was there to stand up for it but Lord Penrhyn and Mr. Gascoyne? How then can any man be so ungrateful as to give his vote against them?" The idea of the two Liverpool members successfully resisting the whole nation in defence of the favourite traffic of the port is rich in the extreme, and strongly reminds one of Sydney's Smith's picture of Mrs. Partington defying the Atlantic Ocean.

Not content with prose, the muse of poetry is invoked. Thus sings the poet laureate of the Gascoyne party:

CHAP. III.

1790. Election squibs.

Be true to the man who stood true to his trust,
Remember our sad situation we must,
When our African business was near at an end,
Remember, my lads, 'twas Gascoyne was our friend.

If our slave-trade had gone, there's an end to our lives,
Beggars all we must be, our children and wives,
No ships from our ports their proud sails e'er would spread,
And our streets grown with grass, where the cows might be fed.

The conduct of the self-elected common council in its exclusion of the burgesses from all share in the local affairs was made use of by the Tarleton party. Mr. John Foster, a member of a family who for several generations managed the architectural and building affairs of the corporation, is thus alluded to: "Consider the insult offered you by the Body Corporate, in bestowing all the work on Young F—r, a fellow of yesterday; an upstart whose arrogance, impudence, and ignorance are only surpassed by the blunders he commits hourly in his profession."

The unfortunate *fiasco* of the entertainment given by Mr. Gascoyne ten years before was not forgotten. Both prose and poetry were called into requisition to excite the public ridicule. The following is one specimen:

Mr. Gascoyne, actuated by those fixed principles, that ever memorable gratitude and steady adherence to a party, that have exalted his highly-respected father's name almost to immortality, solicits the honour of his friends' company on Wednesday next, at half-past two, on Childwall Heath, to partake of a roasted plump calf—the company may rely on its not being too fat.—By friends, Mr. Gascoyne means those independent men, who would sacrifice even their freedom to oblige the Corporation: He likewise assures them that he has preserved, in high perfection, a large stock of last year's cabbages, and that they may not be hard of digestion, he has ordered them to be seven times *parboiled*.[1] He hopes this entertainment will prove as pleasant and agreeable as the well-known feast of Bull's beef and faded cabbage-stalks on a similar occasion.

N. B.—Gentlemen will wash their faces on this occasion, and suffer themselves to be examined when they go away. Please observe the knives and forks are chained down.

[1] This is an allusion to the family of the Parrs who had numerous votes, which were partly divided between Gascoyne and Tarleton, and partly given as plumpers for Tarleton.

The following is a characteristic incident of the times. It must be taken, however, as an *ex parte* statement:

Lord Murray [1] was observed forcing a man along Castle Street, who without intermission shouted "Tarleton for ever!" while the man's wife kept pulling him by the coat, begging he would be true to his promise of giving the colonel a plumper. At that instant up came a party of freemen in the interest of the colonel, who, knowing their comrade, endeavoured to rescue him, accusing Lord Murray of having stolen their property—that was the term made use of. In the scuffle, Lord Murray struck one of the party, when a small species of bruising ensued, in which, it must be confessed, his lordship displayed the character of a common porter much to his credit. The hisses and groans that saluted his lordship's ears from every quarter must have roused his shame—had that meek-eyed goddess ever sat on his brow.

Poll.

At the close of the third day's poll, seeing that Tarleton's majority rendered his return almost certain, Lord Penrhyn generously gave way, and issued an address withdrawing from the contest. He says, with some bitterness:

Lord Penrhyn's address.

As my re-election is now attended with the same contest, disorder, and confusion that I have experienced at every dissolution of Parliament for these twenty-two years past, though I am first on the poll,[2] and have no doubt of success, I beg leave to retire. . . . To represent the town of Liverpool with the unanimous approbation of the freemen, I should certainly esteem honourable; but as I have never found myself in that situation, I have only to subscribe myself your most obedient humble servant,

PENRHYN.

It is stated, but seems almost incredible, that Lord Penrhyn expended nearly £30,000 in this contest.

After the first day's poll, Bamber Gascoyne shut himself up in Mr. Baker's house in Water Street, never appeared again on the hustings, affected indisposition, and refused to encounter the ceremony of chairing. The gentleman who represented him was covered with mud by the populace. He became very unpopular, and withdrew in favour of his brother at the election of 1796.

A.D. 1791.

In the next year (1791) a vigorous effort was made to shake

[1] Lord Henry Murray resided at Eton House (now Bishop Eton) on the Woolton Road. He was brother to the Duke of Athol, and was a supporter of Lord Penrhyn.

[2] This must have been written the day before the address was issued, when the statement was quite correct.

CHAP. III.

1791. Proposed reforms in Council.

off the incubus of the self-elected common council. In the mayoralty of James, Earl of Derby in 1735, a common hall had been held, sanctioned by a legal decision of the superior courts, which authorised the burgesses to manage their own affairs: but the decease of the noble lord before his term of office expired rendered the measure abortive, and the council continued to exercise its usurped power, no succeeding mayor having had the courage or inclination to take the popular side.

On October 5, 1790, a memorial was addressed to the mayor and bailiffs, signed by thirty-six burgesses, complaining of the mode of electing members of the council, and objecting to the election of some who had been proposed. They say: "We do hereby take the liberty of expressing our disapprobation, not only of the mode of election of councilmen, but of the persons who are frequently chosen into that body." They refer to several respectable names which had been rejected, and continue, "We think we are warranted in saying that the council, in choosing their own body, do not consult the wishes or interests of the burgesses . . . We presume to desire that you will not hold a council to-morrow; but take into consideration the propriety of summoning a common hall, at which the burgesses may have an opportunity of electing the guardians of their own estate."

The names appended to this document were amongst the most respectable in Liverpool, comprising not only prominent members of the Whig party, such as Nathaniel Richard, Benjamin and Arthur Heywood, Joseph Birch, Willis Earle, Ellis L. Hodgson, but names uniformly connected with the Corporation and Conservative interests, such as John Bolton, John Tarleton, Jonas Bold, Cornelius Bourne. The most singular name amongst the subscribers is that of Henry Brown, if it be, as may be fairly surmised, that of the clever attorney who acted in the following year as legal agent for the corporation in the controversy raised on the very subject-matter of the memorial.

Mr. Sparling.

Proposed council reform.

In 1791, during the mayoralty of Mr. John Sparling, a requisition signed by 1028 burgesses, being a majority of two-thirds of those residing in the town, was presented to the mayor and bailiffs, requesting them to call a common hall. The bailiffs at this time were Mr. Clayton Tarleton, brother of the member (elected mayor in 1792), and Mr. Robert Moss. The requisition was acceded to, and the burgesses were called together on January 17, the mayor having taken the opinion of three

eminent counsel as to the legality of the course. At this meeting resolutions were passed abrogating the power assumed by the council to fill up vacancies in their body, and as the council was then short of its number according to the charter, two gentlemen were selected to fill the vacant places—Mr. Joseph Birch[1] and Mr. Richard Walker, both eminent merchants. The meeting also resolved that the corporation accounts should be audited on behalf of the burgesses and published, and passed a bye-law to that effect. This bye-law the then treasurer, Mr. Thomas Golightly, supported by the majority of the council, refused to comply with. Another common hall was called together on June 16, when a further bye-law was passed, inflicting a penalty of forty shillings for every refusal of the treasurer to allow the auditors to inspect the books. The treasurer still refusing the inspection, an action was brought against him in the Court of King's Bench, nominally on behalf of the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses, for the recovery of the penalty, which, if successful, would establish the rights of the burgesses. The action was tried at the Lancaster Assizes before Baron Thompson, Serjeant Adair being counsel for the prosecutors, and Mr. Erskine (afterwards Lord Chancellor) for the defendant. The question turned upon the point whether evidence of a custom ought to be admitted against the express words of a charter. The judge ruled that it could not be admitted, and the jury accordingly found for the plaintiff, thus establishing the right of the burgesses to manage their own affairs.

Trial.

A motion was made in the Court of King's Bench for a new trial, when, after a long argument, the judges were of opinion that the evidence of the custom ought to have been admitted, and directed a new trial, which came on during the year subsequent. On the second trial, evidence of the usage was furnished from the corporation books, and counter evidence was given showing what the usage and custom had been from the earliest period. The jury again gave a verdict in favour of the burgesses. This ought to have settled the question, but abuses are not so easily put down when they have unlimited funds at their disposal.

Law proceedings.

[1] Mr. Birch sat for many years as Member of Parliament for Nottingham, and was created a baronet. He was father to the present Sir Thomas Bernard Birch, Bart., of the Hazles, near Prescot, Member of Parliament for Liverpool from 1847 to 1852.

CHAP. III. 1791. New trial.

A motion was again made for a new trial, on the ground that the jury had not attached to their verdict a declaration that the usage was an abuse. By this time, the funds of the burgesses had become exhausted; they plainly saw that the council were prepared for war to the knife, and would carry the matter from court to court as long as money would keep it alive. This prospect was disheartening; very reluctantly the action was abandoned; and the council continued to practise the injustice until terminated by the Municipal Reform Act of 1835.

I have mentioned that the burgesses in the common hall of 1791, elected two common councilmen, Messrs. Birch and Walker. Immediate proceedings were taken by the council to dispute the validity of these elections. In Trinity Term 1791, writs of Quo warranto were issued against both these gentlemen, calling upon them to prove their title to their seats. The point at issue was this: the charter of William III., called the governing charter, in which the existence of a council was first recognised, enacted that the vacancies in that body should be filled up in the same manner as had been customary previous to the spurious charter of Charles II. The council before that time had been the mere creation of the burgesses, but there can be no doubt that the illegal custom of self-election had already crept in. After the charter of Charles I. was granted in 1626, the burgesses met in common hall and elected a council of fifty-six members, but no regular system being adopted, the council soon relieved the burgesses of any care in the matter, and notwithstanding a few spasmodic throes and impotent remonstrances, the exclusive system gained itself a title by prescription. The question was argued in Hilary, Easter, and Trinity Terms 1792, and in Michaelmas Term judgment was given in favour of the council, excluding the new councillors from their seats.

Quo Warranto.

Taking of Bastille.

On July 14, 1791, the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille was celebrated in Liverpool, on which occasion Mr. Roscoe composed his well-known lyric:

O'er the vine-covered hills and gay valleys of France,
See the day-star of Liberty rise;
Through the clouds of detraction unsullied advance,
And hold its new course through the skies.
An effulgence so mild with a lustre so bright,
All Europe with wonder surveys,
And from deserts of darkness and dungeons of night,
Contends for a share of the blaze. etc.

On the same day the Church and King riots at Birmingham took place, which effectually put a stop to similar celebrations in future.

During all this time the trade of the port continued prosperous and progressive, and the population rapidly increasing, amounting at the outbreak of the French war to not fewer than 60,000 souls.

A.D. 1792. East India monopoly.

In 1792 a strong feeling pervaded the mercantile community that the monopoly of trade with the East, enjoyed by the East India Company, was unjust and ought to be abolished; that Liverpool and the other ports of the kingdom had an equal right to whatever advantages could be gained by enterprise and capital. A public meeting of the merchants and inhabitants was called in the Exchange, the mayor, Clayton Tarleton, Esq., in the chair, when a series of resolutions in favour of free trade were passed unanimously, and an influential committee was appointed to prepare a petition to Parliament and to make every effort to carry out the object of the meeting. A correspondence was entered into to receive the co-operation of Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow, and other commercial towns. These proceedings were, however, cut short by the alarming state of political affairs. Agitation and disaffection at home, and the prospect of a general European war, threw a gloom over the country at large, disheartening any attempts towards relaxing the existing monopoly, which it required a further experience of twenty years finally to overcome.

Public meeting.

On the 7th December 1792 an address was voted to the king by the common council, expressive of their abhorrence of the designs of evil-disposed persons, and assuring his majesty of their loyalty and allegiance.

A.D. 1793. Dark prospects.

The year 1793 opened with dark and lowering prospects. The execution of Louis XVI. on January 21, excited a large amount of indignation and sympathy. The flags on the shipping and public buildings were hoisted half-mast high, and a strong disposition was manifested to rally round the Government.

War with France.

War was declared against France on February 11. Immediately afterwards a meeting of the principal inhabitants was held, at which a letter was read from the prime minister, Mr. Pitt, requesting that a deputation might be sent to confer with the Government on the steps to be taken for the protection of the port and shipping. Messrs. George Case, Richard Walker, and J. P. Richards, were appointed for the purpose. Vigorous

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1793.

Defence of the port.

measures were adopted. An embargo was laid upon all ships carrying naval or military supplies, and letters of marque were issued against French ships and commerce. The old fighting instinct of Liverpool was revived in full force, and before July 1, no less than sixty-seven privateers were armed and manned, and were either at sea or preparing to sail. An incident occurred in connection with one of these privateers which was long kept in remembrance. A letter of marque ship, called the "Pelican," was launched on March 20, full rigged, with all her guns and stores on board. A party of above two hundred persons were invited to accompany her down the river to sea. Whilst they were making merry and enjoying themselves to their hearts' content, the ship on being put about opposite Seacombe, suddenly made a lurch and went down. Seventy persons were drowned, the rest being saved by boats on the river. The accident was supposed to have occurred through the guns not being properly secured. The ship was never raised, and the top of her masts stood above the water for years after the fatal event. The first prize was brought in on April 5, by the Liverpool ship "Harriet," Captain Caitcheon, consisting of a French West Indiaman called "L'Agréable," laden with cotton, sugar, and indigo, of the value of £8000 to £10,000.

Privateers.

"Pelican" privateer.

Commercial depression.

The upheaval and disturbance in the political world inflicted a severe and unprecedented shock on commercial affairs. A general panic set in throughout the country, during which numerous mercantile houses of the highest standing and character were prostrated in ruin. Of the four banks then existing in Liverpool, three were able to withstand the shock. The fourth, that of Messrs. Charles Caldwell and Co., succumbed under the pressure.

Measures adopted.

The consequences were very serious. All confidence was at an end. Produce could not be disposed of and bills could not be met. The measures taken at this time to mitigate the pressure and to restore confidence were very judicious, though somewhat bold and novel. On March 23, a public meeting of merchants was held to consider the state of affairs, at which a committee was appointed to consult as to the best course to be adopted. The town council also met and appointed a committee to confer with and aid the committee of merchants. The joint committees drew up an address which was countersigned by two hundred and twenty of the principal firms in the town, recommending forbearance in regard to payments and bills falling

1793. Corporation notes.

due, and expressing their confidence in the Liverpool banks and their willingness to receive their paper.

The council went beyond this, and obtained an Act (33 Geo. III. c. 31), authorising them to issue negotiable notes to an amount not exceeding £300,000, on security of the corporate property.[1] The £50 and £100 notes were to bear interest. Those of £5 and £10 to be without interest. The notes so issued were to be loaned to the merchants and holders of produce to relieve the stagnation in the mercantile world. The committee of management, in their public notice, state that "the business of a loan office on the principles intended by the Act, is without a parallel; and there being no institution from which the committee could derive information to aid their deliberations, they do not suppose that the rules and regulations now laid before you are the best possible; a little experience may point out their defects, and those defects will be remedied and removed as they are discovered. The mode of obtaining a loan will be found unembarrassed, easy, and expeditious; the terms are as moderate as the expenses which will unavoidably attend the institution would permit, and fixed on that sure basis which will protect the corporation estate from injury.

"It now rests with you to second the endeavours of the corporation. The inconveniences resulting from a convulsion before unknown in the commercial history of this country, all have been exposed to; all have in a greater or less degree experienced; the remedy, in a considerable degree, is now within your power, and that is, by receiving the notes to be issued, in discharge of all your simple contract debts.

"That you may inspire each other with confidence in this respect, it is recommended that you signify your assent to do so, publicly and without reserve; it has been suggested that this intention will be most easily collected by signing your acquiescence at Mr. Gore's shop, near the Exchange."

[1] The report of the committee stated the corporate property as follows:—

The Landed Estate	£1,044,776	0	0
The Debt	367,816	12	0
	£676,959	8	0
Reversionary Interests	60,000	0	0
Public Buildings and Land	85,000	0	0
Total	£821,959	8	0

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1793. Corporation notes.

The experiment was completely successful. As in many similar cases, what was wanted was the restoration of confidence rather than any large amount of circulation. It was not found necessary to issue more than a moderate proportion of the notes.

This scheme and its success have often been quoted in favour of a paper currency *versus* gold; but a moment's consideration will show that the success was entirely owing to the convertibility of the notes within a limited period, and to the fact of the larger sums bearing interest, both of which are incompatible with the existence of an issue of inconvertible paper. The simple process was this; the corporation pledged their credit; their notes were cashed and so relieved the holders of produce, which could not be sold except at a ruinous loss.

The following is a contemporary description of the manners and customs of a portion of the community at this period.

"Nocturnal riots in the streets were not unfrequent. A number of hotheaded young men, who were distinguished by the appellation of 'Bloods,' were often engaged in those disgraceful frays, and the inoffensive passenger was sometimes insulted by them. Another scandalous practice of these young men was the circulation of handbills, in which young ladies were offered for sale. In 1794, two respectable men, in passing near the hotel in Lord Street, late in the evening, were attacked by a party of the 'bloods,' and were knocked down, receiving several contusions."

A.D. 1794. Lord Howe's victory.

The war opened well for England. Lord Howe's great victory of June 1, 1794, inspired the nation with confidence. The greater part of the West India Islands fell into the hands of the English, which to Liverpool with its West India and African trade opened up prospects of great extension of commerce.

Guadaloupe.

When the news of the capture of Guadaloupe arrived there were great rejoicings. A grand banquet was given by the mayor, Mr. Henry Blundell, whose brother, Lieutenant-Colonel Blundell, had distinguished himself in the attack. Lord Howe's victory gave rise to the most unbounded rejoicings. The church bells were rung, flags were displayed from every steeple and "coin of vantage," the ships in the docks and harbour were gaily decorated, and a royal salute fired from the fort.

Press for seamen.

These victories, however, required their price, and this was painful enough to the seafaring community. The press for seamen for the navy became very warm. Not content with overhauling the ships and scouring every obscure haunt where sailors

were accustomed to take refuge, the press-gang went inland, invaded the merriment of the wakes and fairs, and carried off without scruple any landsmen they could lay their hands on. In the spring of 1794, the Warrington coach and the York mail were stopped by the pressgang and searched for sailors. During the heat of the scuffle the horses took fright, galloped off and upset the coach, by which several of the passengers were severely injured.

The military spirit of Liverpool has always risen with every emergency. Few towns in the kingdom have been so ready in times of need to furnish contingents whether of regulars, militia, or volunteers, for the service of the country. In 1794 a subscription was entered into for the purpose of raising a volunteer force, towards which the corporation contributed £1000. This was merely a preliminary movement. I shall have occasion again to refer to the great volunteer display of a few years later. Volunteers.

On February 4, 1794, the town was visited by a dreadful hurricane which committed very serious damage and filled the river with wrecks. Hurricane.

During this year a benevolent institution, called the "Strangers Friend Society," was established for the relief and aid of strangers and other casual poor who had no claim on the parish. The idea originated with Dr. Adam Clarke, a methodist preacher, at that time located in Liverpool. Though commenced by the Methodists, its organisation embraced all denominations. After pursuing its quiet career of usefulness for more than half a century, it was absorbed into the larger sphere of the Central Relief Society.

In the absence of more legitimate business the privateering expeditions were attended with considerable success. On February 11 the town was thrown into a state of excitement by the arrival of seven French West Indiamen, captured by two Liverpool privateers, all fine vessels and richly laden. Prizes.

Political party spirit began now to run very high. The vast majority in Liverpool, as well as in the nation at large, were enthusiastic in favour of the war with France, and earnest supporters of the Government measures, but there was a minority, comparatively small in number but intelligent and determined, who lost no opportunity of deprecating the war and of denouncing the repressive measures adopted by those in power. In 1793, the mayor, Mr. Clayton Tarleton, reprinted and circulated a charge of Mr. Justice Ashurst, strongly animadverting on the Peace party.

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opponents of the Government, along with an address of the London Loyal Association. To counteract the effect of this, the party of opposition, which ranked amongst its members several names of which Liverpool has reason to be proud, such as William Roscoe, Dr. Currie (the biographer of Burns), Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Birch, and others, adopted vigorous measures. Dr. Currie published under the pseudonym of "Jasper Wilson," a letter to Mr. Pitt, strongly condemnatory of the war, which caused an extraordinary sensation. Three large editions were sold in two months, besides reprints in Scotland, Ireland, and in the country. It was reprinted in America, and translated into French and German.[1]

Dr. Currie's letters.

A society of the friends of peace was organised in Liverpool by this party, who published their resolutions in one of the Liverpool papers. To so high a pitch had party feeling risen, that those who were known to be members were publicly insulted, and after a short time the society was compelled to discontinue its meetings. At this juncture a proclamation was issued by the Government representing the dangers to which the country was exposed by treasonable and seditious designs, and exhorting all persons to make diligent inquiry after the authors of the wicked and seditious writings which were disseminated over the country. This roused the opposition party in Liverpool to take action. Mr. Roscoe drew up a declaration expressing the attachment of those who signed it to the constitution, and at the same time their resolution to seek a Parliamentary reform by all legal, temperate, and constitutional means. This declaration had been extensively signed when the mayor convoked a public meeting of the inhabitants to consider the propriety of addressing the king. An opportunity being thus afforded for a public expression of opinion, the declaration was laid aside and an address was prepared (also by Mr. Roscoe) embracing the sentiments of the declaration. When the meeting took place addresses were proposed by the ministerial party, and Mr. Roscoe's counter-address was brought forward by Mr. Birch. A stormy debate ensued, accompanied by considerable uproar. Mr. Roscoe however, and several of the Whigs succeeded in

Proclamation.

Declaration.

Public meeting

[1] Dr. Currie was born on the 31st May 1756, at Kirkpatrick Fleming near Gretna, his father being the parish minister. He settled in Liverpool as a physician in 1780, and filled for twenty-five years a most honourable position. He died August 31, 1805. His life was published by his son, William Wallace Currie (the first mayor of Liverpool under the Reform Act), London 1831, 2 vols. 8vo.

making themselves heard; and after a contest of two hours, his address was carried on a show of hands by a considerable majority. The mayor then appointed the following Monday at the town-hall for its signature.

Contentions.

In the meantime the friends of the Government were not idle. Exciting placards were posted on the walls, calling on the lovers of the Constitution to resist the revolutionary designs of their opponents. When the time for signature came, the town-hall was surrounded by a mob, who seized and tore up the address which had been carried at the public meeting. They then sent for the mayor and called for his address, which was one of those rejected at the meeting. This was tumultuously voted to be the Liverpool address. In a few hours it received 12,000 signatures, and was forwarded and presented to the king.

A.D. 1795.

At the beginning of the year 1795 the peace party presented a requisition to the mayor that he would call a meeting to address the Crown in favour of putting an end to the war. This requisition was signed by about fifty merchants. A movement was made by the opposite party, and a counter requisition signed by 200 of the merchants was presented, strongly dissuading the mayor from calling the meeting, on the ground that it would be useless if not mischievous. His worship accordingly declined.

Public meeting refused.

Press for seamen.

The pressure for seamen to man the royal navy was so great that Parliament passed a bill in February 1795, requiring each port in the kingdom to furnish a specified number of men for the public service. The list is very curious as showing the estimated relative importance of the different ports of the United Kingdom at that period. London was assessed to furnish 5725 men; Liverpool, 1711; Newcastle, 1240; Bristol, 666; and so in a descending scale to Montrose, which was to provide 107. A bounty was given by Government, which was supplemented by an additional sum granted by the corporation. This was absolutely necessary, as, until the contingent was supplied, no merchant vessel was allowed to put to sea. The bounty paid in Liverpool was £31 : 5s. for each able seaman, £23 : 10s. for each ordinary seaman, and £17 : 10s. for each landsman. At the average of these rates, the Liverpool levy must have cost in bounties the sum of £41,206. In order to stimulate the enlistment, the mayor and other authorities formed in procession, and, with drums beating and colours flying, perambulated the

Bounties.

CHAP. III.

streets and dock quays to the sound of martial music. The contingent was soon completed, and the embargo removed.

1795.

Address to the king.

The characteristic loyalty of Liverpool displayed itself by an address to the king on November 11, 1795. The state trials of Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall, for sedition, had caused great excitement in London, which was increased by their acquittal. The king had been attacked by the mob on October 29, whilst proceeding in state to open Parliament. The crowds collected are stated in the papers of the day to have amounted to two hundred thousand. Hisses and groans greeted the royal *cortége*, mingled with shouts of "Give us peace and bread!" "No war!" "No king!" "Down with him!" When opposite the Ordnance Office, a shot, supposed to have been a bullet from an air-gun, passed through the window of the royal carriage. This outrage strongly roused the indignation of the country, and loyal addresses poured in from all quarters. That from Liverpool was presented by the mayor, Mr. Peter Baker, and Mr. Owen Salisbury Brereton, the recorder, at that time eighty years of age.

The king attacked.

Election.

Parliament was dissolved May 1796, and writs for the new one immediately issued. Bamber Gascoyne having succeeded his father, who died in 1791, felt inclined to withdraw from public life. His place as a candidate was supplied by his brother Colonel (afterwards General) Isaac Gascoyne. This gentleman represented Liverpool in nine successive Parliaments for thirty-five years. He was a man of no special ability, and took no prominent part in public affairs, except on one memorable occasion, which cost him his seat for Liverpool. He was doubtless zealous and active in promoting the town's interest in Parliament, his family influence was considerable, and he had the uniform support of the town-council, "Gascoyne and Townside" being his favourite electioneering motto. His only active service had been under the Duke of York in the unfortunate campaign in Flanders, in 1794, where, like Achilles, he received a wound in the heel, which was sometimes sarcastically alluded to in electioneering squibs. He was a Conservative to the backbone, and uniformly supported the measures of Government.

General Gascoyne.

General Tarleton.

Of General Tarleton, who came forward for re-election, I have already spoken. During the time he had sat for the borough he had taken the Whig or Opposition side, and occasionally addressed the House with considerable effect. On Mr. Fox's motion of December 15, 1792, proposing to send a min-

ister to Paris to treat with the provisional government, which might have saved poor King Louis's life, Colonel Tarleton defended the course proposed by Mr. Fox against the attacks of Mr. Pitt.

John Tarleton.

A third candidate presented himself in the person of Mr. John Tarleton of Finch House, brother of the General. He had sat in the previous Parliament for the now disfranchised borough of Seaford in Sussex, under the patronage of Sir Godfrey Webster, Baronet, and the *on-dit* ran that a quarrel had arisen about the price to be paid for the seat, £3000, which the member refused to pay, and which led to a challenge and an information before the Court of King's Bench. He was in politics a supporter of the Administration, but a strong feeling prevailed as to his unfraternal conduct in coming forward to oppose his brother. It was also alleged that he had spoken and voted against the Liverpool Loan Bill of 1793, from which such good results had followed.

Bryan Blundell

Bryan Blundell, Colonel of the 45th regiment, who had distinguished himself at the taking of Guadaloupe, had intended to offer himself, but he says in his address: "On my arrival in my native town I found it engaged in so extraordinary a contest, and so much confusion the consequence, I must confess my own feelings will not allow me to add to it by making an offer of my humble services."

Rather more virulence than usual was infused into this contest from the personal relation of the parties, but the squibs and addresses were of a superior order. The following song is by no means despicable either in its versification or sentiment:

Song.

TARLETON AND LIBERTY.

To the tune of "*O! dear, what can the matter be?*"

From a cruise of six years for the good of the nation,
In which our commander ne'er fled from his station,
But battled with many a royal oration,
Our brave man of war has come home.
Huzza, Tarleton and Liberty,
Tarleton and Liberty.
Liverpool welcomes him home.

When taxes and war menaced danger around him,
And placemen and courtiers endeavour'd to sound him,

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A true British patriot we ever have found him,
As such let us welcome him home.
Huzza, etc.

When credit and property call'd for his aid, sirs,
He fought for our rights and protected our trade. sirs.
Which enemies vainly may try to invade, sirs,
While patriots triumph at home.
Huzza, etc.

Like a rock in the midst of the wide stormy ocean,
He stood firm and free 'midst the threaten'd commotion,
And scorn'd from our foes to solicit promotion,
Our hearts were his pride and his home.
Huzza, etc.

With freedom and truth, and an Englishman's spirit.
He knows that the proudest distinction is merit,
Then let him from us the rich title inherit,
And Liverpool still be his home.
Huzza, etc.

May 25, 1796.

Election squibs.

The following is rather bitter. It shows that the "bull beef and cabbage" of sixteen years before was still rankling in the popular mind:

Strayed, or otherways conveyed from the barren hills of Childwall, a young pug dog of the Lilliputian breed, commonly called or known by the name of Isaac. The said dog was marked in the heel at Dunkirk races, and wears a red collar. Whoever will give information to Mr. Tom Clarke[1] where he may be found, will receive a reward of a basket of fine cabbage and a barrel of excellent bull beef.

Circumstances had considerably changed since the last election in 1790. At that time party politics were scarcely alluded to, and on national subjects there seemed little or no difference of opinion. Now, an earnestness and even rancour was manifested, and every man took his particular side on matters which involved the first principles of liberty and order. The majority in Liverpool were undoubtedly on the side of the Government, but General Tarleton was popular with the working classes from his frankness and *bonhomie*. The ungenerous opposition of his

[1] Mr. Thomas Clarke was a Liverpool merchant residing at Childwall, and an ardent supporter of Colonel Gascoyne.

brother also roused a strong feeling of indignation, which is expressed in the following squib:

Liverpool, May 28, 1796.

Lost, this morning about nine o'clock, that very small portion of popularity which I have lately acquired by abusing and misrepresenting my brother, his family and friends. Whoever will bring any part of it to my committee-room in Brunswick Street shall receive a handsome reward from my arch-treasurer, J——n B——n, Esq.,[1] who, knowing my very extraordinary manœuvering abilities, has wisely accepted a sufficient security from me to indemnify himself and other friends.

J—— T——.[2]

General Tarleton had the reputation of being somewhat of a *roué*. There can be no doubt that he formed one of that select Whig circle which parasitically surrounded the heir to the throne and encouraged him in his excesses. At election times woe be to the man whose reputation is in any way loose or dilapidated. The following placard reflects both on the social habits and the political connections of the General:

Lost—supposed to be stolen out of the pocket of General Tarleton,[3] between Bold Street and Dale Street—a large packet of papers, containing the Duke of Bedford's draft upon him, in favour of Mrs. Robinson for sundries, for five hundred and eleven pounds four shillings. N.B. This draft is due 1st June 1796.

Particulars of a conversation between General Tarleton and the Duke of Bedford, respecting having his hair cut, after which, like a true jacobin, he is made into a crop.

Copy of a letter addressed to a club called the liberty club, and a copy of a letter to the Earl of Derby, respecting his lending him some money to carry on the election at Liverpool.

Lamentations of the freemen of Liverpool, for not letting them have free drink. And a many other papers too numerous to be inserted.

Whoever will bring the said packet of papers to the Committe-room in Dale Street, or to any of the fish women at the fish stones, shall receive two dozen green ribbons, and a peep at the general.

The poll commenced on Saturday May 28. From the first, Gascoyne took the lead, followed by the General. On Wednesday, June 1, John Tarleton withdrew, leaving the numbers at

[1] John Bolton, subsequently the great friend and supporter of Canning.

[2] John Tarleton.

[3] In the original the names are given with the initials and terminals only, but any occasion for suppression has long passed away.

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the close of the poll: Colonel Gascoyne, 672; General Tarleton, 506; John Tarleton, 317.

The number of freemen polled was only 1,195, being 772 less than at the election of 1790.

Naval successes.

The nation was now plunged into the thick of the war which was to try to the utmost its courage and endurance. Commerce began slowly to revive. The naval supremacy of England for the most part swept the seas clear of our enemies, and the trade of Liverpool, always ready for any new channel which might open, fully maintained its position and gained upon its rivals.

Alarms of invasion.

Alarms of invasion began now to distract the country. In October 1796 General Hoche was despatched by the French Directory with a fleet of seventeen ships, besides transports, and an army of 17,000 men, to attempt a landing in Ireland. The weather being unpropitious, the fleet returned without making

A.D. 1797.

the attempt. The year 1797 opened with a much more threatening demonstration. On Saturday, February 25, an express arrived in Liverpool with the information that a large body of French troops had been landed near Fishguard in South Wales, and might be expected to advance into Lancashire. Liverpool has never been found wanting in cases of emergency for the defence of her hearths and homes. A meeting of the inhabitants was called by the mayor the next day (Sunday), which is said to have been the most numerous ever held in the town. The

Volunteers.

utmost enthusiasm prevailed amongst all classes; 1000 volun-

Defences of the town.

teers presented themselves on the spot for enrolment. The merchants offered their privateers for service in the river and on the coast. The mayor applied to the Government for a reinforcement of troops and for two vessels of war to be stationed in the river. In the course of a week the town and port were placed in a complete state of defence. Thirty large guns were mounted at the fort, and twenty-six more were placed in position in temporary batteries at various salient points, with 570 men well appointed, ten men to a gun, consisting of masters, mates, and seamen, most of them trained privateers' men, accustomed to real action. A committee of forty of the principal inhabitants—irrespective of party—was appointed to act with the mayor, Mr. (afterwards Sir George) Dunbar, to conduct the arrangements for the defence of the town. The volunteers mustered in the fort on the same Sunday afternoon, and in marching out were received by the populace with loud cheers. Reinforcements arrived in the town during the week following, consisting of two troops of the Ayrshire cavalry, and a regiment of the East Kent militia.

Shortly after, the Liverpool volunteers were arranged into eight companies, commanded respectively by Messrs. George Case, Jonas Bold, George Dunbar, Henry Blundell, Joseph Birch, Thomas Earle, Felix Doran, and George Goring. There was also a troop of light horse, commanded by Mr. Edward Falkner. Defences.

Very fortunately this patriotic enthusiasm was never required to be carried into the field. The French expedition consisted of 1250 *forçats* whom the Government did not know how to dispose of. They were captured by the British force sent to meet them without striking a blow.

A little before this time, Charles Jenkinson, who filled the office of Prime Minister for a longer period than any other known in our annals, was created Earl of Liverpool, and at the request of the corporation he added the arms of the town to his family coat. The supporters were at the same time added to the arms of Liverpool. Town arms.

In 1797 the scheme of bringing water to supply Liverpool from the springs at Bootle, which had been propounded by Sir Cleave Moore ninety years before, was revived. A company was incorporated for the purpose by an Act passed in 1799 (39 Geo. III. c. 36). On St. Luke's Day in this year, the usually stagnant waters of the corporation were ruffled by the unusual circumstance of a contest for the mayoralty between Messrs. Thomas Staniforth and Jos. Brooks. The poll continued open for the unprecedented period of three days. The numbers stood at the close: Staniforth, 597; Brooks, 357. Mr. Brooks did not again offer himself for the honour. Supply of water. Poll for mayor.

About this time Liverpool became a depôt for French prisoners, and so continued to the end of the war. The gaol in Great Howard Street, which had been erected in 1786, but not occupied, was used for this purpose. At the close of 1798 there were 4000 French prisoners in Liverpool. French prisoners.

The 18th of December 1797 was celebrated as a thanksgiving day for the naval victory of Camperdown under Admiral Duncan.

The year 1798 opened gloomily for the country, invasion from France appeared imminent, and the rebellion in Ireland was showing its first symptoms. Liverpool, with its usual loyalty, came forward nobly in aid of the Government with a voluntary subscription of £17,000. The list of subscribers contains almost every name of note in the dominant party, for A.D. 1798 Subscription.

CHAP. III. 1798.

it is remarkable that the names of the leading Whigs are "conspicuous by their absence." The amounts vary from £500, with which Mr. John Bolton heads the list, down to £50, and under. One firm agrees to contribute the yearly sum of 40 guineas during the continuance of the war.

Volunteers.

The volunteer forces were at this time rearranged and extended; 800 additional men were enrolled, making a total of about 2000 strong, besides the artillery and cavalry. Two battalions of infantry were formed, one commanded by Colonel George Case,[1] the other by Colonel Pudsey Dawson. The artillery corps was commanded by Mr. Jacob Nelson; the cavalry by Colonel Edward Falkner. On this footing the force remained until it was disbanded at the Peace of Amiens in 1802, to be revived at a future period.

Irish rebellion.

At the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion large numbers of the loyal inhabitants of Ireland crossed the Channel and took refuge in Liverpool, which had a favourable influence on the town. Owing to the stagnation of trade after the commencement of the war, the increase of population had been checked, and a large number of houses stood empty, which were now quickly occupied by the refugees from the sister island.

Battle of the Nile.

In November 1798 an address of congratulation was adopted by the common council, and presented to the king on the great victory obtained by Lord Nelson at the battle of the Nile.

The news of the victory was received with great éclat. The public buildings and the ships were decorated. In the evening the two volunteer regiments of infantry, the volunteer light horse, and the garrison troops assembled in Great George Street, and formed a line upwards of half a-mile in length. By the time they were arranged it was dark, and they then fired a *feu-de-joie*, which, it is said, had a brilliant effect.

[1] Mr. George Case was the son of John Case, a tradesman in Prescot. In 1759 he entered Manchester Grammar School. He subsequently became a merchant in Liverpool, and was Mayor in 1781. He was also a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant for the county. He succeeded Mr. Gregson as receiver-general of taxes for the county. During the latter portion of his life he resided at Walton Priory, where he died 2d November 1836 at the age of eighty-eight. He had been a witness and in great part an actor in Liverpool affairs from the time of Sir William Meredith's election in 1761 to the establishment of the reformed Council in 1836. His son, John Deane Case, was treasurer to the old corporation, and was pensioned off when the reformed Council came in. Mr. George Case's portrait hangs on the wall of the Council-chamber. He was a member of the Council fifty-seven years, and a magistrate during fifty.

In the year 1799 the Liverpool and Harrington Company, for supplying the town with water from springs on the spot, was established. Under the Improvement Act of 1786, the corporation had taken powers to construct these works either by themselves or others. Up to this time the powers had lain dormant, but, stimulated by the incorporation of the Bootle Company, the council made over their privileges to a company now created. Public opinion was so much in favour of the undertaking, that immediately on the subscription list being opened the whole of the shares were disposed of.

1799. Corporation water-works.

During the same year an important trial took place between the city of London and the town of Liverpool, involving the question of exemption from towns' dues payable in Liverpool on ships and goods belonging to citizens of London. By the terms of the royal charters granted to the metropolis, the citizens and freemen were to be exempt from local tolls throughout the country, anything to the contrary in local charters notwithstanding. This right was litigated in 1695, when the cheesemongers of London successfully resisted the payment. As the commerce of Liverpool increased, and transactions became larger, the exemption from towns' dues became a valuable privilege. As long as the freedom could be purchased, this exemption was a mere matter of calculation, but after the year 1777, when the council abandoned the practice of granting the freedom for a fine, this means of obtaining the privilege was cut off. Finding this to be the case, it became the practice for Liverpool merchants to get themselves elected in some minor company of the city of London, for which they paid £40 or £50, and thus, by pleading their privilege, escaped the payment of many hundreds a year. Instances have occurred in which these gentlemen were caught in their own trap. Freemen of London elected on the livery are liable to serve the office of sheriff, or pay a fine of £500. More than once Liverpool merchants have been so elected and have paid the fine. In one case the gentleman nominated (Mr. Leigh) actually served as sheriff. In April 1799 the question was brought to an issue by a trial before the Court of Exchequer and a special jury, when a verdict was given to the following effect: "That the citizens are entitled to the exemption for their goods and wares, but it belongs exclusively to such as are resident freemen within the liberties, paying scot and lot." Practically this was a verdict for the corporation, as few persons would go to the expense of an establishment in

Trial, Liverpool *v.* London.

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1799.

London for the mere purpose of evading the payment of towns' dues in Liverpool.

Mr. Henry Brown.

In the conduct of this trial, great credit was due to Mr. Henry Brown, a solicitor of standing in the town, and a member of the council, to whom—the town-clerk of the day not being considered quite competent for the extensive research and deep legal lore required—the business was entrusted. At this time very little was known as to the title of the corporation to the receipt of towns' dues, whether they were leviable by prescription or grant, and in what way they had originated. He had been previously employed in the trials of 1791 to defend the council in their claims to self-election and exclusive management, and was pronounced by Mr. Law (afterwards Lord Ellenborough) to be the best read corporation lawyer in existence. He was an antiquary of the Dryasdust school; never so happy as when immersed amidst piles of dusty parchments in the Tower or Record Office. From these and other sources he probed to the bottom the foundation of the corporation title, which was never submitted to public view until brought out by the Municipal Corporations Enquiry in 1833. Like many other men of his class, he was eccentric in his habits and slovenly in his person. It is said that on one occasion, whilst undergoing the operation of shaving in a barber's shop in London, he accidentally spied Colonel Gascoyne passing along the street. Without uttering a word, he jumped up, pushed aside the astonished tonsor, and rushed out into the street with lathered chin, and the enveloping garment flying behind, calling at the top of his voice for the gallant colonel to stop, the populace imagining that he was a lunatic attempting to make his escape. After the conclusion of the contest with the city of London, a complimentary resolution was passed by the council to the following effect: "That the thanks of the council be given to Mr. Brown for his valuable services, and that he be presented with a gold snuff-box, having an appropriate inscription, as a further mark of approbation of his conduct, the same to be ordered and executed under the direction of the Select Finance Committee, paid for by the treasurer, and allowed in his accounts."

Election of town-clerk.

The thanks of the council proved but barren after all. In 1807, on the decease of Mr. John Colquitt, Mr. Brown became a candidate for the town-clerkship, to which he had the strongest possible title from his previous services. He had the mortification of finding himself passed over in favour of one whose

claims consisted mainly of corporate influence. It was remarked by a wag in reference to the compliment of 1799, that Mr. Brown had got "*bos* et præterea nihil."

On November 12 of this year one of those hurricanes which periodically visit the port committed more than the usual amount of destruction. Three ships which left the port in the morning—the "Hope," the "Chirmseck," and the "Belfast," —became total wrecks, and all on board perished.

Ships saluting.

A little before this date a singular accident occurred, attended with loss of life. At this period nearly all the sea-going ships carried guns for protection in war-time, and it was customary for homeward-bound vessels entering the port to announce their arrival by firing a salute, the balls of course being drawn. On one occasion this precaution was neglected, and two men who were crossing the old dock gates were killed, and another man severely wounded. The practice of saluting was from that time forward prohibited.

King's birthday.

A grand display took place on June 4, 1799, being the king's birthday, when a stand of colours was presented to the Royal Liverpool Regiment of Volunteers, under Colonel Pudsey Dawson. Two brass field-pieces were also presented to them by the annual vestry meeting of the parish.

Commercial stagnation.

Notwithstanding the temporary relief afforded by the corporation issue of notes in 1793-4, commercial affairs continued in a very low state of depression. In 1797 the drain of gold compelled the Bank of England to suspend its cash payments, which was soon after sanctioned by the Bank Restriction Act. The following year, about the time of the Irish Rebellion, 3 per cent Consols went down to 48, the lowest point of depression they have ever reached. Under these circumstances, application was made to the Government for assistance. Certainly if any town in the kingdom deserved sympathy it was Liverpool, which had preserved its loyalty unshaken in the most trying times, both of political convulsion and commercial disaster. The appeal was listened to, and a bill was brought in (39 and 40 Geo. III. c. 5.), "For enabling his Majesty to issue Exchequer Bills to a limited amount for the relief of the merchants of Liverpool and Lancaster." The principle of this bill was identical with that of the corporation in 1793, substituting the credit of the Government for that of the local body. The result was very beneficial, as it released and brought

Government aid.

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into circulation a large amount of capital locked up in unsaleable produce.

In the midst of wars abroad and commercial depression at home, the amenities of social life were not altogether lost sight of. In September 1799, the usual triennial festival of music was held, attended by a brilliant assemblage, and closing with a grand public ball at the Athenæum, then recently completed. The names of the vocal artistes—Madam Mara, with Miss Poole, Knyvett, Bartleman and Meredith—bring up reminiscences of musical excellence of the highest order.

Musical festival.

Botanic Garden.

In 1800 the old Botanic Garden at the top of Mount Pleasant was established. I shall have to recur to this in a future chapter.

Dearness of food.

Provisions at this time were enormously dear, wheat reaching the price of 100s. a quarter, and the poor suffered greatly. Liverpool has never been wanting in sympathetic care for the needy and destitute. The sum of £10,000 was subscribed to buy potatoes to be given or retailed at a low price, and £20,000 to purchase provisions of other kinds.

Volunteers.

The volunteering went forward briskly. A battalion of artillery was organised 500 strong, the members of which equipped themselves and manned the guns of the various batteries which the town had provided. A second battalion was also enrolled to act as a reserve in case of need.

Summary.

We have now brought our record down to the close of the eighteenth century, the most eventful cycle in the history of Liverpool—the transition period from obscurity to celebrity, from poverty to wealth. At the commencement of the century, Liverpool, already active, and feeling the stimulus to exertion which is the surest omen of future success, contained a population of something over 5000 inhabitants. Its commerce during the year employed 102 ships with tonage of 8619.

Commerce.

At the close of the century the population had increased to 77,653, or, including the seamen belonging to the port, and the out townships which now form part of the borough, the numbers would be nearly 90,000. The number of ships entering the port in the year 1800 was 4746, with a tonnage of 450,000. In 1700, no docks had been constructed, the open harbour was dangerous, and the facilities for trade of a very inferior description.

Docks.

In 1800 there were five large floating docks, besides the dry docks and basins, containing a water area of twenty-six acres. At the former period there was a single parochial chapel-

of-ease; at the latter there were eleven churches belonging to the Establishment, besides numerous places of worship belonging to the Catholics and Nonconformists. In 1699 the revenue of the corporation amounted to £804 : 4 : 3. In 1800 it amounted to £82,393 : 17 : 9, having increased in a century a hundredfold.

Description of town.

A description of the town was published near the close of the century, from which a few extracts may be interesting and somewhat amusing. The author (who is anonymous) does not draw a very flattering picture either of the town or its inhabitants. He says: "A history of Liverpool will be found to be rather the history of a people than of a place; divested of her complicated traffic, increased shipping, and nautical erections, there is nothing to recompense inquiry; the investigating eye of the cognoscenti will find here a barren unmeaning prospect, the search of the antiquary will be rewarded by nothing but the remains of an old tower; . . . . there can be little to amuse or invite the dilitanti (*sic*), where neither novelty of composition, nor singularity of construction are to be seen in their buildings; a tame laboured imitation shows itself in all their public works, which are rather redundant than elegant, exhibiting a costly magnificence which discovers more the ability than the taste of the inhabitants."

Improvements.

"The recent improvements of Liverpool are evidences of its expected populousness, but a stranger on a review of the whole would receive no other impression than that a successful commerce is the source of affluence; he will see an attempt at magnificence and regularity in all their designs, but they will appear in few instances united; the general improvements of the old town discover, for the most part, rather a solicitude to accomplish than a probability of producing the intended effects.

Streets.

The streets are unfinished, and their several untenanted shops show little encouragement to complete them; even Castle Street, notwithstanding no town in England can show anything superior of its height and length, is deficient both in symmetry and disposition;[1] their best streets discover a something that offends the eye of a judicious observer; while none but Clayton Square exhibits an architectural uniformity, and the propriety of that composition is totally destroyed by the smallness of the area, which gives it a gloomy and monastic appearance. Nor does

Squares.

[1] This refers to the recent widening and re-erection of the west side of Castle Street, under the Act of 1786.

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the new town promise a more certain attainment of its meditated design; it may not be too much to say that not one of the streets is yet compleated, and of those that are nearly so, many of the houses are empty; the new squares are intended to be little better than courts, and their present erections appear as if they had been suddenly stopped in the midst of an Amphionic jigg and had stood stockstill ever since."

General description.

"Those who from necessity are affianced to a spot, are amused and gratified by their improvements and public erections, which, from a located prejudice and partiality, they too often believe equal to those in other parts of the kingdom; but while such improvements may satisfy their ambition and contribute to their convenience, they may give neither invitation nor amusement to any but those who are immediately interested in their concerns. Impartiality and historic justice declare Liverpool to be completely within this description; their buildings and places for amusement may please the natives, but they have neither novelty nor a superior elegancy to attract the notice of the judicious itinerant, and are consequently deficient in essentials to embellish the historic page. Arts and sciences are inimical to the spot; absorbed in the nautical vortex, the only pursuit of the inhabitants is commerce. Ambitious to emulate the conduct of their progenitors, which has very clearly demonstrated that very small literary powers and still less knowledge of science is necessary to its attainment, they recoil at the cultivation of a plant that will neither yield them profit nor amusement. It is to this cause that superior merit, improved powers, or exalted talents, not only pass neglected amongst them, but are regarded with a suspicious diffidence; it may be truly said with the son of Sirach, that wisdom cries out in the streets, and no man regards it. Liverpool is the only town in England of any pre-eminence that has not one single erection or endowment for the advancement of science, the cultivation of the arts, or promotion of useful knowledge; they have been proved truly exotic, and so little deserving cultivation when attempts have been made to fertilise them, that they have been suffered to wither and decay, and finally to be neglected and forgotten. Public buildings have been completed, and attempts made to introduce and encourage them, but they produced no other effect on the minds of the inhabitants but a torpid vacuity, which plainly demonstrates that the liberal arts are a species of merchandise in which few of the inhabitants are desirous to deal unless for exportation."

Want of science and art.

These remarks are severe. The author justifies them by reference to the attempts made to found an academy for painting, with lectures on anatomy, perspective, etc.; another attempt to establish an institution for mathematics, navigation, and astronomy, both of which proved entirely abortive; also to the proposed support of an observatory, which was actually erected in Hope Street, but which failed for want of funds, and in a few years became a heap of ruins.

These are lamentable facts, and it is to be feared that the further lapse of three quarters of a century has in some point not much improved the state of things. An academy of art with a gallery of pictures seems at length likely to be established; every attempt to establish a school of science has resulted in failure.

A Liverpool poet, writing twenty years after this date, expresses the same sentiment:

> For here they care not with such things to pester,
> They'd rather build of cotton bags a tier.

Some of the social arrangements read rather strangely at the present day, *e.g.*:

"The streets are in general well, but not pleasantly paved. The footpaths, here called parapets, are disagreeable and offensive; they are all laid with small sharp pebbles, that render walking in the town very disagreeable, particularly to ladies; there is not one street in the town that is regularly flagged. To avoid the sharpness and inconveniency of the pavement, the foot-passenger for the most part walks on the curb, to which he is still further induced, as thereby he avoids the danger which might otherwise arise to him by reason of the projecting cellars. The footpaths are generally dirty, the pebbles gathering mud in their interstices, and as the custom is not general of sweeping daily before the houses, it soon becomes a clammy dirt, which adheres to the feet of the passenger, and is carried into the public shops, which are thereby rendered wet, dirty, and disagreeable." Pavement.

"The streets are generally well cleaned by scavengers, who are regular and diligent in their duty; but in the execution of their business, while they remove one evil they never fail to create a greater. The soil, instead of being immediately carted away, as in London and other places, is raked into heaps about 12 ft. by 8, and two feet deep; these Cloacenian repositories Street deposits.

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are common in every part of the town, and remain eight or ten days, and sometimes longer before they are carted away, whereby passengers in a dark night, and often in the day, tread in them to the mid-leg, and children are sometimes nearly suffocated by falling into them.[1] The exhalations in summer, by reason of these assemblages of soil being exposed many days to the sun, have a most pungent effect on the olfactory nerves of the passenger, nor are the inhabitants of those houses which are situated near them insensible of the pernicious effects of their effluvia on their health and constitution."

Notwithstanding all this objurgation, there are a few points on which our author is able to say a good word.

Order and decorum.

"Great care and attention is given by the magistrates to preserve order and proper decorum in all degrees of people on the Sabbath-day; the churches are in general well filled, and examples held forward to the lower order of people, by the attention which their superiors give to divine worship. No disorderly assemblies are seen in the streets, no persons tippling in public-houses."

This last statement, however, is rather weakened by the explanation, that "this external appearance of order and domestic propriety seems limited to the streets and residences of the principal inhabitants only."

Police.

The police arrangements at this time were as follows: "The town is divided into five districts or wards; the corporation, for the more effectually preserving order and decorum therein, have to each of these districts or wards appointed one head constable and two assistant constables; and, for the more ready finding their abodes, each of these officers has his name and office painted on a board and fixed to the outside of his dwelling."

One social custom now utterly forgotten is thus alluded to:

"Liverpool some years since was partial to the celebration of various ancient customs and ceremonies, but, like most other places, the improving hand of time has rubbed off the rust of antiquity. The only ancient annual commemoration remaining is termed *lifting*. This ridiculous ceremony, which bids defiance to speculation to define a cause, is performed every Easter Monday and Tuesday in the town and the circumjacent parts. On the Monday, groups of men appear in different places, who

Lifting.

[1] The local *sobriquet* for these mud heaps was "corporation beds," from a tradition that some of the local magnates in returning from the Town-hall hospitality, were occasionally found using them as places of repose.

lift all the women passengers they meet without regard to distinction or order. The innocent devoted victim is seized by head and feet, and thrown into the air; this is sometimes repeated two or three times, and on the return the party is caught by the lifters; if unfortunately she falls to the ground, she must make the best she can of her situation. On the Tuesday large assemblages of women appear to perform the same ceremony on the men, who are generally very roughly handled by their Amazonian friends, from whom they generally receive undeniable proof of their athletic abilities."

Lifting.

A considerable portion of the above description might be supposed to refer to a city of the middle ages, rather than to a modern commercial town of three-quarters of a century back. In many of the appointments and accessories of civilised life we are separated by a wide gulf from our predecessors of two generations since. There are other subjects, and those not of less importance, such as the taste for art, and the encouragement of science, the willingness to make some sacrifices for the decoration and embellishment of the town, the love of beauty for its own sake, in which our warmest admirers can hardly maintain that we have made much progress.

What may yet be done in this direction before the century closes remains an unsolved problem, which must be left to future writers to illustrate and explain.

CHAP IV.

1801.

CHAPTER IV.

NINETEENTH CENTURY, FROM 1800 TO THE CLOSE OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.

THE commencement of the century found England engaged in war with nearly the whole of Europe. The armed neutrality of the Northern Powers, fostered by the sudden desertion of the Russian Emperor Paul to the side of our great enemy, crippled the commerce of England with the continent of Europe; but the rest of the world lay open to British enterprise, the British fleets sweeping the seas of every opponent. The commerce of Liverpool continued to prosper, though the rate of increase at this time was not equal to what it had been before and has been since.

The early part of 1801 brought to a termination the first administration of Mr. Pitt. There can be little doubt that the resignation of a minister whose popularity had scarcely received a check had primary reference to a prospect of peace which he prudently thought would be better in other hands than his own. This anticipation proved correct, and in October 1801 the terms of peace with France were agreed on. The treaty, however, was not signed until March in the following year. The news was brought down by express to Liverpool on March 30, in eighteen hours and a half. "The arrival of the news created great joy. The bells rang during the two following days, and flags were hoisted on the shipping and public buildings."

Peace with France.

On the following Thursday the whole of the military forces, consisting of the Lancashire and Cheshire regiments of militia, the troops of dragoons, the volunteer regiments of infantry and artillery, paraded on the north shore and fired volleys on the occasion. The day was remarkably fine, and the concourse of people immense. The French prisoners in custody in the town were soon after discharged. Two months afterwards the volunteer regiments were disbanded. Before they were broken up

Volunteers disbanded.

they attended church in full uniform on May 3, when an appropriate sermon was preached by the Rev. F. Hodson. Services of plate were presented to the commanding officers, Lieutenant-Colonels Dawson and Case, and Major Birch. The colours of Major Birch's battalion were deposited in St. Thomas's Church.

On the 21st of May an address was voted by the Council to the king on the occasion of the peace.

One cannot but remark on the precipitate haste with which, both on this and on former occasions, the Government proceeded to disband the volunteer corps. It is possible that the experience of the Irish volunteers of 1784, with the political influence they exercised, may have somewhat alarmed the Ministry, but the sudden abandonment of the preparations for defence before the peace had been properly consolidated only led to greater expense and difficulty when the work had to be done over again.

A.D. 1802. In January 1802 another of the periodical hurricanes passed over the town, with considerable loss of shipping and life. The tide rose six feet above its calculated level, doing a large amount of damage.

Election. Parliament was dissolved in June of this year, and the new writs were returnable in July. The candidates for Liverpool were the two old members, Major-General Gascoyne and Lieutenant-General Tarleton; Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Birch and Mr. Francis Chalmer. Politics had something to do with the election, but less than might have been expected. Although party spirit had run very high in previous years, there was at present a lull. All parties were delighted that peace had been restored, and agreed for the time in support of the Addington administration. In the records of the election Mr. Birch is the only candidate who makes any allusion to politics, and he says: "His Majesty's present ministers have procured us the blessings of peace. I feel myself therefore called upon, from sentiments of gratitude, to give them my thanks and applause."

Mr. Chalmer was a broker residing in Kent Street. His motto was "Liberty, Loyalty, Lancashire, Liverpool, and a Large Loaf." He does not appear to have brought either influence or qualifications, with the exception of unbounded self-complacency and consummate assurance. He is described in one of the squibs of the election as follows:

Escaped from the Asylum a maniac, who is supposed to be wandering about Liverpool. He is about six feet high, hulks very much in the shoulders, and is constantly raving about corn, tobacco, and large

CHAP. IV. 1802.

loaves of bread. The delirium which has now induced him to fly out, is the idea that he shall become a member of parliament; and he has frequently forced himself into the lobby of the House of Commons, and sometimes into Committees, to their great dismay.

Mr. Birch.

Mr. Birch was largely engaged in the corn trade, which encouraged his opponents to stimulate the absurd prejudice which regards all dealers in corn as oppressors of the poor; for instance:

> Look about you and see who are the men who support Sir Joseph Barleycorn; they are none other than a set of Corn Jews, who have long ground the poor! and a set of Presbyterians who would upset the State.

Election squibs.

The question of the slave-trade seems almost to have been laid aside. The only allusion to it is in the following stanza of a song in favour of General Gascoyne:

> For if he your member be, my boys,
> Provisions still must lower;
> And open trade be carried on
> Along the Afric shore.
> And a plumping we will go.

The squibs and addresses at this election are decidedly of an inferior cast. There was little to take hold of to give point to a retort or sarcasm. The Childwall "bull beef and Cabbage stalks," were at length consigned to the limbo of oblivion. There is, however, one piece of satire rather telling, which applies to all parties alike. It is a description in verse of the obsequious promises of the candidates before the election and their haughty repudiation afterwards. It is called "An Oglio," said to be a production of Mr. Chalmer's. If so, he had decidedly some literary ability;

An oglio

THE CANDIDATES (*the old ones*).

> Lord how they puff and blow and swell,
> And what confounded lies they tell!
> How big they look, how very great,
> Boasting their worth in every street!
> Alas, perhaps again you'll find,
> That all this is but puff and wind.

BEFORE THE ELECTION.

Behold my house, pray do walk in ;
To pass my door would be a sin ;
I cannot bear to see friends pass,
Pray do walk in and take a glass ;
My generous friends won't turn their coats,
Pray think of me and give your votes,
My generous friends I like to cram,
Come, take a bit of beef or ham ;
Come, come, together let us dine,
And take a cheerful glass of wine ;
I love you all—most truly so ;
How much, you'll never, never know ;
And if you'll vote for me, be sure,
My love for ever shall endure ;
With grateful heart and well fill'd brains,
I will reward you for your pains.
For in the house I'll make a speech,
Which, to the wondering world shall teach
How wise I am, how happy you,
Who such a member there can shew !

THE ELECTORS.

Ay, see the house ; the surly door
Shall open to us, soon, no more—
This love, how very kind and sudden,
This love—i' faith Jack, that's a good un,
This love seems never in perfection,
But just before and at th' election ;
No doubt they can afford good cheer ;
But how came things so very dear ?
And how came they to tax our beer ?

AFTER THE ELECTION.

My horse is saddled as you see,
And my gay heart is full of glee ;
Election safe, no more I'll stay,
But mount and gallop fast away ;
And when to town with your affairs
You come with heavy cost and cares ;
You will not find me over civil,
And you may take them to the devil—

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For seven years of a seat secure
What care I for you or the poor?
To none of you again I'll speak,
And I'll forget you in a week.
Some six years hence I'll come once more,
And do as I have done before;
Now fare ye well, ye simple fools,
I did but use you for my tools.

Poll. The election lasted four days; 1426 freemen polled. At the close the numbers stood: Gascoyne, 884; Tarleton, 600; Birch, 477; Chalmer, 31.

Riots. A very serious and lamentable occurrence took place during this election, which may be mentioned as illustrative of the license of the populace at such periods, and of the absence of the means of repression. A number of men, principally sailors, under the excitement of liquor, made an attack on several houses in Bridge Street[1] near the old dock, and sacked them. The tenant of one of the houses made a vigorous defence with firearms, shot one of the rioters dead on the spot and wounded another. This so irritated the mob, that they broke into the house, seized the unfortunate man, and beat him to death.

Goree fire. On September 14, 1802, occurred the memorable fire at the Goree Warehouses, George's Dock, by which property to the amount of £323,000 was destroyed. In a subsequent chapter on the locality I shall have occasion again to revert to the subject. A local fire insurance company called the "St. George's," which had only been established in the month of June previous, under very favourable auspices, was so seriously affected by the results of this catastrophe, that it was found necessary to wind it up, and the outstanding policies were transferred to the "Imperial" Fire Office.

Rumours of war. The peace of Amiens, about which there had been so much rejoicing, proved to be nothing more than an armed truce. Mutual jealousy and mistrust very soon began to embitter the relations between the two countries. The attacks of the English press caused the ruler of France to wince, and he imperiously made a demand that these attacks should be suppressed by arbitrary restrictions. The island of Malta was another source of dissension. By the treaty of Amiens, this island was to have been restored to the keeping of the ancient order of the

[1] This street, long since destroyed, consisted almost entirely of houses of ill-fame of the lowest description.

Knights of St. John; but before any arrangements could be made for carrying out this undertaking, it was found that Bonaparte was intriguing to have the island delivered into the hands of the French. Complaints were also made of the protection extended in England to political exiles from France. On the other hand, the extensive military and naval preparations going on in France, though avowedly for colonial purposes, were such as to excite alarm in England, and to lead the nation to look to its means of self-defence.

On March 8, 1803, a message from the king was addressed to the House of Commons, alluding to the alarming state of affairs, and stating that as discussions of great importance were subsisting between his Majesty and the French Government, the result of which must be uncertain, "his Majesty is induced to make this communication to his faithful Commons, in the full persuasion that he may rely with perfect confidence on their public spirit and liberality, to enable his Majesty to adopt such measures as circumstances may appear to require for supporting the honour of his crown and the essential interests of his people." On the motion of Mr. Addington the House voted an address agreeing unanimously to support the Crown in the measures proposed. The storm which had been thus gathering soon burst, and on May 16 war was declared against France.

War declared.

The excitement which followed this rupture was intense. History has seldom recorded a greater instance of unanimity than now pervaded all classes in defence of their hearths and homes. The whole nation rose as one man, with a spirit which never flagged until the English standard was borne in triumph to the gates of Paris. In the efforts and sacrifices which followed, Liverpool fully maintained her ancient reputation. In the very week in which Parliament had addressed the Crown with assurances of support, a Liverpool merchant, Mr. John Bolton, made an offer to raise and equip, at his own expense, a regiment of 600 men—afterwards increased to 800. The offer was graciously accepted, and a meeting for enrolment was held at the Exchange. In two hours the numbers were complete, and many hundreds offered more than could be received. It was then determined to raise two other regiments of infantry, a regiment of artillery, a company of riflemen, and three troops of cavalry, besides the Custom-house corps and the local militia. These bodies were clothed and armed at their own expense. In addition to this, a register was taken of the

Preparations for defence.

CHAP. IV. 1803.

whole male population between the ages of sixteen and sixty, and arrangements were made for arming and calling it out in case of need. The boatmen on the river also offered their services to aid in working the great guns in the batteries. They were accepted, and from their ranks a regiment of artillery was formed.

Address to the king.

On May 14 a public meeting was held at the Exchange, when an address to the king was voted unanimously, expressing the attachment of the community to his Majesty's person and Government, and avowing its determination to support them with the most strenuous efforts in the arduous contest in which they were about to be engaged.

In the following week another meeting of the merchants and principal inhabitants was held, to adopt measures for the defence of the town and port. It was determined to erect a battery at the mouth of the river, near the Rock Perch,[1] and another on the Lancashire shore; and to organise a squadron of gun-boats. Towards the expenses £2000 was subscribed by the corporation, and £1000 out of the funds of the Liverpool docks.

In addition to all the other forces, regulars, militia, and volunteers, the Government determined to form an army of reserve, to which each county should contribute its quota of men. The proportion of Lancashire was 2425 men, of which Liverpool supplied 284.

Volunteer regiments.

The following is a list of the Liverpool volunteer regiments raised at this time:

1st Battalion; Col., John Bolton; Lieut.-Col., Thos. Parkes; Major, Joseph Greaves.

2d Battalion, or Liverpool Fusileers; Lieut.-Col., William Earle: Major, Edward Brooks.

3d Battalion; Lieut.-Col.-Commandant, George Williams; Lieut.-Col., Henry Blundell Hollinshead.

Artillery Corps; Major-Commandant, Peter Whitfield Brancker.

Independent Rifle Corps; Capt.-Commandant Lieut., D. O'Donoghue (Half-pay, 22d Light Dragoons).

Liverpool Light Horse; Major-Commandant, Edward Falkner.

Custom-house Corps; Captain-Commandant, Arthur Onslow (Collector of Customs).

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[1] This was not carried out at the time, but was subsequently undertaken by the Government, and erected in 1827.

On Wednesday, August 5, a meeting was held for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the National Defence Act, which required the enrolment of all able-bodied men in different classes, to serve the State when called on. Thomas Earle, Esq., took the chair. A letter was read from Lord Hobart, explaining the nature of the service required. An enrolment then took place of those liable to serve in the first class. Enrolment of reserves.

On Saturday, August 8, the 3d, or Colonel Williams' regiment, made a grand demonstration. A military band had been raised by the musical amateurs of the Choral Society. Mr. Ford North presented the corps with two brass field-pieces mounted complete; and a number of young ladies presented a pair of colours beautifully worked in silk.[1] Presentation of colours.

The enthusiasm which prevailed in the defence of the country was beyond all precedent—

> The shrill trump,
> The spirit-stirring drum, the ear-piercing fife,
> The royal banner; and all quality,
> Pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war—

were daily and familiar sights and sounds to the peaceful traders of Liverpool. The modern volunteer movement of 1860, and successive years, cannot compare with the former in earnestness and gravity. The population of Great Britain was not more than half its present numbers, the enemy to be confronted was much more powerful, and the emergency vastly more serious.

A review of the Liverpool volunteers was held on the king's birthday, June 4, 1804, when there appeared on the field, 1 colonel-commandant, 6 lieutenant-colonels, 8 majors, 54 captains, 111 subalterns, 221 sergeants, 152 members of the band, and 3313 rank and file. Review of volunteers.

According to returns made to Parliament in December 1803, the force at that time armed for the defence of the kingdom by sea and land amounted to upwards of 700,000 men as follows: 490,000 in Great Britain, 125,000 in Ireland, 100,000 in the naval service; under the command of 85,000 commissioned and non-commissioned officers, with 461 pieces of cannon, 5900 horses for the artillery, and all necessary supplies of stores and ammunition.

[1] These colours on the disbanding of the regiment were deposited in the town-hall, and, on the revival of the volunteer movement, in 1861, they were again brought out and presented to one of the corps.

CHAP. IV.

1803. Register of resources.

About this time—autumn 1803—a careful account was taken of the resources of the country as applicable to a levy *en masse* in case of actual invasion. The following are a portion of the returns applying to Lancashire and Liverpool:

	Lancashire.	Liverpool.
Males between 16 and 60 years of age	112,697	13,134
Men willing to serve on horseback and to supply their own horses	4,166	148
Men willing to serve on foot and to supply their own muskets and clothing	12,055	2,676
Men willing to serve with sword, pistol, and other arms	—	4,194
Men to be supplied with arms at the general levy *en masse*	25,988	5,250
Pioneers and labourers	18,081	200
Guides and overseers across country	13,410	120
Canal and river barges	266	381
Riding horses	—	509
Draught horses	—	832
Carts	—	471

Those who have read *The Antiquary* (and who is there that has not?) will remember the spirit-stirring scene, in the concluding chapter, of the night alarm in the borough of Fairport: "The yeomanry pouring from their different glens, galloping through the streets. . . . The drums and fifes of the volunteers beating to arms were blended with the voices of the officers, the sound of the bugles, and the tolling of the bells from the steeple. The ships in the harbour were lit up, and boats from the armed vessels added to the bustle by landing men and guns, destined to assist in the defence of the place."

A.D. 1804. Night alarm

A scene very similar to this was enacted in Liverpool during the night of January 2, 1804. A frigate called the "Princess" was stationed for many years in the Mersey as a receiving ship. On the night in question the echoes were wakened up by a succession of reports from her guns, which were naturally interpreted as signals of attack. The volunteers promptly answered to the call, and turned out without a moment's hesitation. The bugles sounded the *réveille*, the various corps mustered at the appointed rendezvous. There was "racing and chasing" of the cavalry and artillery through the streets—but as morning dawned it was found to be a false alarm. The frigate had drifted from

her moorings, and ran some risk of running on shore. The guns were signals of distress, which were promptly responded to.

In September 1803 Prince William (afterwards Duke) of Gloucester, being appointed commander of the forces in the district, took up his residence at St. Domingo House, Everton, where he resided more than three years. The presence of a scion of royalty of course cast a roseate hue over the *beau monde* of Liverpool, and imparted a spicy sort of court flavour to the entertainments given in his honour. We shall meet with him again in the course of this history. Prince William.

Soon after this time a proposition was made by a Mr. Boaz for the construction of a system of telegraphs for communication between Liverpool and Holyhead and the principal seaports of the kingdom. The particulars are not given, but the principle was that of the French semaphore then recently introduced. The projector estimated the expense at £15,000, with a probable profit of 200 per cent. The times were not ripe for a project which appeared so wild and speculative. Many years afterwards the semaphore was adopted by the Dock Board, and carried out by a series of stations between Liverpool and Holyhead, which continued until a comparatively recent period, when it was superseded by the electric wire. Telegraphs.

A trial took place in 1804 to determine the right of Mr. William Harper, who had been elected mayor, to hold the office. Mr. Harper had, in October 1802, contested the election with Mr. Jonas Bold, and had been defeated. He was then elected by the council one of the bailiffs. In October 1803 he was again proposed for mayor, and elected without opposition. By the constitution of the borough under the charter of Charles I., the mayor, when elected, was to be sworn in the presence of his predecessor and of the two bailiffs. In the present instance the mayor had been chosen from the bailiffs, and therefore he was of necessity sworn in his own presence. No instance of the kind had occurred before. The question was brought before the Court of King's Bench by a writ of *quo warranto*. On May 11th it was decided by the Court that the defendant was not eligible to the office. A judgment of ouster was thereupon pronounced, and a proclamation made at the Exchange for a new election. Mr. J. B. Aspinall was elected for the remainder of the municipal year, and on St. Luke's day Mr. Harper was again installed in the civic chair. Quo warranto

CHAP. IV. 1805.

The year 1805 was a trying period for the country at large, and Liverpool in particular. The power of Napoleon had reached a height which threatened ruin to all who dared to withstand his progress. A great encampment was formed at Boulogne, and flotillas of boats were collected from all parts for the purpose, as was alleged, of the invasion of England. The French troops were ostentatiously paraded and exercised in the manœuvres supposed to be necessary in the disembarkation and attack. This continued during many months, creating constant alarm in England, and continual expectation of invasion. It therefore became an absolute necessity to strengthen our navy at all hazards and at any expenditure. Hitherto our fleets had swept the seas and captured nearly the whole of the enemy's colonies. St. Lucie surrendered on June 22, 1803, Tobago on July 1, Demerara and Berbice on September 23, and a short time after the Cape Colony fell finally into the hands of the British.

War.

Capture of colonies.

Our attacks, however, were not so successful against the enemy's flotillas on their own shores, and uniformly failed. Everything depended on the mastery in the open seas being maintained by Britain, and this became more difficult by the navy of Spain being added to those of France and Holland. In May 1805 an order in council imposed a general embargo on all shipping, until the demands of the royal navy for seamen were supplied. It is stated in a Liverpool paper of May 13, as follows:—

Order in council.

"The immediate augmentation of our naval force is thought a matter of such pressing necessity that all considerations of individual suffering must, for the present, give way. The order for an embargo for this port was announced from the Custom-house on Thursday; and during the whole week the press-gang have been indefatigable in their exertions. Persons of all professions, as well as seamen, have occasionally been taken; though many have been released on proper application being made. In the early part of the week about forty Irishmen, just landed from a Dublin packet, and who were proceeding up the country in search of employment, were pressed, and immediately taken on board the tender; but most of them are since liberated. The embargo extends to all vessels bound to foreign parts, including Ireland and the Isle of Man, with the exception of ships belonging to foreign powers, provided they have no British seamen on board. It extends likewise to coasting

Impress-ment.

vessels of every description, except such as are laden with coals and grain."

By this means the British navy was supplied with seamen, and was enabled to execute that series of splendid operations terminated by the battle of Trafalgar on October 21, the death of Nelson, and the annihilation of the French and Spanish fleets. Battle of Trafalgar.

The news of the victory reached Liverpool on November 8, and caused great excitement. On the 17th a public meeting was held at the Town-hall, convened by the mayor, Mr. Henry Clay, and attended by all classes and every shade of opinion, all anxious to do honour to the memory of the departed hero, and to congratulate each other on the glorious deliverance of the country from danger. Mr. Roscoe took a leading part in the proceedings. It was resolved with acclamation that a monument should be erected by public subscription, and that the words of Nelson's last order, "England expects every man to do his duty," should occupy a prominent place. The corporation contributed £1000; the underwriters at Lloyd's £750; the West India Association £500. A committee, embracing men of all parties, was nominated to carry out the project. The result was the monument which now occupies the centre of the Exchange area. Nelson's monument.

Mr. Pitt died January 23, 1806. A change of ministry immediately took place, when Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox were called to his majesty's counsels. A.D. 1806

The volunteer system came under review in the session of 1806. No country had ever exhibited so many of the middle and higher classes in arms as England and Scotland in 1803, and never did individuals in these stations make more personal sacrifices for the object of national defence. The result for the time answered its purpose. The national spirit of resistance was raised to the highest pitch, and a degree of confidence was inspired which supported the nation through one of the most trying emergencies in its annals. It began, however, to be felt that the system had been carried too far; that it abstracted an amount of time and money from the national industry which could ill be spared. The Parliament accordingly repealed Mr. Pitt's "additional forces" Act of 1803, and substituted an Act for creating a local militia, which continued in force to the end of the war. Disbanding of volunteers.

The volunteer forces were disbanded. Colonel Bolton's regiment laid down their arms on August 26, and the other corps soon after.

CHAP. IV. 1806.

In April 1806 an embargo was laid on all Prussian vessels in Liverpool, in consequence of a dispute respecting the electorate of Hanover.

Royal visit.

In September 1806 the town was honoured by a visit from the Prince of Wales (George IV.), and the Duke of Clarence (William IV.), who were guests of the Earl of Derby at Knowsley. They were of course right loyally received and fêted. The New Exchange Buildings being at that time in course of erection, the royal brothers were driven in a coach round the arcades—a feat never performed before or since. Between the resident commander of the district, Prince William, and his cousins, the relations were not of the most cordial character, and an opportunity was ungenerously taken advantage of to mortify the lesser star to the quick.

"A magnificent banquet was given at the Town-hall by the Mayor, Mr. Henry Clay.[1] The Prince of Wales, the Duke of Clarence, Prince William of Gloucester, the Earls of Derby and Sefton, with a crowd of military officers were present. After dinner the usual toasts were proposed, then the "Prince of Wales" and the "Duke of Clarence," each with three times three. At last it was the Prince's turn, when, under the influence of some demon of mischief, the Mayor, instead of proposing his health as usual, with all his titles and with all the honours, foolishly consulted the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Clarence on the subject, asking in what form he should give the toast; and whether he should say "Highness," or "Royal Highness." The answer of the Prince of Wales was said to be, "Certainly not 'Royal Highness,' and without the honours:" while the Duke of Clarence more bluntly replied, "D—n him, don't give him at all." The Mayor then rose, and simply proposed, "The Commander-in-Chief of the district, Prince William Frederick of Gloucester." It was drunk in solemn silence. The company all looked grave, feeling that a gross insult had been offered to the late god of Liverpool adoration. Fierce glances were exchanged between the staff officers and the other military men present. The Prince himself writhed under the stroke, like a wounded tiger smarting under the lance of the hunter. Fire and brimstone, and the devil himself flashed from his eyes, but he kept his seat. Presently the fearful and

Insult to Prince William.

[1] This anecdote I extract from a most amusing series of recollections entitled, *Liverpool a Few Years Since*, by an Old Stager (Rev. James Aspinall), 1852.

appalling silence was broken by the voice of the Mayor, calling out as the next toast, "The Lord Lieutenant of the county, with three times three;" the *three times three*, omitted at the name of the Commander-in-Chief, being revived with that of the next toast. A thunderbolt falling into the midst of the party could not have caused more astonishment and excitement. There could be no mistake now. The insult was meant to be an insult, and nothing but an open, prominent, and most insulting insult. The words had hardly passed from the lips of the Mayor, when Prince William, glancing a signal to his Staff, who had their eyes fixed upon him, rose from his seat and left the room, followed not only by them, but by the whole of the military officers of his command who were present; leaving the table almost deserted, the Mayor gaping in amazement, and the royal cousins astounded at the spirit which they had evoked, more perhaps in mischief than in wanton insolence."

Mr. Fox died on September 13, 1806. The ministry was continued by Lord Grenville, who considered that his position would be strengthened by an appeal to the country.

Parliament was dissolved in October 1806, and the election took place on the 1st of November. The two generals stood again, each supported by his own party, but with a much closer approximation than heretofore. Tarleton had, in fact, with the rest of the "Prince's friends," deserted his Whig allies and gone over to the Tories. There could therefore be no reason why the two old members should not go hand in hand in their canvass and poll. They were not, however, allowed to walk over the course. Only two days before the election a requisition was presented to Mr. Roscoe to come forward in the liberal interest. Roscoe was at this time probably in the very zenith of his career. The publication of his *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, and the *Life of Leo X.*, the latter of which had only recently been issued, had raised his reputation to a very high place in the literary world. The bank with which he was connected, in which the millionaire, Thomas Leyland, was a principal partner, exercised great and extensive influence; so that, although his political friends might be in a minority, his personal character and connections fully made up for the deficiency in his public relations.

Election.

Roscoe.

Although the contest was fought out on decidedly political grounds, the reticence displayed by the candidates is very remarkable. From none of their addresses could it be gathered

Addresses

CHAP. IV. 1806. Election.

that any political principle was at all involved. They all indulge in vague statements of the "responsibilities" and "serious duties" attaching to the office of an M.P., and declare that "it shall be the object of their life," if elected, to answer the expectations of their supporters, and to justify their choice. The old members of course refer to their parliamentary conduct as warranting their present appeal.

Squibs.

The squibs and doggerels scattered broadcast at this election are of fair average merit; but some of them are more scurrilous than usual. Party politics are of course brought in, and any weak point in the reputation or antecedents of any party concerned is mercilessly brought out to public view.

The following, directed against Roscoe and his friends, is not devoid of smartness and point. It is too long for entire transcription. I quote only a specimen:

Tory song.

THE DEFEAT OF THE W(H)IGS.

A new Song.

You will shortly be called, brother freemen, to action,
And I write but to guard you against the old faction,
Whom four years ago we left quite in the dumps,
They are jacobins all, and we call them the *rumps*.

At present, my friends, they are all in confusion,
Though they've cunning in plenty and cash in profusion.
But alas! with both money and words at command,
They can't find amongst them a cock that will stand.

In this dreadful quandary, commencing their search,
They thought once again of their tickle-tail Birch;
But he, being once humbugged, became rather shy,
And straight took his place in the Nottingham Fly.[1]

Lord Dashalong[2] next had engaged their affection,
And they swore, if he'd start, they'd ensure his election;
But he, skilled in driving both bargains and horses,
Most wisely distrusted the strength of their forces.

To himself he thus argued: "These whiggish dissenters,
Will afterwards prove my eternal tormentors;

---

[1] Mr. Birch was a candidate for Nottingham, which borough he represented for many years.

[2] The Earl of Sefton, at that time only an Irish peer, and eligible for election.

In Kirkby and Croxteth they'll take their diversions,
And to please them at last I must *give* my reversions."[1]

So his lordship fill'd Arthur's[2] long visage with sorrow,
When he told them he gave up all thoughts of the borough.
And now the griev'd banker he takes by the hand,
Mounts his dicky in haste, and drives off four in hand.

Then Byrom[3] and Birch, both being men most discerning,
Well skilled in Belles Lettres and glutted with learning,
Having sharpened their wits o'er a cup of brown nappy,
Their eloquence flow'd, and in accents most happy.

Says Ashton,[4] "If quickly it is not prevented,
By these *sojers* again we shall be represented,
Let us wait on Will Roscoe and strike the first blow, sirs,
He's a chap that will suit both the Corn Jews and grocers."
etc. etc.

The gallant admiral, Sir Isaac Coffin, who was a Whig in politics, had been thought of as colleague to Roscoe; but after some inquiry he declined to stand, which is thus celebrated:

Tune, "*Yankee doodle.*"

Sir Isaac Coffin's come to town,
Not to please the lasses;
He's only come to gull the Whigs,
A set of stupid asses!
Yankee doodle, etc.

Sir Isaac Coffin.

. . . . . .

For Coffin, like a sailor rough.
Had many a wave been tost on;
And though a Yankee loyal, was
An honest man of Boston.

And hearing of the party's wiles,
Says he, "I'm not a ninny;
Elect me, Gemmen, if you please,
But I'll not spend a guinea. etc. etc.

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[1] Alluding to his Lordship's leasehold property in Toxteth Park.
[2] Mr. Arthur Heywood, banker.
[3] The Byroms were extensive sugar refiners in Matthew Street and Dale Street.
[4] Nicholas Ashton of Woolton Hall.

CHAP. IV.

1806. Gascoyne.

General Gascoyne was not spared. His presence at the "Race" of Dunkirk, his blind adherence to his party, and his want of oratorical power, were raked up with great bitterness. The following are specimens:

A major-general in the army who never distinguished himself in his military character, but who, having obtained a seat in the House of Commons, where he commonly acted as one of Mr. Pitt's automata, had occasion to write to a friend in Liverpool at the time of the struggle against Mr. Addington's administration. In his letter he described the state of parties, and observed that it was then impossible to judge which would prevail; for his own part he was at a loss how to act, but had determined to vote according to his conscience—until the event was decided!

Again:

Dunkirk Racer.

THE DUNKIRK RACER.

I'm a brave *Gasconader* as e'er drew a sword,
And once saw a battle, but never did slay;
The cannons were roaring, the bullets were flying,
I was there all the while, but kept running away.

'Tis safer to run than to fight, my boys,
'Tis safer to run than to fight;
In Parliament I may keep up an alarm,
But far from the foe I shall meet with no harm.
O' 'tis safer to run than to fight.

'Twas at Dunkirk I proved the high mettled racer,
The guns they did roar, and I ran with good will,
I was hotly pursued, but I beat every chaser,
And covered with glory, lost only a *heel*.

'Tis safer to run, etc.

Gascoyne's speech to the House of Commons,

O!

Tarleton.

The following pasquinade is rather severe on General Tarleton, whose baptismal name was "Banastre:"

Mr. Banastre

Begs leave to inform the nobility and gentry of Liverpool that Mr. Morritz,[1] being under the imperious necessity of changing his situation, he has, at the pressing solicitation of that gentleman, come forward,

[1] A distinguished professor of legerdemain.

and hopes to merit the approbation of a discerning public. Mr. Banastre, who has had the honour of playing his tricks before the imperial Parliament of Great Britain, flatters himself that his unrivalled exertions will obtain their patronage and favour.

First, He will, to the astonishment of his audience, turn his coat sixteen times in one minute.

Second, He will, by his extraordinary powers, display the manner in which, in the summer of 1802, without any visible means, he led by the nose six hundred persons in a populous town in the north.

Third, He will produce his patent leaping *Pole*,[1] with which he will take a surprising leap from the Exchange to the Stamp Office.

Fourth, He will likewise exhibit his wonderful tricks of parliamentary legerdemain, which he had the honour of performing at Bath,[2] before the late "heaven-born minister" and the celebrated doctor Sidmouth of Richmond Park, together with other performances too numerous to mention here. Mr. Banastre will be assisted by the well-known Sieur Silverstre,[3] who *seizes* this opportunity of informing his friends and the public that he has on sale a large quantity of French lace (duty not paid), which, having obtained at the cheapest rate, he will be enabled to dispose of on the most moderate terms. Also a quantity of Balm of Gilead[4] at the manufacturer's prices, credits, and discounts.

A considerable amount of rioting and disorder took place, which the mayor and magistrates endeavoured to put down by swearing in a number of special constables, and offering a reward of fifty guineas for the discovery and conviction of any persons so offending.

The election did not open well for Roscoe. At the close of the first day's poll he was considerably in the rear of the other candidates, and so continued until the sixth day, when Tarleton's supporters began to falter, and allowed Roscoe to pass him. The poll closed on the seventh day with the numbers as follow: Roscoe, 1151; Gascoyne, 1138; Tarleton, 986. Poll.

[1] Mr. Pole was the stamp distributor for Liverpool. It was alleged that Tarleton had intrigued to obtain the place for one of his own adherents.

[2] This alludes to an allegation that Tarleton had met Mr. Pitt at Bath, and had made a tender of his parliamentary support on certain conditions.

[3] Mr. Silvester Richmond, Searcher of Customs, who had made a large seizure of foreign lace.

[4] This alludes to a seizure of a quantity of Dr. Solomon's Balm of Gilead, which was subject to an *ad valorem* export duty, on the ground of its being undervalued. After receiving payment at its estimated value, the doctor turned the laugh against the Customs, by offering to supply any quantity at the same price.

CHAP. IV. 1806.

There was not much display of oratory during the election. After its close, the supporters of Mr. Roscoe celebrated his return by a large gathering, at which he expounded at considerable length his political creed and the principles by which he proposed to be guided in his parliamentary career. The three points on which he expatiated were—the prospects of peace; the abolition of the slave trade, on which he spoke boldly and decidedly, notwithstanding that some of his supporters were still associated with the traffic; and Parliamentary Reform. On this latter subject, fraught with considerable interest to those who have watched the progress of events from Roscoe's time to the present, he thus expressed himself:

Roscoe's speech.

Parliamentary reform.

"Another subject on which I wish to say a few words is one of considerable moment; it is that which is usually called a reform in Parliament. But before I proceed, it may be necessary to inquire what is meant by a reform in Parliament. If by a reform in Parliament be meant any alteration in the established constitution, of this country, as it has long existed in its three estates of King, Lords, and Commons, then I declare that I am totally averse to any reform in Parliament. I consider the king as the keystone of the arch of the constitution, and that if he were taken away, the whole must inevitably fall into ruins. I consider the nobility as a body of hereditary counsellors, adding dignity to the Crown, and forming a powerful and useful barrier, on many occasions between the Crown and the people. I esteem the House of Commons, properly purified and constructed, as the legitimate organ of the public voice; and therefore if any innovation be attempted upon any one of these, to that you will always find me a decided enemy. But if by a reform in Parliament be meant the purifying of the House of Commons from all kinds of bribery and corruption, whether that of electors, or of those who sit in that house, then I am a friend to reform in Parliament. If it should be proposed that the elective franchise should be granted to great towns, and extensive bodies of men who do not at present enjoy them, then I am a friend to reform in Parliament. If it should appear that insignificant and corrupt boroughs have from time to time tainted the dignity of the House, and it should be thought proper to deprive them of the right of election, then I shall be found an advocate for a reform in Parliament."

These sentiments are such as would meet general acceptance at the present day from all political parties, and are far within

the limits of the reforms which the present generation have seen carried out with the consent of both sides of the House; yet at this time and for many years after, those who ventured to express such opinions were branded as revolutionists and Jacobins, who were bent on destroying the institutions of their country.

Roscoe in Parliament.

Mr. Roscoe's Parliamentary career was short, but he had the good fortune to assist in carrying that great measure of humanity, the abolition of the slave trade—to the promotion of which he had devoted his best powers, from the time of the publication of "The Wrongs of Africa," twenty years before. Like many other abuses, it died hard. After a painful struggle of many years, in 1804 a bill for the abolition was carried by Mr. Wilberforce in the House of Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords. In the next session a similar bill was thrown out by the Commons. At the same time the capture of the foreign colonies in the West Indies had greatly increased the demand for slaves. The trade had previously been diminishing, the number imported in Liverpool ships having dropped from 30,796 in 1802 to 15,534 in 1803. Stimulated by the new colonial markets, the number in 1804 had risen to 27,322, being five-sixths of the whole number imported. In 1805 an order in council prohibited any further supply to the conquered colonies which lay within the prerogative of the Crown. After the death of Mr. Pitt, the Fox and Grenville ministry carried a bill prohibiting British subjects from supplying slaves either to foreign settlements or to the conquered colonies. One of the last acts of Mr. Fox in Parliament was to carry a vote in the Commons pledging the House to the total abolition of the trade in the next session. At length, in the short Parliament called by the Grenville ministry, the iniquity received its *coup de grâce*, to which Mr. Roscoe had the gratification of contributing by a speech delivered on the second reading of the bill, which finally received the royal assent on March 25, 1807. During the last fifteen months of the trade, from January 1, 1806 to May 1, 1807, the number of Liverpool ships engaged was 185, carrying 43,755 slaves.

Suppression of slave-trade.

A.D. 1807.

Fall of Grenville.

The administration of Lord Grenville came to a termination on March 25, 1807, the immediate cause being the introduction of a bill to relax the penal laws against the Roman Catholics, to the extent of permitting them to act as officers in the army and navy, without taking the oaths of abjuration and supremacy.

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To this measure the king was violently opposed. The ministers, failing to convince their royal master, agreed to withdraw the bill, but attached to their decision a Cabinet minute, which was considered disrespectful to his Majesty, who then insisted that they should pledge themselves in writing never again to bring the measure forward. This they declined to do, and the king, after consulting with Lord Eldon, agreed to accept their resignation. They were succeeded in the great offices of state by Lords Castlereagh and Liverpool, and Messrs. Perceval and Canning, the Duke of Portland being Prime Minister. One of the first measures of the new ministry was the dissolution of Parliament, in order that the country might express its opinion on the question at issue.

Portland ministry.

This was brought prominently forward in the speech from the throne, delivered by the Lords Commissioners on the prorogation, April 27. They say: "His Majesty feels that, in resorting to this measure under the present circumstances, he at once demonstrates in the most unequivocal manner his own conscientious persuasion of the rectitude of those motives upon which he has acted, and affords to his people the best opportunity of testifying their determination to support him in every exercise of the prerogatives of the Crown, which is conformable to the sacred obligations under which they are held, and conducive to the welfare of his kingdom and to the security of the constitution."

Loyal demonstrations.

This appeal was answered by a display of loyal and anti-Catholic feeling which put back Catholic Emancipation for twenty-one years. In Liverpool the excitement was probably greater than at any former election, and was unfortunately attended with a degree of virulence and bitterness which had never hitherto been displayed. The two points principally urged by the ministerial party were the loss of the slave-trade and the cry of "No Popery."

The day after the speech from the throne, a requisition was presented to General Tarleton, to offer himself again to the burgesses of Liverpool, to which he promptly replied in the affirmative. The friends of Mr. Roscoe applied to him to come forward again, which he seemed well inclined to do, and issued an address, in which he says: "I have, in acting up to the dictates of my own mind, experienced, even from those amongst you who have differed from me in opinion, the most friendly indulgence and liberal construction of my conduct; nor can I

Election.

entertain a doubt that the same plain, direct, and open track which it has hitherto been my uniform endeavour to pursue, will, in every situation, and under all circumstances, be found to obtain your permanent favour and support."

Roscoe's entrance.

On May 2d Mr. Roscoe made a public entry into Liverpool, accompanied by a numerous body of friends, mounted and on foot, who met him at Low Hill. The opposite party alleged that a number of American seamen were marshalled in the procession, and thus gave offence to the native part of the populace. However this might be, the demonstration was allowed to pass without any overt act of opposition until it arrived at the south end of Castle Street, where a body of men arrayed in green favours (Tarleton's colour), strengthened, as stated, by parties of seamen from vessels lately engaged in the African trade, armed with bludgeons, were stationed. A scene of riot and confusion then ensued, such as has been rarely witnessed in the town. The horsemen were attacked, the horses struck with sticks, and the procession obstructed; but it slowly advanced with difficulty to the north-east corner of Castle and Dale Streets, where Roscoe's bank then was carried on. As Mr. Roscoe was alighting from his carriage a stone was thrown at him, said to have been aimed from the town-hall. A voice cried, "Now is your time," and a violent attack was at once commenced. The horse ridden by Colonel Williams, late commander of one of the volunteer regiments, was stabbed with a knife. Every attempt of Mr. Roscoe to address the crowd was received with groans and uproar, and the assembly finally broke up in disorder. The same evening an affray took place in Highfield Street, between the rival parties, in which a young man named Edward Spencer, one of Roscoe's adherents, was killed. Mr. Roscoe became disheartened, and, although strongly urged by his friends to disregard the attempt to drive him away by threats and violence, he determined to withdraw from the contest. This determination he communicated in a long address, published on May 5, in which he concludes: "I have finally resolved not to afford by my further perseverance a pretext for those excesses, which, from what has occurred, there is but too much reason to apprehend would be experienced in the course of the election. What will be the character of a Parliament chosen under such auspices I shall not pretend to determine; but if the representation of Liverpool can only be obtained by violence and bloodshed, I leave the honour of it to those who choose to contend for it; nor

Election riots.

Roscoe withdraws.

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1807. Election.

will I accept even that distinction accompanied by reflections which must embitter every future moment of my life."

Many of Mr. Roscoe's friends were not willing to lose his services as member for the borough, and persisted in carrying on the contest, though, as was abundantly manifest, with small hopes of success. He was accordingly nominated and went to the poll. The election continued for six days, terminating on May 14th, when the numbers stood at the final close: Tarleton, 1461; Gascoyne, 1277; Roscoe, 379.

Poll.

Squibs.

The squibs and appeals to the electors exhibit, with some exceptions, more virulence and scurrility than wit and talent. The prominent men on both sides are bespattered pretty freely with coarse jokes to an extent that would not be tolerated at the present day. Some of these would not bear quotation; a few specimens may be given of the milder description.

A very prominent advocate and supporter of General Gascoyne was Roger Leigh, a soap and candle manufacturer. He was well known as the largest man in Liverpool, being six feet six inches in height, with corresponding circumference. He is thus described by the opposite party:

Roger Leigh.

"*The great Image of Tallow.*

"It is proposed to the friends of the coalescing Generals, who meet at the sign of the Lion[1] and the Talbot,[2] to give orders to all their desponding butchers to transport thither as soon as possible all the tallow they can collect, to make of it a huge image of Roger *the great*, the firm supporter of church and king. The image to be placed in an old chair of state at the Town-hall, to be adorned with a superb crown of farthing candles, and to hold in each hand a lighted flambeau, the flaming symbol of his origin and occupation, with a label issuing from his greasy mouth 'No Popery.' That this idol of tallow be carried out in open procession on a cool day (for it will not bear the fervour of the sun's rays), accompanied by flutes, harps, sackbuts, psalteries, and all kinds of music; that our wise and virtuous Corporation bear the tallow idol on their shoulders through the streets of Liverpool, veiled under a gorgeous canopy of *cabbage leaves*, interwoven with candlewicks, and composed of all the letters and fugitive squibs of those bright geniuses and hired defamers," etc.

[1] The Golden Lion, Dale Street, which stood on the site of the Queen Insurance Buildings. It was for many years the head-quarters of the Gascoyne party.

[2] The Talbot Inn, Water Street, the site of the Bank of Liverpool, was the rendezvous of Tarleton's supporters. The general himself was born in a house at the opposite corner, now the site of the District Bank.

A well-known character in Liverpool at this time was Samuel William Ryley, an actor, who had passed through a singular career of adventure, which he embodied in a semi-fictitious work entitled "The Itinerant." He was great at election times on the Whig interest, and was accustomed to head up "the tallies" dressed in a short green hunting-coat and white hat, with a small flag in his hand. He is very well hit off in the following extract from a parody of one of Moore's "Letters of the Fudge Family:" 1807. Riley.

In the bustle I saw a long quizzical face,
Nose lengthened, mouth widened, and monkey grimace:
Thought I, I have seen this tall fellow before,
And I'm sure one might tell him again from a score.
He's a mixture of deep methodistical cant,
With an equal proportion of farcical rant;
This medley,—this fain would-be saint or be sinner,
This vendor of grace, if it buys a good dinner;
For he once was a preacher—a player—buffoon,
But now he's turned spouter, and spouts to some tune;
And when I come home, I can tell you then slily,
When nobody's near, that his name is called Ryley.

The satirical poetry of the Tories at the elections of the early part of this century is superior to that of their opponents, and some of it is very sparkling and effective. The best portion of it was from the pen of Mr. Silvester Richmond, searcher in Customs, already alluded to, whose ready wit made him the life and soul of the society in which he moved. Silvester Richmond.

The following parody on Roscoe's lyric,

O'er the vine-covered hills and fair valleys of France,

is in all probability from the same pen:

From this apple-fraught land, this island so blest,
See! see! Liberty's Dog-star retire,
That has thinn'd the gay valleys of France—like a pest,
And her vine-cover'd hills like a fire.
No longer the tabor and pipe give delight,
From their vintage all pleasure is flown,
The men are dragged out for a tyrant to fight,
And the women remain but to moan.

. . . . . .

CHAP. IV.

1807. Election squibs.

'Tis the bent of ambition to sport with the mind,
And to boast every virtue its own ;
But the pinnacle gained, the delusion we find,
And the monster's true features are shewn ;
Nor is he the more brave in true Liberty's cause,
Who talks loud of resigning his life,
'Tis pretenders alone fawn and bellow—but pause,
And at danger will slink from the strife.

. . . . . .

Who now in the regions of France would reside,
Who, that e'er in old England had been ?
And who, but a wretch in their ruler can pride,
That our sovereign has heard of or seen ?
O Pitt, thou art gone, we must ever deplore—
To thy memory what praise can we bring ?
Thou hast saved both our liberties, lives, laws, and more,
Our religion, our country, and king.

The following squib brings in the names of most of the leading supporters of the Tory candidates. In the original the names are concealed by dashes, which I have filled in :

Ass race.

ASS RACE.

During the Races a sweepstakes will be ran for by the following asses, to be rode by their respective owners :

Brazen Face—Mr. Silvester (Richmond).
Greasy Chops—Roger Leigh.
Inkhorn and Popgun—P. W. Brancker.[1]
Gripe-all—W. Harper.[2]
Game Cock—G. Drinkwater.[3]
Spindle Shanks—Ned Renshaw.[4]
Lechery—Parson Vause.[5]
Rub-a-dub fire-away—J. Bolton.[6]
Footman—P. W. Litt.[7]

[1] Mayor in 1801 ; the father of Sir Thomas Brancker, mayor in 1830.
[2] Mayor in 1804.
[3] Afterwards Sir George Drinkwater, mayor in 1829.
[4] Ed. Renshaw was a rope-manufacturer in Newington, son of the rector.
[5] Rev. John Vause was incumbent of Christ Church, Hunter Street. Unfortunately his moral character did not stand high.
[6] Colonel Bolton of the volunteers.
[7] Mr. Litt resided at St. Domingo House, Everton, after Prince William. He took an active part in the establishment of the Lyceum, Bold Street.

Putty and Lead—J. B. Aspinall.[1]
Drawcansir—Major Falkner.[2]
Sulky—Saml. Staniforth.[3]
Pot Belly—Bishop Renshaw.[4]
Allbum—R. Statham.[5]
Evil Conscience—R. Carr.[6]
Sweet Lips—J. Shaw.[7]

And some others who did not name.

It is only fair to give some portraits painted by the opposite party, with which I will close these somewhat too lengthy extracts:

Extract of a Letter from Liverpool, May 2, 1807. Tory squib.

This day about two o'clock, his Holiness Pope Leo 10th made his long-expected public entry. We subjoin the order of the procession:

Drums and fifes playing the Rogue's March.
Two hundred Anglo-Brissotins habited as American sailors bearing Tomahawks.
Banner of emblems, with the Words
"Catholic Emancipation and Abolition of the Slave Trade."
A. Heywood, Keeper of the Privy Seal.
C. Bardswell,[8] Keeper of the Conscience, in his tatter'd robes of estate.
Major Alison[9] as Esquire Dickey, without his hat.
A group of infidels and heretics two by two.
Teacher of the Languages and prime orator, T. Booth.[10]
Corn Jews and Grocers.
Col. Williams, in a *well-laced* coat, *dismounted*.

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[1] John and James Aspinall were plumbers and glaziers, Park Lane.

[2] Of Fairfield Hall, Commander of the Liverpool Light Horse.

[3] Mr. Staniforth was mayor in 1812. He resided in Ranelagh Street, in the house afterwards the Waterloo Hotel, behind which he had a rope-walk. His appearance and manners were somewhat forbidding.

[4] One of the rectors, whose physique is not unaptly described.

[5] The town-clerk, recently appointed.

[6] Mr. Carr was an attorney residing at Wavertree.

[7] Alderman Shaw, mayor in 1800, commonly called Jack Shaw, a man of immense wealth and great vulgarity, whose character is amusingly sketched by the "Old Stager."

[8] Mr. Bardswell was an attorney in Drury Lane.

[9] Richard Alison, corn merchant, Richmond Row.

[10] Thomas Booth, corn merchant.

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Election squibs.

A Flag representing the burning of the Bishops, Nuns, and Virgins, and a Lady Abbess.

Parson Yates.[1]

The Arch Fiend and Counsellor, W. Rathbone.[2]

His Holiness the Pope, on a Dicky proper, supported by Col. Earle, Acting Manager to the Bedchamber women of His Holiness's Household.

Clarifier of Urine, J. Holmes.[3]

Francis Jordan[4] as Guy Faux.

Four Pages of his household representing à la Grotesque—

Temperance, R. Downward.[5]

Modesty, J. Carter.[6]

Sincerity, W. Shepherd.[7]

Simplicity, A. Byrom.

H. Norris[8] as Dulcinea del Toboso, bearing a *Rump* nicely roasted.

Music playing the Marseillaise Hymn.

The whole went off in an unusual manner, very *suddenly*, though most *deservedly* received; and pronounced by Counsellor Raincock a Humbug after the best manner.

"Vive la Republique."

Battle of Jena.

The war continued to be waged with unabated vigour. On October 14th, 1806, was fought the disastrous battle of Jena, by which Prussia was laid prostrate at the feet of the French emperor.

Berlin decree.

On November 20, Bonaparte issued his celebrated Berlin decree, which declared the British islands in a state of blockade, all British subjects wherever found prisoners of war, all British goods lawful prizes.

This at once closed to England all the continental ports under French influence; all neutral vessels which had touched at a British port were excluded.

The English merchants struggled manfully against this

[1] Mr. Yates was the minister of Paradise Street Chapel.

[2] Grandfather of Mr. W. Rathbone, M.P. for Liverpool.

[3] Mr. Holmes was mayor in 1849-50. He was a cudbear manufacturer in the Old Haymarket. Hence the allusion in the text.

[4] Mr. Jordan was a well-known merchant, residing in Duke Street.

[5] The Downwards were sugar refiners in Matthew Street. Mr. R. Downward resided at Springfield, near the Old Swan.

[6] Mr. Carter was a merchant residing in Richmond Row.

[7] Rev. William Shepherd of Gateacre, author of the *Life of Poggio Bracciolini*.

[8] Henry Norris was a broker in Water Street.

wrong. The British navy being masters of the seas, the small island of Heligoland, lying off the mouths of the Elbe and Weser, was seized and converted into a depôt, from whence smuggling operations could be carried on with the German coast. Russia being still a friendly power, those ports of the Baltic under Russian influence were still accessible to British commerce. This was not to be of long continuance. The battle of Friedland, fought on June 14, 1807, humiliated Russia. This was followed by the treaty of Tilsit, on July 7th, which converted Russia into an ally of our great enemy, and shut us out from the remainder of the Continent.

Order in council.

The British Government retaliated by an order in council, dated January 7th, 1807, declaring all the ports in the French empire in a state of blockade, and prohibiting all neutrals from trading with the enemy; that no vessel should trade from one enemy's port to another of a French or French allies' coast shut against English vessels. This was the work of the Whig Cabinet. The Tory ministry, which succeeded in March, carried the principle still further by an order issued in November 1807. Napoleon had decreed that no vessel should touch at a British port and then enter a French one. The new order in council enacted that no vessel whatever should enter a French port unless she had previously touched at a British one; and claimed the right of searching neutrals for the purpose of carrying out this regulation.

Milan decree.

Following this, on December 17th, came out Napoleon's Milan decree, declaring all merchant vessels, of whatsoever nation, which should submit to the British orders in council, to be lawful prizes to the French. Acting on this, a number of American ships were seized and confiscated in the ports of Italy and France. The object of the rival belligerents was to starve each other out by mutual destruction of their commerce.

The trading community of England seemed at first to approve of these high-handed measures, but ere long they found the pressure more than they could bear. One means of mitigation was the granting of licences exempting particular ships from the operation of the law. This led to the adoption of fraudulent papers, and thus rendered the success of commerce dependent on forgery and fraud.

Disputes with America.

The commerce with America was seriously interfered with. The Americans naturally resisted the assumption of the right of search, and passed Acts in retaliation, virtually suspending the

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commerce between the two countries. Liverpool began seriously to feel the evil results. In one year the commerce declined by the amount of 146,000 tons, being nearly one-fourth of the entire trade, and £22,000 in dock dues, being a falling off of more than one-third from the previous year's receipts.

Opinions at first greatly differed as to the principles and effects of these measures. The merchants trading with America felt them most severely, and issued a requisition to call a public meeting to petition Parliament against the orders in council. Amongst the signatures to this requisition were John (afterwards Sir John) Gladstone; Ewart, Rutson and Co.; Rathbone, Hughes, and Duncan; Martin, Hope, and Thornley; Cropper, Benson, and Co., and most of those engaged in the trade with America. The meeting was held on February 26, 1808, Mr. James Cropper in the chair. A powerful representation was made of the importance of the American trade to Liverpool, employing annually 123,000 tons of shipping, and producing a revenue from Liverpool alone of upwards of a million sterling per annum. The American ships visiting the port expended not less than £150,000 annually amongst the tradesmen of the town, and the charges on the cargoes were £150,000 more. The injustice and impolicy of the whole proceeding was strongly dwelt upon, and it was resolved to petition both houses of Parliament for redress. Two petitions were sent up to each house; one praying for the repeal of the orders, the other praying to be heard by counsel at the bar of the house. The latter petitions were rejected on the ground of informality. Similar steps were taken by the West India Association, the salt proprietors of Cheshire, the manufacturers of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and by the London American merchants.

American trade.

Petitions.

These feelings, however, were not shared by the whole community. A large and influential party, including the Mayor and Common Council, and probably the majority of the mercantile community, were prepared to uphold the Government in their policy of reprisals. A public meeting was held on March 21 to express these opinions, the mayor, Mr. Henry Blundell Holinshead, in the chair. The chairman, in giving utterance to the prevailing feeling, declared that "His majesty's ministers had adopted a mode of retaliation which must, if vigorously supported by the energies of the country, ultimately lead the enemy to accede to those terms of conciliation which shall be honourable to Britain, and secure the repose and

Support of Government.

Public meeting.

happiness of Europe." Resolutions and petitions to the same tenor were then laid before the meeting. The petition concluded with the expression of "an unshaken determination to consent to every sacrifice which either now or hereafter may be required, and to employ all their efforts to realise the hope of his Majesty that the present awful and momentous struggle, through the blessing of Providence, may prove ultimately successful and glorious to Great Britain."

The opposite party attended in force, and counter-resolutions and petitions were moved by Mr. Roscoe, which whilst expressing the firmest devotion to the throne and person of the king, and their willingness to make all needful sacrifices, yet recommended a conciliatory policy both towards hostile and neutral states, and especially in reference to the United States of America, "as best calculated to restore, at an early period, to his Majesty's faithful subjects, and to the world at large, the blessings of a secure and lasting peace."

Petitions.

On a show of hands, a dispute arose as to which petition was carried. They were both very numerously signed, and presented to the houses of Parliament. From the stand-point of the present day, we look back on these transactions with very mingled feelings. It is agreed on all hands that the governments, both Whig and Tory, went lamentably astray in the measures they adopted, and enormously aggravated the evils they intended to cure. This, in fact, was admitted by the withdrawal of the obnoxious orders in council four years subsequently: but in the meantime what evils had they caused! One serious result was, war with America, which crippled our trade, disgraced our arms, and engendered an amount of bitterness and ill-will for which succeeding generations have had to suffer severely.

At the same time we cannot but admire and honour the spirit of patriotism which animated the majority, and inspired them to be prepared for any sacrifice to uphold the dignity and prestige of the country.

Mr. Brougham.

After some little time, Parliament consented to hear the petitioners at the bar of the house. Mr. Brougham appeared as their council, and tendered evidence, showing the disastrous effects caused by the orders—but all in vain. The ministry continued firm to their purpose, and the orders were rigidly enforced.

A.D. 1808.

In January 1808, a supplementary charter was granted to

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the borough by the Crown. Under the governing charter of William III., the only justices of the peace were each mayor during his continuance in office, and for one year subsequently; the senior alderman for the time being, and the recorder. By the charter of King George II. (1752), the powers were extended, so that every ex-mayor should continue to act as a justice for four years after vacating the chair, and that the four senior aldermen should be constituted justices *ex officio*. With the great increase of population, this was found insufficient, and an application was made for a further provision, which was embodied in the new charter. The whole of the aldermen were now appointed justices by virtue of their office, whilst they continued members of the council. A further provision was also made for the office of coroner. By ancient prescription, this office was filled by the ex-mayor for one year after vacating the chair. By the new charter the term was extended to four years, so that instead of one, the duty would be distributed amongst four.

New charter.

New Exchange.

In March 1808 the new Exchange was completed and opened to the public. I shall have occasion in a future chapter to dwell more at length on the history of this building.

The rising of the Spaniards and Portuguese against the French domination in 1808, was hailed in England with hearty sympathy, as the harbinger of future deliverance from the dominion of the French dictator. On July 28, the mayor, bailiffs, and council, united in an address to the king, expressing "the most heartfelt congratulations on those late events on the continent of Europe, which seem to promise the dawn of a brighter day to the liberties and independence of nations."

Address to the King.

On Tuesday, August 2, the new Corn Exchange in Brunswick Street was opened.

Distress.

The sufferings of the poor in the winter of 1808-9 were very great. Provisions were dear and work very scarce, owing to the decrease in the trade of the port arising from the operations of the orders in council. Great efforts were made to relieve the distress, as has always been the case in Liverpool under similiar circumstances.

William Rathbone.

On February 11, 1809, died William Rathbone, one of a race of which members bearing the same name in lineal succession for a century and a half, have distinguished themselves in every effort to promote the welfare and progress of Liverpool. The William Rathbone of whom I am now speaking was for

many years the confidential friend of William Roscoe, who has left on record a touching testimony to the character and abilities of his associate. A short memoir of him, written by Mr. Roscoe, was published in the *Athenæum*.[1]

"The character of Mr. Rathbone was of the highest cast; and it was ever the subject of deep regret with those who knew and appreciated him, that a genius which might have shone with the brightest lustre in the most extended sphere, was restricted to comparative obscurity. The talents for public life manifested by him on various occasions were of the first order. A friend to peace, to toleration, and to improvement, had he been placed in a situation where scope could have been given to his lofty and benevolent views, his name must have been for ever associated with his country's happiness and honour; but confined to the limits of a private station, a man formed of the clay from which in former days heroes and martyrs were moulded, expended the strength which might have ruled a nation, in contests, the recollection of which has already passed away." He was cut off at the age of fifty-one years and eight months. The following sonnet from the pen of Mr. Roscoe forms an appropriate tribute to his memory:

Sonnet by Roscoe.

Doom'd for a season to that frail disguise,
  Whilst yet thy spirit felt its bonds of clay,
  How through the gloom shone forth th' imprisoned ray,
Beam'd in thy smile, and sparkled in thine eyes.
Prompting thee on to deeds of high emprise,
  To plant thy foot athwart Oppression's way;
  To shield the weak, the sufferer's pangs allay,
And soothe the widow's woes, the orphan's cries.
Thy mission now is closed. The sacred flame
  From earth releas'd, in other worlds expands,
Midst the blest regions of eternal love.
O glorious hour! when midst her falling frame,
  Th' imperishable soul superior stands,
Spurns her frail chain, and soars to realms above.

Jubilee.

On October 25, 1809, the Jubilee of King George III. was celebrated. In no town of his Majesty's dominions was it conducted with more enthusiasm than in "the ancient and loyal" borough of Liverpool. The morning was ushered in with the

[1] Not the *Athenæum* of modern times, but a periodical edited by Dr. Aikin, which had only a brief existence.

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ringing of bells, there were public processions, civil and military, *feux de joie*, and in the evening a general illumination with a brilliant display of fireworks. The front of the town-hall was decorated with festoons of coloured lamps round the columns. Whatever his faults might be, "Farmer George," by the simplicity of his character and the earnestness of his political principles, had endeared himself in the hearts of his people to a degree which few of his predecessors had attained. In addition to these public rejoicings, a monument of a more permanent character was determined on, in the shape of an equestrian bronze statue, the first stone of the pedestal of which was laid on the day of jubilee by the mayor, Mr. John Clarke. The subscription for this object was large enough to embrace another, the liberation of all the prisoners confined for debt in the borough gaol. About seventy poor debtors were thus set free, no doubt to the great satisfaction of their creditors as well as to their own.

Advance of prices.

The result of the Government measures of blockade and embargo now began fully to develop itself in the enormously advanced price of all the necessaries of life. Wheat was at this time 100 shillings a quarter; butchers' meat had risen from fourpence to eightpence a pound; butter from sixpence to one-and-sixpence, and other articles in proportion. Under a previous pressure, an Act had been passed to prohibit the distillation of spirits from grain. This Act was to expire on March 4, 1810. A public meeting was held at the town-hall, under the presidency of the Mayor, at which resolutions were adopted and a petition to Parliament prepared, setting forth the advantages which had accrued from the prohibition in the Act, and praying Parliament to extend its operation, so long as the high prices of grain should be maintained.

Fall of St. Nicholas's spire.

On Sunday morning, February 11, 1810, an accident occurred which threw a gloom over the town and carried mourning into many houses. About half-past ten in the forenoon, when the bells were ringing for service, the spire of the steeple of the parish church of St. Nicholas suddenly toppled over and fell upon the body of the building, crushing all before it, and wrecking the entire interior. Twenty-two persons, principally children of the school, who were entering the church at the time, were killed, and many more seriously injured. Several hair-breadth escapes were recorded, amongst others that of the Rev. L. Pughe the officiating clergyman, who was entering the church, but stepped aside to allow the children to pass, and so saved his life.

The children were all interred in the cemetery of St. John's church on the following Tuesday, and were followed by a large concourse of sympathising friends.

The relative importance of the seaports of England at this time may be estimated by the requisitions made under the powers of an Act of Parliament for procuring seamen to man the Royal Navy, when the numbers to be furnished were

London	5725 seamen
Liverpool	1711 ,,
Newcastle	1240 ,,
Hull	731 ,,
Whitehaven	700 ,,
Sunderland	669 ,,
Bristol	666 ,,
Whitby	573 ,,
Yarmouth	506 ,,

Spanish rising.

The uprising in the peninsula inspired the commercial world with great expectations of fresh openings for trade, not only with Spain and Portugal, but with the Spanish and Portuguese possessions in America, which had been hitherto closed to British enterprise. Under the artificial restrictions then existing, every fresh opening was eagerly availed of, and an indiscriminate rush being made to ship goods to the new markets, very naturally a glut took place which led to a disastrous panic and a fall of prices, which carried ruin to many an old-established and hitherto prosperous concern. This was of course much aggravated by the disputes with the United States, and the blockade of the European ports. The panic reached its climax about the close of 1810, and early in 1811 the Government found it absolutely necessary to take measures for relieving the commercial distress by the issue of Exchequer bills by way of loan. On March 15, 1811, a public meeting of the merchants of Liverpool was held at the town-hall, at which it was determined to make application for a share of the Government advances.

Commercial distress.

A.D. 1811. Census.

The census of the population was taken in the year 1811, when it was found the numbers in the borough had increased from 77,708 in 1801 to 94,376, being an addition of 16,668. Including the seamen and suburbs, the total population would be about 116,000. The increase was large, but not in the same ratio as that of the previous or of the subsequent ten years. The depressed state of trade caused by the war, and the pro-

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1811. Decline of trade.

ceedings arising out of it, sufficiently account for this comparative check. This depression is also manifested by the returns of shipping and dock-dues. After the disasters of 1808, the trade had partially recovered itself, and, stimulated by the new openings arising out of the peninsular war, in 1810 the returns were as follow: ships, 6729; tonnage, 734,391; dock-dues, £56,782 : 1s.

The panic of the winter of 1810 acted very unfavourably on the commerce of 1811, during which year the returns had fallen: ships, 5616; tonnage, 611,190; dock-dues, £54,752 : 18 : 5, being a falling off in ships, 1113; tonnage, 123,201; dock-dues, £11,030.

Havannah frigate.

On March 26, 1811, the "Havannah" frigate was launched from the building-yard at Cornhill, belonging to Messrs. Hassall and Co. During the previous century, many contracts for ships for the navy had been taken by Liverpool builders, but the system gradually died out, the "Havannah" being the last so constructed. The system has been revived in modern times, some of the finest ironclads in the naval service having been constructed on the banks of the Mersey.

Spencer's death.

In August of this year public sympathy was greatly excited by the melancholy death of the Rev. Thomas Spencer, whilst bathing in the river at the south shore. I shall have occasion again to allude to Mr. Spencer in the topographical portion of this work.

Export of machinery.

The enormous change which has taken place in the principles of commercial law is curiously shown by occasional incidents in our local history. At the time of which I am writing, it was a criminal offence to export machinery to foreign countries: and an equal offence for a skilled artisan to attempt to emigrate. In the newspaper of November 11, 1811, we read that "a man named Wagstaff was taken into custody, in the act of putting on board the ship "Mount Vernon" bound to New York, twenty-three boxes, containing about 140 gross of spindles, used in the spinning of cotton. The prisoner has been proved to be a manufacturer of spindles, and to have agreed with the captain of the "Mount Vernon" to take a passage to New York. He was examined before the Mayor, and committed to Lancaster, to take his trial at the next assizes." Many persons living at that period have survived to see the day when the export of machinery is considered one of the most valuable branches of our national commerce, and when our surplus artisans, for whom work cannot

be found at home, are encouraged by the highest sanctions to emigrate.

1811.

Famine prices still continuing, a public meeting was held in November 1811, to consider the propriety of petitioning the Prince Regent to exercise his authority for still further suspending the distillation of spirits from grain. Relief of the poor.

In December, a meeting was held, and liberal subscriptions entered into, for the relief of the suffering poor.

Employment being difficult to provide, another public meeting was held, when it was resolved to memorialise the trustees of the docks to employ an additional number of hands on their works during the winter season; and in order to provide money for this purpose, a number of subscribers came forward with various sums on loan, to be advanced to the dock trustees for this specific purpose, the money to remain for five years. A sum of about £2000 was also raised, to be distributed in charity.

What may be called the Liverpool H. P. riots, took place during this season at the Theatre Royal, in consequence of the half-price admission being discontinued. A great commotion was raised amongst the play-going community, which was not quelled without great difficulty and considerable destruction of property. H. P. riots.

The borough gaol in Great Howard Street, which had been erected in 1786, was only now occupied for the first time for its original purpose, having been hitherto used as a place of confinement for French prisoners, the borough prisoners being incarcerated in the old Tower in Water Street, and the old House of Correction, Mount Pleasant. Borough gaol.

The year 1812 was a memorable one in the annals of Liverpool. It opened with a very dark and lowering aspect. Trade was depressed, employment scanty, and provisions very dear. One cannot but admire the spirit which animated the people with hope, and enabled them to persevere with true British pluck— Depression.

> As if allegiance in their bosoms sat,
> Crowned with faith and constant loyalty.

Towards the general national distress, the Government adopted the usual remedy of an issue of Exchequer bills. The paper currency as compared with gold was at a considerable discount; but Parliament passed very stringent measures, enforcing the Bank issues as a legal tender.

CHAP. IV. 1812.

The distress still continuing, a public meeting was held on April 23, "to take into consideration the high price of provisions, and to adopt such measures as may be deemed expedient in relation thereto." A subscription was opened for the purpose of buying up provisions, to be retailed to the poor at reduced prices. A recommendation was also issued, recommending "all housekeepers to be economical in the use of bread and potatoes, to abstain altogether from pastry, and not to use any bread until the expiration of twenty-four hours from the time of its being baked; and that it be also recommended to all persons who keep horses to be economical in the feeding of them, by diminishing the quantity as much as possible."

Relief of distress.

Relations with America.

Ever since the first issue of the orders in council, in 1807, the relations of England with the United States had been of the most unsatisfactory character. The embargo which the American Government had laid on the intercourse with this country had been partially withdrawn in 1809, and the commerce for a time resumed; but the uneasiness still continued. The right of search claimed and exercised by British cruisers against American ships exasperated the people and government to the highest degree. The British Ministry persisted in enforcing the orders in council in spite of all remonstrance until June 1812. On the 16th of this month, Mr. Brougham concluded a persevering opposition of four years, by moving in the House of Commons an address to the Prince Regent, beseeching him "to recal or suspend the orders in council, and to adopt such other measures as might tend to conciliate neutral powers, without sacrificing the rights or dignity of his Majesty's crown." He was estopped by an announcement from Lord Castlereagh that the proposition was already decided upon by the Cabinet, and would appear in the next "Gazette." It was, however, too late; the die had been cast. There was at that time no wire to flash across the Atlantic the message of peace; two days after Lord Castlereagh's announcement, and three weeks before the news could reach America, President Madison had issued a declaration of war against this country. The war lasted for two years and a half, inflicting a frightful amount of injury on both countries, without one particle of benefit either political or commercial; and left behind it a degree of rancour and bitterness, of which succeeding generations have reaped the fruits.

War declared.

Repeal of orders in council.

In Liverpool the repeal of the orders was celebrated by a public dinner, at which Mr. Brougham was present; and by a

public meeting, at which the obligations to those who had exerted themselves to obtain the repeal were duly acknowledged.

The serious results to both nations from the war may be illustrated by a few facts. Not much fewer than two thousand vessels were captured, including the losses on both sides. The cotton was piled up in the warehouses in New York in useless masses, whilst England was suffering distress for want of it. The insurance on coasting voyages in America rose to the rates of from 6 to 25 per cent, according to circumstances. American privateers swept the Atlantic, and even penetrated within a few leagues of the mouth of the Mersey.

The darkest hour is said to be that which precedes the dawn. The year 1812 was the turning-point in the fortunes of the continental war. The great Napoleon, intoxicated with his brilliant successes, provoked a war with Russia, and rushed blindly on his fate, whilst the little cloud rising in the peninsula had swelled into a hurricane, which, guided by the genius of Wellington, was speedily to sweep from the Pyrenees to the gates of Paris.

Losses by war.

Liverpool suffered greatly during the year 1812. The number of ships entering the port during the year dwindled to 4599, with a tonage of 446,788 ; the amount of dock-dues was £44,403, being a diminution since 1810 of ships, 2130 ; tonnage, 287,603 ; and dues, £21,379. The majority of the inhabitants, notwithstanding, continued loyally faithful to the Government, and gave them unstinted support in all their public measures.

Perceval shot.

In May 1812, a melancholy catastrophe occurred in the assassination of the Prime Minister, Mr. Spencer Perceval, by an inhabitant of Liverpool, John Bellingham. It may not be out of place here to put on record a few particulars of this sad event.

Bellingham.

Bellingham was a native of St. Neots, Huntingdonshire, born in 1771. His father, who resided subsequently in London, exhibited symptoms of mental derangement, and was placed in St. Luke's Hospital, whence he was discharged as incurable, and died in that state. John Bellingham was an intractable youth. After some irregularities in early life, he was fitted out and sent to the East Indies by a maternal uncle. The ship in which he sailed was wrecked on one of the Cape de Verde islands, and he returned to England without accomplishing the voyage. He was then assisted to open a tinplate worker's shop in Oxford Street. Here a fire occurred, in which he stated he lost a con-

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1812. Bellingham.

siderable amount in bank-notes. This statement found no credit, and considerable suspicion was excited as to the origin of the fire. Soon afterwards he became bankrupt, and his creditors being dissatisfied with his accounts, he never succeeded in obtaining his certificate. He then entered a merchant's counting-house, where he must have displayed some ability, as his employers sent him to act as their agent at Archangel in Russia, where he remained three years. Here he formed a connection with a Russian house in the timber trade—Messrs. Dorbeker and Co. Returning to England, he entered into a contract to supply timber to certain merchants in Hull to the amount of £12,000. It is said that bills were accepted to that amount, but timber only to the value of £4000 was actually supplied, as, in his absence, his partners in Russia had failed, and the vessels despatched for the timber had to return in ballast Bellingham was then arrested for the debt and thrown into gaol. When he recovered his liberty he returned to Archangel, where he was again arrested and incarcerated, and remained in prison several months. He accused the Russian judges of corruption, which was very likely true, that being the leading feature of Russian justice, and applied to the British Ambassador for protection, which was refused, the matter being one purely of domestic law. He then returned to England, full of indignation against the Russian Government. He repaired to Liverpool, where his mother was then living, married, and commenced as an insurance broker, residing at 46 Duke Street, his wife carrying on business as a milliner and dressmaker, under the name of Bellingham and Stevens. He continued from time to time to present memorials to the Government, setting forth the injustice he had received at the hands of the Russian authorities, and demanding redress as a British subject from the British Government. His appeals were disregarded, as the Government had no pretext for interference. His unfortunate circumstances operating on a mind tainted with hereditary disease, converted him into a dangerous monomaniac. He went up to London, determined to revenge his fancied wrongs on some member of the Government; it appears from his subsequent confession, he did not exactly know whom. He went about his fell purpose with the utmost deliberation. He bought a pair of pistols, for which he gave four guineas, and quietly practised with them at Primrose Hill. He then employed a tailor to prepare him a coat with a side-pocket, for the pistols to be im-

mediately available. Thus armed and prepared, on the afternoon of Monday, May 11, 1812, he posted himself in the lobby of the House of Commons. Soon after, Mr. Perceval, having been sent for, entered the lobby in haste, Mr. Brougham having just commenced the examination of witnesses against the obnoxious orders in council. At this moment, as Lord Brougham describes the scene, "he thought he heard a noise, as if a pistol had gone off in some one's pocket—such at least was the idea which instantaneously passed through his mind, but did not interrupt his interrogation. Presently there were seen several persons in the gallery running towards the doors; and before a minute more had passed, General Gascoyne, who had seized the murderer and wrested the pistol from his hand, rushed up the House, and announced that the minister had been shot, and had fallen on the spot dead. The House instantly adjourned. Examinations were taken of the wretch who had struck the blow, and he was speedily committed for trial by Mr. M. A. Taylor, who acted as a magistrate for Middlesex. On that day week, Bellingham, having been tried and convicted, was executed, to the utter disgrace of the court which tried him, and refused an application for delay, grounded on a representation, that were time given, evidence of his insanity could be obtained from Liverpool, where he resided and was known. It cannot with any truth be said that the popular ferment, which so astonishing and shocking an event occasioned, had at all subsided on the trial, the fourth day after the act was committed, and the day on which the judge and jury were called upon—calm in mind—inaccessible to all feelings—above all outward impressions—to administer strict and impartial justice."

Mr. Perceval's death.

The assassin persisted to the last in defending his crime; remarking that "life had been to him a weary pilgrimage; the bliss fleeting and illusory, the misery permanent and real; in laying it down he had no vain regrets to make."

Considerable sympathy was manifested in Liverpool for his wife, who was much respected, and a subscription was got up for the benefit of the family.

The death of Mr. Perceval led to certain changes in the administration. The Earl of Liverpool succeeded as Prime Minister, and made overtures to the Marquis of Wellesley and Mr. Canning to join the Cabinet, which were declined. An adverse vote in the House of Commons soon afterwards determined the Ministry to dissolve the House and appeal to the

Lord Liverpool succeeds.

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country. They were encouraged in this by the gleams of success in Spain, and the victory of Salamanca fought on July 22, which gave a tinge of popularity to the Government, amongst many things of a discouraging nature. The dissolution was proclaimed on September 29, and the new Parliament summoned for November 30.

Election.

Few elections in the country, certainly none in Liverpool, have been more memorable than this; whether we look at the talents of the two chief candidates and their subsequent brilliant career, the position of the country at the time, or the great interests at stake both national and local.

The candidates were the Right Hon. George Canning and General Gascoyne, on the ministerial or Tory side; and Messrs. Henry Brougham and Thomas Creevey on the side of the Whigs.

Brougham.

The first movement was made by the friends of Mr. Brougham. On September 4 he was entertained at a public dinner given at the Liverpool Arms, Castle Street, "in testimony of the spirited and successful exertions" he had displayed in obtaining the repeal of the orders in council. About 250 guests were present, amongst them the Earls of Derby and Sefton, Lord Stanley, Sir William Gerard, Bart., Sir James Nasmyth, Bart., etc. Mr. Roscoe occupied the chair. After proposing the health of their distinguished guest, he turned to Mr. Brougham and said: "Sir,—We have already thanked you in our more serious moments—it was the tribute of our judgment. We now thank you amidst our conviviality—it is the tribute of our hearts. *The third time*, I hope, sir, we shall thank you in a manner more adequate to your high deserts." This announcement was received with unbounded applause. At a subsequent period of the evening the chairman proposed the health of Mr. Thomas Creevey, and recommended him as joint candidate with Mr. Brougham, for his parliamentary experience, his liberal principles, and his commercial knowledge, especially in relation to the East India trade, which would have shortly to come under review.

Creevey.

Mr. Creevey was a native of Liverpool, the son of an old sea captain and merchant. He had already sat in Parliament for four years as member for Thetford, to which borough he was again elected during the elections then pending.

Lord Brougham, in his allusion to this election,[1] condemns the conduct of the Whigs on this occasion. He says: "No one at all acquainted with Liverpool politics, and whose judgment

[1] *Collected Works*, vol. x. p. 67.

was left calm and unbiassed by passing events, especially the late victory against the orders in council, had any very sanguine expectation that the Whig interest could defeat entirely all the Tory power, the corporation interest, and the Government influence; and the total defeat of the opposition party seemed inevitable, unless one of their candidates should be withdrawn."

Public dinner.

A public dinner took place at the Liverpool Arms on September 25, the mayor (Mr. John Bourne) in the chair, to celebrate the victories of Wellington in the peninsula, particularly that of Salamanca. On the same day a meeting was held at the Golden Lion, Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Gladstone in the chair, for the purpose of inviting Mr. Canning to come forward as a candidate. Resolutions were passed, and a requisition soon afterwards presented, entreating him to offer himself, and pledging themselves to his support. Owing to his absence in Devonshire, Mr. Canning did not receive this requisition in time to reply before the dissolution; but on October 4 he wrote accepting the invitation. Mr. Brougham responded on September 28, and Mr. Creevey on October 1. In the meantime the old members, though left without invitations, were not disposed quietly to retire. General Tarleton issued an address, dated September 24, in which he again offers his services, and says "if any part of my conduct requires explanation from any individual (*sic*), I shall attend with cheerfulness to such a command, and prove myself most willing to enter into a general detail of the Parliamentary proceedings of the last five years at your bar—the tribunal of election."

Canning.

Tarleton.

General Gascoyne says: "Not feeling in the smallest degree conscious of having done anything to forfeit my claims to your support, I beg leave most respectfully again to solicit your votes and interests," etc.

Gascoyne.

It must be observed, that whilst the Whig party combined their forces in support of Brougham and Creevey, the partisans of Canning and Gascoyne at first stood aloof from each other. Gascoyne's old friends rallied round him, and received the support of the mayor and corporation; but the supporters of Mr. Canning occupied an entirely independent position. Messrs. Gladstone, Bolton, Litt, Ewart, Barton, Rodie, and others, were not in connection with the corporation, and had not been supporters of General Gascoyne. Several of them had voted for Mr. Roscoe in the election of 1806. The way was therefore open for a compromise, for which Mr. Canning's friends were quite

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prepared. Such an opportunity had never occurred before. Since 1588, when Francis Bacon, Esq., was returned, no first-class man had ever represented Liverpool. Now, two of the foremost men of the age were contending for the honour. For brilliancy of parts, for matchless eloquence, for general ability, and for parliamentary power, it would be difficult to award the palm. Brougham wielded the tomahawk, and bore down his opponents by a whirlwind of invective. Canning's weapon was the polished rapier, which pierced his antagonist to the quick, whilst exciting the laughter of the spectators. Although Brougham's life was prolonged for forty years after that of his antagonist, yet for at least fifteen years they confronted each other on the benches of the House of Commons, where many a gallant fight was maintained with varying success, until that memorable evening when Canning, stung to the quick by the scathing taunts of his rival, rose in his place and gave the lie direct to his accuser. They lived to respect and understand each other better, and at the time of his decease Canning had no more sincere supporter than his quondam rival, Brougham.

Election dinner.

The campaign now opened in good earnest. On September 29, what was called an election dinner was held in a field in Great George Street, on the site of the present St. James's Market. Although not so announced, it was really a demonstration in favour of Brougham and Creevey. The field was planked over and covered with awnings. Mr. Thomas Green, auctioneer, occupied the chair. About a thousand persons sat down, principally freemen. The bill of fare was as follows: Two whole sheep, 50 rounds of beef, 1 baron of beef, 30 legs of mutton, 1500 loaves of bread, 2 cartloads of potatoes, 23 barrels of ale and porter.

Mr. Green, the chairman, was elevated several feet above the company, and the toasts were given out through a speaking-trumpet. A number were proposed, the toast of the evening being, "Our friends, Brougham and Creevey, and a free trade to America and the East Indies."

The company afterwards adjourned to St. James's Mount, with colours flying and a band of music. On this occasion the following song was brought out. There is not much merit in it as a poetical composition, but being set to the popular air of "Gee O Dobbin," it became a great favourite, and might have been heard long after the election trolled out by the boys in the streets:

CREEVEY AND BROUGHAM.

Election song.

Huzza ! my brave boys, what a sight is here seen,
We've taken the field under General Green ;
We've plenty of cheer, boys, and good elbow-room,
And want nothing more except—Creevey and Brougham.
Then give a long pull, boys ;
Give a strong pull, boys ;
A pull altogether, for Creevey and Brougham.

If Roscoe would stand, who's the man of our soul,
He'd soon, my lads, be at the head of the poll ;
But the cares of the state he declines to resume,
Though he points out successors in Creevey and Brougham.
Then give a long pull, boys, etc.

If you wish that old England should weather the storm,
You must vote for the champions of peace and reform ;
Not for men who the loaves and the fishes consume,
But patriots, like Creevey, our townsman, and Brougham.
Then give a long pull, boys, etc.

George Canning's a man of some talents, 'tis true,
But his mother and sisters are pensioned by you ;
And freemen of spirit will choose, I presume,
Men free and unpensioned, like Creevey and Brougham.
Then give a long pull, boys, etc.

The friends of the Generals begin to placard,
But mind your eyes, lads, and we'll run them both hard ;
They'd better not too much importance assume,
For instead of these *broomsticks*, we'll send up our Brougham.
Then give a long pull, boys, etc.

'Tis said, but 'tis sure a most libellous tale,
That you'll vote for the man who will give the most ale.
But men, who themselves on their liberty plume,
Should choose freedom's champions, Creevey and Brougham.
Then give a long pull, boys, etc.

The ladies we know too will give us their aid,
Nor be dazzled again with the Gen'ral's cockade,
For Creevey's pink favours will add to their bloom,
And the maidens all know how to value a *broom*.
Then give a long pull, boys, etc.

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1812.

Election song.

So now I'll conclude with proposing a toast,
Here's Creevey, of freedom and commerce the boast;
Success to the plough, to the sail, and the loom,
And long life, my brave boys, to their champion our *Brougham*.
Then give a long pull, boys,
Give a strong pull, boys,
A pull altogether, for Creevey and Brougham.

Brougham, his entry.

The election was fixed for Thursday October 8. On Monday the 5th Mr. Brougham made his public entry. His friends assembled at the old Botanic Garden, top of Mount Pleasant. He was seated in an open carriage drawn by four horses, with Colonel Williams by his side. In the same vehicle were the Earl of Sefton and Messrs. Rawson, Heywood, and Roscoe. The crowd wished to detach the horses from the carriage and draw it into the town, but Mr. Brougham urged that such a testimony of their regard was a degradation to which freemen ought never to submit. There was the usual display of pink and white favours, flags, and music. The procession halted at Roscoe's Bank in Castle Street, from the windows of which the crowd was addressed by Mr. Brougham, Lord Sefton, Mr. Roscoe, and Mr. Casey, an Irish gentleman at that time resident in the town, who was endowed with the gift of eloquence which so often distinguishes his countrymen.

Canning's reception.

On Wednesday, October 7, Mr. Canning's acceptance was received, and he was expected to arrive on the same afternoon; a large body of his friends assembled at Lowhill to bid him welcome and escort him into the town. Unfortunately, in the then state of travelling, he found it impossible to arrive until the following morning. Mr. Litt, who had brought with him Mr. Canning's address, took his place in the open carriage, and the procession paraded the principal streets, finally halting in Castle Street. Here Mr. Litt addressed the assembled multitude, and was followed by Mr. Gladstone, who took a review of the commercial state of the country, and described in glowing and lively colours Mr. Canning's public and private character.

Squibs.

Now began the shower of squibs, pasquinades, satires, and libels. On no occasion was there a greater profusion, many of them pungent, sparkling, and of considerable merit in a literary point of view. Some are unfit for publication; but independent of these it is difficult to select out of the numerous specimens those which would give an adequate idea of the whole. Two

gentlemen especially distinguished themselves in this department (of course anonymously), Mr. Silvester Richmond on the side of the Tories, and "Parson" Shepherd, as he was usually called, of Gateacre, on the side of the Whigs. It is hard to say which takes the lead, but I will give a specimen or two of each, that my readers may judge.

Mr. Canning's non-appearance to meet his followers naturally gave rise to some sarcasms. The following notice was issued:

Election squibs.

Oh! dear what can the matter be?

Missing this morning, the Right Honourable George Canning, supposed to be lost somewhere on the Prescot Road. *Searchers*[1] are out in every direction—each expecting a pension, if they discover the place where he is now to be found.

God help the Corporation! Save the nation.

The next day came out the following *jeu d'esprit*, evidently from the pen of Mr. Shepherd. The allusions will explain themselves:[2]

THE SPEECH.

Delivered by Sir Pertinax M'Sycophant from a coach box.

Good folks! you have heard from the great Mr. Litt
(As renown'd for his virtue, as famed for his wit),
Why to-day the great Canning has not shown his face,
And I, "a mere shadow" stand up in his place.
They found, as post-haste, they were coming to town,
All the horses knocked up and the chaises broke down;
But he, somehow or other, to tell us forgot,
How *he* could find horses, when Canning could not.

You all must remember, that Brougham t'other day,
Came to town in a noble lord's carriage so gay;
But pray can you tell me, what was there so grand in
An Earl and a merchant of forty years standing?
Two bankers, two magistrates—mere mushroom fellows;
Let them look at *our* coachful, I'm sure they'll be jealous;
Here's Ewart, and Rodie, and I, for your sake,
Have deserted our country, the land of oat-cake;

[1] An allusion to Mr. Silvester Richmond, searcher in the Customs.

[2] In the original the names are partially concealed by dashes, which I have filled in.

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Here's Hollinshead too, who's so loyal a soul,
When we light up a bonfire, he'll give us the *coal;*
And Barton, the gallant Lothario, we've him in,
You canvass the men—he'll canvass the women.
And for a man witty, and generous and free,
John Bolton will suit you, I'm sure, to a T.
In short, of the good loyal town, be it known,
You see now before you the very BACKBONE ;
Nay more (for I will not my simile narrow),
My friends are the *bone*, I myself am the *marrow.*

Now Gemmen, if you will your gravity keep
(But first you must put down that impudent sweep,[1]
Who seems to regard himself quite on a level,
As if I was the *Punch* and he was the *Devil*),
You shall hear me my fine new morality teach,
For I've got it by heart in a cut and dry speech.

The Roscoeites tell you that peace is a blessing,
And going all day without food is distressing ;
I thought so myself, when their party I joined,
But turning my coat has quite altered my mind.
And I'm confident now (since I purchased some slaves)
That we all ought to sing "Rule Britannia the waves."
Although we have lost a fine trade that "we was in,"
It is but a trifle—(I've hit it in rosin.)
To give up our maritime rights I'm not willing
(While ashes are only worth fifty-two shilling).
To try to make peace they'd be cowardly toads
(Till I can make fifty per cent by my "boweds"),[2]
And you all must resolve to die in the last ditch
(For I've got a good stock of tobacco and pitch).

You remember that I, with your worshipful mayor,
And some other wise men, did to London repair—
You know my friend Bourne ;[3] it had near been his ruin,
Alas ! he was christened by old parson Lewin, [4]
But he got again dipt by a son of the church,
Or the town for a mayor had been left in the lurch.

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[1] The incident occurred as here related.
[2] Bowed Georgia cotton
[3] Mr. Bourne was the mayor and returning officer.
[4] Mr. Lewin was the minister of the Unitarian chapel, Benn's Garden.

So we told my Lord Sidmouth, the scheme we were planning,
"If you want a sly fellow," says he, "go to Canning."
"O bless you, my Lord! we know him very well."
Now ain't this a wonderful story to tell?

'Tis whisper'd, that I and my friends are not loath
To trade with our conscience, and take a false oath;
But don't you believe it;—you know it's all right
To tell a few lies, and to say black is white,
When our business requires it,—we did that, 'tis true,
But then, my good fellows, *'twas wholly for you;*
We shipp'd to the Baltic our coffee and wood,
And got hemp and tallow, *'twas all for your good;*
You cannot imagine that I and my friends
Would have run all these risks *for our own private ends;*
Then thus while we're striving the whole world to gain,
If we lose our own souls, surely you can't complain.

In vain have I tried your attention to rivet,
I see you're quite tired—but I hope you'll forgive it;
Last time you remember, we kick'd up a *row*,
But I think it's not prudent to try the thing now,
For you see there's a grin upon every one's face,
And our party themselves can't endure the disgrace
That Canning's not here, and that I'm in his place.
So steal away quietly, banish all sorrow,
For I doubt not that George will find horses to-morrow.

The other side were not wanting in smart rejoinders. I quote the following as a companion picture, describing the entry of Mr. Brougham. It is most probably the production of Mr. Silvester Richmond:

A SONG.

Astonish'd was the town,
That a hero of renown,
To end our woes would come,
Ushered in by fife and drum;
Respected was his name,
Of democratic fame,
The only man that ever was perfection, O.

CHAP. IV.

1812. Election squibs.

Mr. Brougham—he'll do 'em,
Which is he?—can't you see?
Twig his nose—I suppose,
He's in a fit—says a wit,
Hey down, oh down, derry, derry down,
Oh the humours of a Liverpool election, O.

Then in Castle Street we squeeze,
Curiosity to please,
And to hear from Roscoe's bank,
This orator so lank;
With that ourang outang Sefton,
Whom the ladies took for Strephon,
Or Adonis, for in figure he's perfection, O.
How he snorts—face distorts,
Every action—ruled by faction,
Voice of strength—chin in length
Half a yard—very hard
On his barber—beard to harbour.
Hey down, oh down, etc.

Noisy Paddy[1] bawl'd aloud,
From revolution's cloud;
While harmless poor old Heywood
Thought he'd be good if they would,
Though a smile and glance so sly,
From his heavy half-closed eye,
Spoke his pleasure at this rendezvous of faction, O.
Brougham twitching—so bewitching,
Canning's pension—he must mention;
Roasts with wit—your townman Litt,
Forgets the hunch[2]—on noble Punch.
Hey down, oh down, etc.

Then to raise a party quarrel,
They exalt an old flour barrel,
Wooden, empty, as 'tis said,
A type of Brougham's head;
And their type they've placed so droll
At the summit of a pole,
Borne by Ryley, who's a type too of starvation, O.

[1] Mr. Casey.
[2] Referring to a deformity of Lord Sefton.

Poor old fellow—going to Hell O,
Beef and gravy—cannot save ye,
Brougham and Creevey—both deceive ye;
Freemen spurn 'em!—ne'er return 'em.
Hey down, oh down, etc.

Nomination.

The election commenced on October 8. Mr. Canning was proposed by Colonel John Bolton, seconded by Mr. Henry Blundell Holinshead. General Gascoyne was proposed by Mr. John Bridge Aspinall, seconded by Mr. Thomas Parr. Mr. Brougham was proposed by Mr. Nicholas Ashton of Woolton Hall, seconded by Mr. Arthur Heywood, banker. Mr. Creevey was proposed by Mr. Thomas Earle, seconded by Colonel Williams. General Tarleton was proposed by the Rev. J. E. Tarleton, seconded by Mr. William Corrie.

A severe struggle then commenced, maintained with equal vigour on both sides. Down to the sixth day Mr. Brougham kept a majority over General Gascoyne, the numbers being: Brougham, 1030; Gascoyne, 1003; Mr. Canning's majority over Brougham being only 46. Under these circumstances, the issue being so doubtful, the way seemed open for a compromise.

Election.

Lord Brougham's account is as follows: "After the election had gone on for some days, the Tories, who supported Mr. Canning, made a direct proposition for a junction with Mr. Brougham's party, on the footing of the former giving up General Gascoyne, and the latter withdrawing Mr. Creevey. But this proposal was rejected, neither Mr. Brougham nor Mr. Creevey giving any opinion on the subject, nor expressing any wish. The proposition was rejected and the election was lost; General Gascoyne being then supported by Mr. Canning's friends and returned along with him." [1]

Rejection of compromise.

The rejection of the compromise was attributed to the influence of Mr. Roscoe, who was under the persuasion that the Whigs could carry both their candidates.

Tarleton.

The fate of poor General Tarleton was rather melancholy. After having been the popular idol in the election of 1790; having represented the town consecutively, with the exception of a very short interval, for twenty-two years; and having headed the poll by a considerable majority at the last election, he had so fallen off in public estimation that it was with difficulty he found a person to nominate him, and he only polled eleven votes. His undecided

[1] *Collected Works*, vol. x. p. 66.

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vacillating conduct partially led to this result. He further seems hardly to have kept himself *au courant* with his constituents.

When the distress in the country was discussed in Parliament in 1808, and illustrated by the sad condition of the working classes in Liverpool, the General was reported to have denied the fact, and stated that there was not a single carpenter out of employment, and that three shillings a day was enough for a Liverpool carpenter. When afterwards taxed with this, he threw the responsibility of the statement on Colonel Bolton. The real cause of the desertion of the General probably was the feeling amongst the party of the necessity for obtaining the services of some gentleman of higher parliamentary qualifications.

Election.

After two days' poll, during which he only received five votes, General Tarleton withdrew by an address, in which he says: "My political opinions are not the cause of the cold neglect and unjust hostility which I have experienced. The nucleus of the transfer of votes and interests to another respectable individual is derived from the profusion of some rich men, in carrying into effect a requisition sent to me more than five years ago. I have in my possession that document, as well as clear evidence of the dissension arising amongst them from that expenditure."

As far as can be gathered from the hazy language of this address, it would appear that he ascribes his desertion to some quarrel about the payment of election expenses. That there were many publicans' accounts for the previous election remaining unpaid, is evident from a handbill circulated at the commencement of the election.

General Tarleton retired from public life, and died in a good old age; but had no further connection with Liverpool.

Speeches.

It is time that some notice should be taken of the speeches of the two principal candidates. Mr. Canning's have been collected and published in a separate volume. Lord Brougham has included in his collected works only one speech delivered at the Liverpool election, that at the close of the sixth day's poll: the others are to be found in the newspapers of the day. Each champion put forth all his strength, and neither of them ever appeared to greater advantage. I will give a short extract from each, the most characteristic I can find of their respective styles.

Brougham.

In the published speech of Mr. Brougham, he draws a dreary picture of the results of the war, and after "piling up the agony" to make his hearers shudder, he continues: "I trust

myself once more into your faithful hands. I fling myself again on you for protection. I call aloud to you to bear your own cause in your hearts. I implore of you to come forth in your own defence—for the sake of this vast town and its people—for the salvation of the middle and lower orders—for the whole industrious part of the whole country. I entreat you by your love of peace—by your hatred of oppression—by your weariness of burthensome and useless taxation—by yet another appeal to which those must lend an ear who have been deaf to all the rest: I ask it for your families—for your infants—if you would avoid such a winter of horrors as the last."

Brougham's speeches.

After referring to his own efforts in the suppression of the slave-trade, and the abolition of the orders in council, he winds up with this magnificent peroration: "Gentlemen, I stand up in this contest against the friends and followers of Mr. Pitt, or, as they partially designate him, the immortal statesman now no more. Immortal in the miseries of his devoted country! Immortal in the wounds of her bleeding liberties! Immortal in the cruel wars which sprang from his cold miscalculating ambition! Immortal in the intolerable taxes, the countless loads of debt which these wars have flung upon us—which the youngest man amongst us will not live to see the end of! Immortal in the triumph of our enemies and the ruin of our allies, the costly purchase of so much blood and treasure! Immortal in the afflictions of England, and the humiliation of her friends, through the whole results of his twenty years' reign, from the first rays of favour with which a delighted court gilded his early apostasy, to the deadly glare which is at this instant cast upon his name by the burning metropolis of our last ally![1] But may no such immortality ever fall to my lot;—let me rather live innocent and inglorious; and when at last I cease to serve you, and to feel for your wrongs, may I have an humble monument in some nameless stone, to tell that beneath it there rests from his labours in your service an adversary of the immortal statesman—a friend of peace and of the people. Friends! you must now judge for yourselves, and act accordingly. Against us and against you stand those who call themselves the successors of that man. They are the heirs of his policy; and if not of his immortality too, it is only because their talents for the work of destruction are less transcendant than his. They are his surviving colleagues. His fury survives in them, if not

[1] The news of the burning of Moscow had arrived by that day's post.

CHAP. IV. 1812. Brougham's speeches.

his fire; and they partake of all his infatuated principles if they have lost the genius that first made those principles triumphant. If you choose them for your delegates, you know to what policy you lend your sanction—what men you exalt to power. Should you prefer me, your choice falls upon one, who, if obscure and unambitious, will at least give his own age no reason to fear him, or posterity to curse him—one whose proudest ambition it is to be deemed the friend of Liberty and Peace."

Canning's speeches.

We now turn to Mr. Canning, and furnish a specimen or two of his bright, keen, and cutting eloquence. In his speech at the close of the fifth day's poll, he thus speaks of Parliamentary Reform: "In some of the societies which I have visited, a question has been put to me whether I was prepared to support the question of Parliamentary Reform. I have heard that question in societies which I suppose my antagonists had previously visited, and to which they had held forth on the blessings to be derived from a new modelling of Parliament, and on the inadequacy and defects of the present representation of the people. Upon a point of this importance I will not equivocate. I freely own my mind is made up on the question. Gentlemen, I will *not* support that question of Parliamentary Reform. I will not support it, because I am persuaded that those who are most loud, and apparently most solicitous in recommending it, do mean, and have for years past meant, far other things than those simple words seem to intend; because I am persuaded that that question cannot be stirred without stirring others which would shake the constitution to its very foundation; and because I am satisfied that the House of Commons as at present constituted is adequate to all the functions which it is wisely and legitimately ordained to execute; that showy theories and fanciful schemes of arithmetical or geographical proportion would fail to produce any amelioration of the present frame of the House of Commons. I deny the grievance; I doubt the remedy. And when it is asserted to me again, as I have often heard it asserted heretofore, that under the present corrupt system there is no true popular delegation, no uninfluenced or disinterested choice of representatives by the people, my mind will recur at once to the scene which is now before me, and will repose with perfect contentment upon the practical contradiction which Liverpool affords to assertions so disparaging to the people."

The following affords a specimen, by no means the best, of

his power of irony and banter. It is from the speech at the close of the sixth day's poll.

"Gentlemen, I will advert to one topic which my opponents have studiously endeavoured to impress upon your minds by the circulation of handbills and by emblematical devices—a topic as unfounded in fact as it is mischievous in tendency. They have exhibited a large loaf as the loaf of peace, and a small one as the loaf of war; intending by these emblems to show a necessary connection between war and scarcity; and they have held out to you the return of Messrs. Brougham and Creevey to Parliament as the certain safeguard for the plentiful subsistence of the people.

"If, Gentlemen, the imaginers of these devices can prove to you that their favourite candidates have power to direct the course of the seasons, and thereby to render more abundant the means of subsistence for the great body of the people, I should exhort you to pass me by, and return men who are possessed of so wonderful and supernatural a secret.

"But, Gentlemen, my habits of discussion have taught me to look for some connection between effect and cause, and never to acquiesce in the conclusion until I have attempted to trace it to its premises. After the most serious investigation, I confess I am at a loss to discover the natural and necessary connection between the bountiful blessings of Providence and the return of Messrs. Brougham and Creevey. Many of you have read a tale which is in the hands of most of your children, I mean Dr. Johnson's *Rasselas*, in which there is an account of a philosopher who fancied himself to have a control over the sunshine and the showers, and who busied himself in distributing the proper proportions of these favours as he thought fit to the different countries of the earth. Whether my competitors have a power like this I have not been able to ascertain. I do not mean to impute to my competitors that they arrogate it to themselves; they are too manly and upright to attempt the practice of so gross a delusion. But their panegyrists, who couple plenty with their name and scarcity with mine, are as absurd as the philosopher in *Rasselas;* and they have not the excuse which he had for his folly, for, Gentlemen, the philosopher was mad, but these reasoners can only be mischievous . . .

"But, Gentlemen, the same sun which gilded the triumphal entry of Lord Wellington into Madrid, and turned pale at the conflagration of Moscow, has ripened during the present year,

CHAP. IV. 1812. Canning's speeches.

both in the north and in the south, the most luxuriant harvest that ever blessed mankind. Before the war-loaf is paraded again, let the philosophers who support my antagonists bring me the solution of this phenomenon."

After the rejection of the compromise, and the coalition of the partisans of Canning and Gascoyne, the Whig cause soon became hopeless. The "Io Pæan" of triumph was thus jauntily chanted by the poet laureate of the Tories :

Tory song.

A NEW SONG TO AN OLD TUNE.

BROUGHAM (*Loquitur*).

Oh dear, what can the matter be ?
Dear, dear, what can the matter be ?
'Tis most likely before next Saturday,
I'm moved from the head to the tail.
They sent me a promise, O Lord ! how they flatter'd me,
And now read the squibs, see how they've bespatter'd me,
'Tis my own turn to cry, O what can the matter be ?
For all our resources now fail.

Oh dear, what can the matter be ?
Dear, dear, what can the matter be ?
Instead of being chair'd we take coach on Saturday,
Creevey and I by the Mail.
How strangely the people do muster for loyalty,
And follow George Canning as if he were royalty ;
I'll leave them, but then the loss doubtless will *my* all be.
Oh why did my Lord thus turn tail ?

Oh dear what can the matter be ?
Dear, dear, what can the matter be ?
View my poor captains, oh how they scatter'd be !
Say, why has success not prevail'd ?
They said they would back me with all the nobility,
Promised they'd show me the greatest civility,
Now left me to brood o'er my own poor scurrility—
The fond hopes of my heart now have failed.

Oh dear, what can the matter be ?
Dear, dear, what can the matter be ?
I'll take care again, howe'er they may flatter me.
Upon me again they'd turn tail.

Tory song.

What, though the rabble for peace shouted lustily,
All my poor tricks have turn'd out but fustily,
I, the war-loaf must chew, though it smells mustily—
Some one the Peace-loaf did steal.

Oh dear, what can the matter be?
Dear, dear, what can the matter be?
At twelve o'clock on the next Saturday,
Green invites all to a sale;
A large two-arm'd chair, of a town-leaving gentleman,
To pay for its making, dear friends, come if you can,
Or sure the upholsterer will now be a ruined man,
As sure as this ends our sad tale.

Poll.

The poll closed on Friday, October 16, being the eighth day of the election. The numbers stood thus: Canning, 1631; Gascoyne, 1532; Brougham, 1131; Creevey, 1068; Tarleton, 11; the number of freemen who voted, 2726.

Brougham's farewell.

A little time before the final close, the two unsuccessful candidates left the hustings, and took leave of their rivals with mutual expressions of personal regard. They were conveyed in the carriage of Lord Sefton to Clayton Square, where Mr. Brougham wound up by a magnificent oration. The peroration consisted of a eulogium on Mr. Fox, as a counterpart to his previous denunciation of Mr. Pitt. As the speech is not published in Lord Brougham's works, I subjoin a small portion of the closing part. He says: "I yesterday took the liberty of professing myself as one of the adversaries, certainly in a very humble sphere, of Mr. Pitt's measures. I would not, however, have you to think, gentlemen, that my political creed is made up of opposition and denial—that I feel nothing but antipathies, or acknowledge no leader to follow and venerate. I avow myself among the most zealous followers of a man who has now, as well as his celebrated antagonist, unhappily for England, mingled his dust with the sacred ashes of the fathers of her liberty. When I express, or attempt to express, my profound and unalterable veneration for his memory, it is not surely in the vain hope of expressing my love for him; but that I may pass the last moments I have to be amongst you in performing the duty, most sad indeed, but most pleasing to our feelings. I have not named him—is it necessary I should? I am speaking to you, friends of liberty, advocates of peace, of one who was your undaunted leader in every struggle for the constitution; in all the

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1812. Brougham's farewell.

efforts which you have seen made for the repose and happiness of mankind! Of him, in whom the mightiest powers of eloquence were far less wonderful than the prodigious virtue which unceasingly pointed them against all the enemies of human happiness, and against everything that ordinary mortals might call his own interest or ease; who knew of no interest but yours, nor could taste of any ease, while despotism, and intolerance, and war, were ravaging the earth; who, blending in his genius the severer qualities of profound intellect, free, enlarged, and original conception, with the most attractive graces that can adorn the mind; tempering the sublime features of his talents with the softness of the most amiable virtues, and exposing whatever human failings he had with the honest simplicity that pervaded each part of his frame—presented to his attached followers a character, if possible, more to be loved than venerated; and taught all that approached him, at however humble a distance, to cultivate him rather with the homage of their affection than their fears. It was he who, for your sake, and for the sake of the great cause of civil and religious freedom, vowed eternal war with your oppressors, and united to himself those faithful friends of their country, whose exalted rank, I sincerely believe, they undervalue, compared with the place they possess in your service; whose vast possessions they account as less precious than the treasure of the people's love; among whose titles and honours they regard that illustrious descent as the chief, which they derive from the noble martyrs of English liberty! *He* was their leader and yours—alas! I need not name him, for with whom can you possibly confound him? Yet it may be grateful to our ears to hear that name, which is all that remains of him. I am then a follower of Charles Fox (immense cheering). By his principles it is my delight to regulate my conduct; and judging by what he did and said, of what he would have done had he been preserved to our days, I feel well assured that he would now have followed a course if possible still more popular, because he would have seen, more and more clearly, the vital importance to the country of a strict union between the people and their leaders against the growing corruptions and augmented influence of the court."

In comparing the two perorations, I think it will be admitted that the great orator is far more terse and powerful in invective than in panegyric.

Ball.

The Whigs wound up their proceedings by a ball at Lilly-

man's Hotel on November 16. About 500 guests were present, amongst whom were the Earl and Countess of Sefton. Mr. Brougham and Mr. Creevey were each presented with a gold watch, value fifty guineas.

Chairing.

On Saturday, October 16, the two successful candidates were chaired and carried in procession through the principal streets, with great enthusiasm and display of red and blue favours. The procession finally halted at the house of Mr. John Gladstone, in Rodney Street, from the balcony of which Mr. Canning addressed the assembled spectators. William Ewart Gladstone, the future Premier, was born in this house, and was at this time a child of about three years old. One wonders whether any recollection of the exciting scene, "the thunder of the captains and the shouting," and the silvery eloquence of the great Tory champion, of which he was to hear more in after years, made any permanent impressions on his mind, and had any influence on his future career. Very slight incidents in early life often give an impulse which is never forgotten. As the Spaniards say, "Quien sabe?"

Canning's speech.

In the course of his speech Mr. Canning said: "Gentlemen—It has been attempted to deter you from the choice which you have done me the honour to make, by saying that I had been in office, and am likely to be in office again. I have been in office. How soon, if ever, I may be in office again, I neither know, nor do I care, for any other reason than as it might afford me greater opportunities of promoting the interests of the country, of which your interests constitute so essential a part.

"But, Gentlemen, what is meant by this imputation? Are the gentlemen who urge it so little read in the principles, the democratic principles of the British constitution, as not to know that it is one of the peculiar boasts of this country, one of the prime fruits of its free constitution, and one main security for its continuing free, that men as humble as myself, with no pretensions of wealth, or title, or high family, or wide-spreading connections, may yet find their way into the cabinet of their Sovereign through the fair road of public service, and stand there upon a footing of equality with the proudest aristocracy of the land?

"Is it from courtiers of the people, from admirers of republican virtue and republican energy, that we hear doctrines which would tend to exclude from the management of public affairs all who are not illustrious by birth, or powerful from

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hereditary opulence? Why, gentlemen, in this limited monarchy there are undoubtedly contests for office—contests which agitate the elements of the constitution, which keep them alive and active, but without endangering the constitution itself. A republic is but one continual struggle for office in every department of the State.

"Gentlemen, if I have held office, I hope I have held it honourably; I will never hold it again but on the same terms. Gentlemen, it is not my fault that I must state facts in my own defence which might appear to be stated ostentatiously, but I mean them simply as defensive. It is entirely my own fault, gentlemen, that I am not now addressing you with the seals of the Secretary of State in my pocket. Twice in the course of six months have the seals of the office of Secretary of State been tendered to my acceptance, and twice have I declined them. Is this like hankering after office? . . . I declined office, gentlemen, because it was tendered to me on terms not consistent, as I thought, and as my immediate friends agreed in thinking, with my personal honour; because if accepted on such terms it would not have enabled me to serve the public with efficiency."

Public dinner.

On Monday, October 26, Mr. Canning's return was celebrated by a public dinner at the Liverpool Arms, at which about four hundred sat down. The chair was taken by Mr. John Gladstone. On the 29th he left Liverpool for Manchester, and was there entertained at a public dinner in the Exchange.

Whig song.

So ended this famous election, one of the most remarkable ever held out of the metropolis. Before finally quitting the scene, I cannot refrain from inserting a song written at the time, which bears unmistakeable evidence of the pen of Mr. Roscoe. There is very little political or electioneering about it, except near the close:

A SONG.

Tune "*To Anacreon in Heaven.*"

When commerce first spread the broad sails to the wind,
And her bark the proud billows submissively bore,
And the ocean became the wide path of mankind,
And the waters divided the nations no more;
Round the rocks of the main
Was re-echoed this strain,—

Now shall man's scatter'd race be connected again ;
And the vessels of commerce extend the great plan,
Of Harmony, Peace, and the Freedom of Man.

The fruits of each climate shall commerce exchange,
And make equal the blessings of God upon earth,
Over each distant realm she delighted shall range,
And rough Labour enrich'd shall sing carols of mirth ;
Pleasure tread the gay green,
Beauty too, pleasure's queen,
And the cottage of industry gladden the scene ;
And the arts shall with commerce extend the great plan,
Of Harmony, Peace, and the Freedom of Man.

Thus the nations with whom commerce chose to reside,
They were free, they were great, and with opulence blest ;
But she loved Britain most,—'twas her home and her pride ;
And the world soon revered her, "fair isle of the west."
For where'er the waves roll,
From the line to the pole,
To the vessels of Britain she gave the control ;
And she said, "Be it yours to extend the great plan,
Of Harmony, Peace, and the Freedom of Man."

Here the lab'rer embolden'd with gains of his toil,
Felt the solace of blithe independence his own ;
For the rights of mankind are the growth of this soil,
They grew with our strength, and encircle our throne ;
And these rights shall prevail,
Though corruption assail,
For the efforts of wretches 'gainst liberty fail,
And these rights are the ground-work of that mighty plan—
The Harmony, Peace, and the Freedom of Man.

The remainder is devoted to singing the praises of Brougham and Creevey.

The new Parliament was opened on November 30 by the Prince Regent in person, who then spoke for the first time from the throne.

A petition against the election return was presented by General Tarleton. The case was opened before the committee on the 24th March 1813, when a number of witnesses were examined as to treating. On the following day the petition was withdrawn. Mr. Adam, counsel for the petitioner, was asked

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if the case had not been proved as far as it had gone. His reply was that it had. The petitioner's counsel were then requested to state in writing their reasons for advising the petitioner not to proceed, which they declined to do; observing that they could not do so without casting a reflection on the committee.

A.D. 1813. Brighter prospects.

The year 1813 opened with much brighter prospects for the country. We were still at war with America; but on the continent of Europe the tide had begun to turn. Almost every post brought cheering news of the reverses of the great Napoleon; the uprising of the German race after long years of oppression, and the gradual advance northward of the army of Wellington, signalised by the victory of Vittoria and the capture of San Sebastian. Liverpool, as she had been unswerving in her loyalty in the darkest hour of depression, now took her full share in the rejoicings over the tidings of success. Subscriptions were entered into for the relief of the Russian peasantry; and at the close of the year, when the victory of the allies at Leipsic had secured the independence of Germany, the inhabitants almost went beside themselves in the exuberance of their joy. The festivities continued for four days.

The bells rang out their merry peals, the flags and streamers of all nations and all parties waved triumphantly in the wind, the military assembled and fired *feux de joie*, the men-of-war in the river gave a royal salute. On Tuesday, December 14, there was a general illumination, and a brilliant display of fireworks on Everton Brow. The householders vied with each other in the exhibition of transparencies and devices in coloured lamps. It is said that the glare of the light from the town was visible as far as Chester. On Wednesday there was a ball at the Town-hall, in which nearly a thousand ladies and gentlemen participated. On Friday a public dinner took place, attended by 400 guests; and again, on Saturday night, there was a further exhibition of fireworks on the slope of Edgehill.

Illumination.

Ball.

Revival of trade.

The industrial classes had good reason for rejoicing, for now trade began to revive—slowly at first, but in an ever-accelerating ratio, until it assumed the gigantic proportions of later years. The dock returns for 1813 give the number of ships for the year ending June 24, as 5341; tonnage, 547,426; and dues, £50,177 : 13 : 2; being an increase over the previous year in ships, 742; tonnage, 100,638; and in dues, £5774 : 5 : 3. Considering that it was only within a very few months that any opening whatever existed for extension, this return gives a very

favourable impression of the irrepressible energy of the trade of Liverpool.

1813.

The loyalty and faithfulness of the town to the Government received some acknowledgment in a grant made by Parliament in the session of 1813 of the sum of £60,000, "for the repair, improvement, and increase of the docks at Liverpool." Grant by Parliament.

The monument erected to the memory of Nelson in the quadrangle of the Exchange was thrown open to public view on October 21, 1813, the anniversary of the battle of Trafalgar. Nelson's monument.

The annals of the town at this period are somewhat barren of domestic incident. The depressing circumstances of the war had exhausted the excitement of its earlier years, and improvement and progress were for a time in a state of suspended animation, soon to burst forth with renewed vigour.

A commercial town is not usually the most favourable locality for art and science, though Italy presents some splendid examples to the contrary. Liverpool began to feel its deficiency in this respect, but found considerable difficulty as to the mode of supplying the want. Actuated by motives of the most laudable description, some of the leading inhabitants took steps to wipe away the reproach. A meeting was held at the Liverpool Arms, Castle Street, on March 31, 1814, Mr. B. A. Heywood in the chair, when it was resolved to establish an institution "to promote the increase and diffusion of literature, science, and the arts;" to include a commodious building, a museum of natural history, a chemical laboratory, lecture-rooms, and courses of lectures by men eminent in science and literature. Royal Institution.

A general meeting was held on the 20th June, when it was announced that the sum of £20,000 had been raised in shares of £100 and £50 each. Permission was subsequently obtained to name it the Liverpool Royal Institution. The scheme found favour for a time with the upper classes in the town. A suitable building was purchased in Colquitt Street, and considerable additions were made to it. A splendid address was delivered by Mr. Roscoe on the occasion of the opening, November 25, 1817. Several courses of lectures were announced by literary and scientific men of the highest class. After a time, however, the institution began to languish. It was found that the successful cultivation of literature and science requires internal vitality as well as external means for its maintenance. The machine was provided, with all necessary aids and appliances,

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1813. Royal Institution.

but the steam to give motive power was wanting. Expensive courses of lectures delivered in the business hours of the day would not draw. The exclusive management and privileges inseparable from the joint-stock principle on which the institution was founded, deterred, if they did not altogether exclude, the general public. In the course of a few years the establishment sank into a torpid, semi-fossilised condition, from which for any active purposes it seems impossible to emerge. There are some points, it must be admitted, in which this institution has rendered good service to the community, though rather by permission and acquiescence than by self-action. A school of a high-class character was early established, which has had a succession of eminent teachers at its head, and which, notwithstanding the competition of more modern rivals, continues to maintain its position. An historical gallery of art was also formed, principally from pictures obtained by Mr. Roscoe, which contains a series illustrative of the history and progress of Italian, and to some extent of Teutonic art, of the rarest character. The building also has become the centre and place of meeting of most of the literary societies of the town. It cannot therefore be said that the institution has existed in vain. Like Falstaff, if it is not "witty in itself, it is the cause that wit is in other men."

In 1813 died Francis Hargrave, who had filled the office of recorder from 1797. He was a very eminent lawyer, and had amassed a large collection of legal works, which were deemed of such importance, that they were ordered by the House of Commons to be purchased for £8000 and deposited in the British Museum. In 1818 a catalogue of the collection was published. It contains 300 MSS., many of them of very ancient date, including reports of cases from the 2d Henry 4th (1401).

Severe winter.

The winter of 1813-14 was unusually severe, the frost continuing for about six weeks. The London mail was delayed four days on the road by the extraordinary fall of snow. On the breaking up of the frost, the large sheets of ice which were carried down from the upper reaches of the river caused considerable damage and danger to the craft moored in the stream, and rendered the passage across difficult and perilous.

A.D. 1814. Opening of East India trade.

The year 1814 contributed further to the development of Liverpool commerce. In the session of 1813 the East India Company's charter received important modifications. The China trade was still reserved; but the trade with India was thrown

open to private enterprise. Liverpool has never been slow to avail herself of any new commercial openings. On May 27, 1814, the ship "Kingsmill," Captain Cassels, burthen 516 tons —considered in those days a large ship—sailed from the Mersey with a full cargo to join the convoy at Spithead for Madeira and Bengal. She belonged to Messrs. John Gladstone and Grant, and was the precursor of a trade which has since grown up to colossal dimensions. 1814.

In May commerce with France was renewed, the treaty having been signed on the 30th. A few days previous to this, two cargoes of corn brought in French vessels from Havre had arrived in the Mersey. France.

In June negotiations for peace with America were opened at Ghent, but some months elapsed before intercourse was resumed. America.

The rejoicings at the return of peace were earnest and sincere. The town was again illuminated, with a grand display of fireworks at Everton. The course of events after the peace was somewhat interrupted by the escape of Bonaparte from Elba, and the subsequent reign of one hundred days. The excitement on the reception of the news of the battle of Waterloo was something quite unprecedented. The nation and community were weary of war, and the feeling that the caged lion could no longer disturb the repose of the nations gave confidence to commercial pursuits, and inspired hope for the future. Just about this time a new bathing-place was being established on the coast at Crosby, about five miles seaward of Liverpool. In commemoration of the great victory, it was determined to give the new settlement the name of Waterloo. Peace rejoicings.

In April 1815, all differences between the two nations having been settled, intercourse with the United States was renewed, the first American ship, the "Milo," having arrived in the Mersey on the first of the month. She sailed up the river with the British flag flying at the mainmasthead, the American ensign at the mizen, which was dipped on passing H.M.S. "Arago," then lying in the river. Her arrival was hailed with enthusiasm by a large number of spectators who had collected on the piers. A.D. 1815. Peace with America.

Commerce was at length freed from the dangers, the imposts, and responsibilities of war, though still subject to many vexatious restrictions, which it required nearly half-a-century entirely to eradicate. Improvement now proceeded with accelerated

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1815.

Progress of trade.

progress. By June 1815, Liverpool had recovered her lost ground, the ships and tonnage very nearly equalling those of 1810, the highest year hitherto recorded, whilst the dock-dues had increased to £76,915.

Steam navigation.

The year 1815 is memorable for the introduction of steam navigation on the Mersey. It would be entirely out of place here to attempt to give a history of the various tentative steps by which the power of steam became gradually applied to the purposes of navigation; I will simply state the extent to which it had been applied elsewhere before it was introduced at Liverpool.

It is recorded that Fulton had established a steamboat on the Hudson river, between New York and Albany, in the year 1807. A steamer of 140 feet keel was built in 1811 for the navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi. In Great Britain, the name of Henry Bell will ever be honoured for his perseverance in the introduction of steam on the river Clyde, which took place in August 1812. The boat called the "Comet" was only 40 feet in length, with 10 feet 6 inches beam. The state of the river at that time required her to be built very flat, drawing only about 3 feet of water. In 1813, a steamer was placed on the river Yare, to ply between Norwich and Yarmouth. In October 1814 steam navigation was introduced on the Humber, the speed attained being, it is said, fourteen miles an hour. In December 1814 old father Thames first witnessed the apparition of the new invention; and in February 1815 a steamer began to ply between London and Gravesend.

Liverpool had been more tardy than usual in the adoption of a promising improvement. At length, in May 1815, an announcement was made that a steamer was about to be introduced on the Mersey, and in June the vessel actually arrived from the Clyde. She was intended to ply between Liverpool and Runcorn.

Mr. Canning on steam navigation.

Probably one of the most eloquent tributes ever paid to steam navigation was pronounced by Mr. Canning in the course of a speech delivered in Liverpool in August 1822. He says: "What should we think of that philosopher, who, in writing, at the present day, a treatise upon naval architecture and theory of navigation, should omit wholly from his calculation that new and mighty power—new, at least, in the application of its might—which walks the water like a giant rejoicing in his course—stemming alike the tempest and the tide—accelerating

intercourse, shortening distances; creating, as it were, unexpected neighbourhoods, and new combinations of social and commercial relation; and giving to the fickleness of winds, and the faithlessness of waves the certainty and steadiness of a highway upon the land? Such a writer, though he might describe a ship correctly, though he might show from what quarters the winds of heaven blow, would be surely an incurious and an idle spectator of the progress of nautical science, who did not see in the power of steam a corrective of all former calculations."

There is in the utterances of genius always something of a prophetic character. The eulogy here pronounced, if limited to the feeble and experimental efforts at that time put forth, might seem inflated and exaggerated in its tone; but when applied to the steam navigation of the present day, to the gradual development of dimension, tonnage, and power, culminating in the leviathan of the seas, the "Great Eastern"; when we look at the lines of magnificent steam-ships connecting Liverpool with almost every great port in the world; when we see in the latest returns the fact that in the year terminating in June 1874, 7638 steamers entered the Mersey, with a burthen of 4,092,886 tons, being considerably more than one-half the whole trade of the port, and still increasing in an accelerated ratio—Mr. Canning's eloquent apostrophe becomes serious, sober, earnest, falling short of rather than surpassing the actual facts of the case.

Steam on the Mersey.

Steamboats were first used in the Mersey to ply to the upper reaches of the river, Runcorn and Ellesmere Port. It was not until two years after their introduction that steam was adopted for the direct passage across the estuary.

Thanks to the army.

On July 11, 1815, a public meeting was held in the town-hall under the presidency of the mayor, Mr. Thomas Leyland, "for the purpose of affording to the town at large an opportunity of testifying their admiration of the conduct of the British army under the command of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington, in the splendid victory of June 18, by instituting a subscription for the widows and children of those who have fallen on that memorable day, and in the battles immediately preceding it." A committee was formed of gentlemen of all political opinions, and a subscription was entered into, which ultimately produced £7208, besides about £2000 more, sent direct from the town and neighbourhood to London.

Subscription for army.

In September 1815, the good ship "Kingsmill," which had

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First ship from India

been despatched to India on the opening of the trade in May 1814, entered the Mersey after a prosperous voyage of fifteen months, with a full and valuable cargo; a large portion being wine from Madeira, the remainder, sugar, cotton, ebony, indigo, and spices, with a few shawls and muslins for the ladies.

Alarm at theatre.

On September 25, an unfortunate occurrence took place at the Theatre Royal during the performance of Richard II. by Edmund Kean. The house was crowded in every part. An Irishman recently arrived in Liverpool went to the theatre in female attire. Being recognised and requested to withdraw, a scuffle ensued, in which he frequently vociferated the word "Ireland!" This was mistaken inside the house for a cry of "Fire!" and a regular stampede ensued. The passage leading from the gallery became choked with people frantically struggling for exit, and in the *mêlée*, a young woman named Edge was thrown down and trampled to death. Upon subsequent inquiries it turned out that the man who was the cause of all the mischief was deranged.

Austrian Archdukes.

After the conclusion of the war, several of the foreign potentates who had visited London extended their travels to the north-west of the kingdom. The Austrian Archdukes, John and Louis, visited Liverpool on November 18, 1815, and remained until the 21st.

In the earlier part of 1816, another of the modern appliances of civilisation—lighting with gas—was first introduced into the town.

Gas-lighting

To whomsoever the discovery of the production of carburetted hydrogen by distillation from coal is due, the merit of first practically applying it belongs to Mr. Murdoch of Redruth. In 1802 gas was employed for lighting up Messrs. Boulton and Watt's extensive works at the Soho Foundry, Birmingham. In 1804-5 Mr. Murdoch constructed an apparatus on an extensive scale for Messrs. Phillips's cotton mills at Manchester. Some years elapsed before the invention was utilised for public purposes. In 1813 Westminster Bridge was lighted with gas, and in the following year it was applied to light several of the streets in London.

In July 1815 an announcement was made that a company was in course of formation for the introduction of gas into Liverpool. A prospectus was issued by Mr. J. Hargraves for a company with a capital of £10,000 in shares of £50 each. Some exception was taken to this, both in regard to the small-

ness of the capital and the desirability of the subject being taken up by the town's authorities. The authorities, however, were supine, and a company was formed, which has proved a most prosperous and eventually a gigantic concern. In the *Mercury* of January 26, 1816, it is stated that "two large gas lamps, with three burners in each, have been lighted with gas, and exhibited for the last few nights in front of the town-hall. The light is so brilliant that a person may with ease discover the hour by his watch at the distance of twenty or thirty yards. We understand that it is intended to light the dock lamps by this method, and we trust it will soon become general." On March 23 it is announced "that the Liverpool Gaslight Company have so far arranged their plans, that we shall have the benefit of those brilliant lights in the ensuing autumn."

The first stone of the Prince's Dock was laid in May by Mr. (afterwards Sir George) Drinkwater. On Monday, May 13, 1816, a public meeting was held in the town-hall, when a congratulatory address was voted to the Prince Regent on the occasion of the marriage of the Princess Charlotte. The address was presented by the mayor in person (Mr. William Barton),[1] who received the honour of knighthood from his Royal Highness.

Address to Regent.

In October 1816 steam was first employed for towing ships out to sea. Mr. Egerton Smith had some time previously called the attention of the mercantile community to the advantages of this adaptation in a series of letters in the *Mercury*. One illustration quoted deserves a record. Two vessels were intended to sail in company from Liverpool to Barbadoes. One, the "Harriet," belonging to Messrs. Barton and Co., started from George's Dock, got out into the channel, and went on her voyage in safety. Her intended consort having to work out of the Queen's Dock, a mile and a half higher up the river, found her course stayed by an adverse change of wind, and had to anchor in the river. The "Harriet" made the voyage to Barbadoes and back, and on her return found the other ship at anchor in the Mersey, where she had left her, the prevalence of west winds having prevented her getting out to sea. Steam towing has rendered this difficulty a thing of the past.

Steam-tugs.

An institution which was long a prominent object in the

Floating bath.

[1] Mr. Barton was elected a member of the Council on the 5th July 1815; was elected mayor on the 18th October in the same year, and received the honour of knighthood in the May following.

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river Mersey, and was the means of exhilarating enjoyment to many thousands, was this year established. I allude to the floating bath, which was moored in the middle of the river for many years. The idea took its rise in America, having been adopted in New York, and subsequently carried out on the Tagus and on the Thames. In Liverpool it was taken up by an enterprising individual, Mr. Thomas Coglan, who carried out the scheme on his own responsibility, with some pecuniary assistance from his friends. The vessel was launched on June 11, 1816, from a building-yard on the site of the Prince's Dock. The floating bath was a vessel constructed like an ordinary ship with a flat bottom, and double or hollow sides, the central portion forming a large swimming-bath through which the tide flowed, entering at the stem and flowing out at the stern. There were dressing-rooms, a saloon cabin, and lower and upper decks, forming a pleasant promenade and look-out. Boats plied regularly to and from the pier. The bath remained for many years a means of useful recreation, until it became worn out in the service. The crowded state of the river rendered the mooring of a successor somewhat dangerous, whilst the erection of the baths on George's Parade to some extent superseded the necessity.

Floating bath.

Election.

In June 1816, another parliamentary election took place in consequence of the appointment of Mr. Canning to the Presidency of the Board of Control after his return from Lisbon, where he had been ambassador, the latter appointment not vacating his seat as member of Parliament.

Canning.

On Mr. Canning's arrival in England, he wrote an address to the freemen of Liverpool, dated May 27, 1816, expressing his intention again to solicit their votes. A portion of the Whig party were resolved that Mr. Canning should not walk over the course. A private meeting was called, at which the question of a candidate was discussed. The choice fell upon Mr. Thomas Leyland, who had been mayor the previous year. A more unfortunate selection could scarcely have been made. Mr. Leyland was a shrewd clever banker, a man of great wealth, but of no very strong political proclivities, and such as he possessed were decidedly adverse to the party who wished to elect him. He had recently filled the civic chair with great acceptance, and had in the previous week been presented with a valuable piece of plate, purchased by public subscription, as a testimony to his public services. This popularity, no doubt, pointed to Mr.

Leyland.

Leyland as likely to procure the suffrages of the freemen, it apparently being a matter of indifference who was elected if only Canning was kept out. An open-air meeting was held the same night in Queen Square, when energetic speeches were made by Mr. Casey and Mr. Edward Rushton (subsequently stipendiary magistrate) in support of Mr. Leyland's candidature. A requisition was prepared and signed by 577 freemen. "The next evening, June 4, a body of between three and four thousand persons, having at their head Mr. Thomas Green, with the requisition, set out to present it to Mr. Leyland. They were accompanied by Mr. Rushton, Mr. John Smith, and several others on horseback. The assembly was informed that Mr. Leyland was dining with Mr. John Clarke at his seat, Ashfield, near Knotty Ash. It was immediately resolved to proceed thither in procession, with colours flying and a band of music. On the arrival of the procession at Ashfield, Mr. Leyland presented himself, and having heard from Mr. Green the purport of the visit, he received the requisition, and assured the freemen that he felt fully sensible of the honour intended him, but that such a proposition required consideration, and he would on the next day inform them of his determination, at his bank in King Street."[1]

Requisition to Leyland.

The next morning, without waiting for the deputation, Mr. Leyland issued a placard declining the proposed honour. In the afternoon, a large body presented themselves at the bank, with the object of overcoming his objections and persuading him to stand, but all proved vain.

Mr. Canning arrived in Liverpool on Wednesday, June 5, and addressed a large assembly, which had been awaiting his arrival, from the windows of Mr. Bolton's house, Duke Street.

The election commenced on Friday, June 7th. Mr. Canning was proposed by Mr. Bolton, seconded by Mr. H. Blundell Hollinshead. Mr. Leyland, whom it was determined to bring forward in spite of his refusal, was proposed by the Rev. William Shepherd, seconded by Colonel Williams. One passage in Mr. Shepherd's speech contains rather a hard hit. He says: "Sir,—I think Mr. Canning very unworthy to represent this borough in Parliament, when I consider his conduct after the last election. After that event, he went 'with all his blushing honours thick upon him,' to the loyal town of Manchester, where he was quickly surrounded by all the opulence and talent of the place. The

Nomination.

[1] *Liverpool Mercury*, June 7, 1816.

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people of Manchester, sir, gave Mr. Canning a public dinner. In the course of their festivities, however, they paid Mr. Canning a very equivocal kind of compliment. For after they had taken a view of him, and heard a specimen of his eloquence, they lifted up their hands in pious gratitude that they had nothing to do with sending representatives to Parliament! In this congratulation Mr. Canning joined."

The election then commenced; but the number of freemen tendering their votes for Mr. Leyland being few and diminishing, about half-past ten, Mr. Shepherd addressed the returning officer (the mayor), stating that he had been misled by the representations made to him as to the support Mr. Leyland was likely to receive, and therefore withdrew from the contest. Mr. Canning thanked Mr. Shepherd for his handsome conduct, and offered him his hand.

Poll.

After a little pause the contest was resumed, Mr. Edward Rushton taking the post of honour at the hustings. The poll continued open for four days and a half, and at the termination the numbers stood: Canning, 1280; Leyland, 738.

Squibs.

The struggle was absurd and vexatious, having no object but that of harassing the dominant party, and putting them to expense. The squibs, addresses, and songs issued during the election are of very inferior quality. The whole affair being a sham, there was little heart put into it compared with the thorough earnestness of the preceding contest. The Whig party put forth a sort of parody in Scripture phraseology, entitled "The First and Second Chapters of Truth," but it possessed little point. Most of the poetry is doggrel of a very wretched description. There is a poem entitled "The Election," in eight cantos, put forth by the Tories, which in parts displays some ability. I subjoin a specimen:

Election squibs.

From Canto I.

Angels and ministers of grace defend us!
See how the Jacobins and Luddites rise;
Why, it would seem their impudence offends us,
So does Disloyalty; then—d—n their eyes.

Oh! thou art surely charming, Mister Casey,
With lungs stentorian, and with Irish din,
Cannot thy factious noise for once be *aisey?*
Thy looks without and horrid thoughts within.

But see a *Shepherd*—and of such a flock!
Sure 'twould the love of any men estrange;
Fit to be tumbled only in a dock
To cure him from the plague, or from the *mange*.

Crompton the brewer too! a man of fault,
A Democrat of great notorious sin,
Mixes with bitter noxious herbs his malt,
And with a Presbyterian smile can stir them in.

Say, Leyland, what art thou? or where thy votes?
Give way, I pray, and humble to thy betters,
For well we know, that though a man of *Notes*,
The greatest fool ne'er thought thee one of *Letters*.

At the close of the first day's poll, Mr. Canning, in addressing the electors, concluded his speech in the following words: "Gentlemen, I have detained you longer than it was fitting to do. I have now only to solicit the continuance of your zeal in our unexampled struggle—a struggle with an invisible *phantom*. Let us see whether before the Sabbath this phantom may not be laid."

This gave rise to the following poetical comment:

THE PHANTOM.

When Canning from Lisbon was ordered away,
To attend the levée of my Lord Castlereagh,
He touch'd at Bordeaux, where he called on the mayor,
And utter'd a speech, made the Monsieurs all stare.

How cunning it was of the said Mr. Canning,
The eloquent powers of his speech to be planning,
For wisely he deem'd that a careful selection,
Detail'd in the papers would gain his election.

But horrid! oh, horrible! shocking! oh, dear!
No sooner at Liverpool did he appear,
Than the *ghost* of the town, with a terrible tale,
Assaulted his optics, and made him look pale.

It rose by degrees from a seat at the bank,
And played up and down with a frolicsome prank;
And though it did make a most terrible clatter,
George Canning declared it a poor trifling matter.

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This Ghost he declared he would very soon lay,
And send it off packing into the Red *Say ;*
But the Phantom defied him and hover'd about,
And soon it created a terrible rout.

. . . . . .

And truly, good people, it surely must seem,
Mr. Place-loving Canning had seen but a dream,
When the freemen he call'd of this Maritime town,
A *Phantom* which soon, very soon, he'd put down.

His poetical image has vanished away,
He wakes to the *spirit* which freemen display ;
He struggles, but 'tis not with phantoms like those
Which his fanciful thoughts in his speeches disclose.

'Tis the *spirit of Freedom* he dares to despise,
It rings in his hearing, it dazzles his eyes,
It will roll in a torrent whose health-stirring waves,
Shall bring to confusion all placemen and slaves.

Chairing.

The chairing of Mr. Canning took place immediately after the close of the poll on Wednesday, June 12, with the usual display of flags, bands of music, and trades' processions. The ceremony closed at the house of Mr. Bolton, in Duke Street, where Mr. Canning made his final speech. In the course of his address he thus alludes to his own political career.

Canning's speech.

After defending himself from the charge of inconsistency in acting with those from whom he had formerly differed, he proceeds : "Gentlemen, there is yet a heavier charge than those which I have stated to you. It is, gentlemen, that I am an adventurer. To this charge, as I understand it, I am willing to plead guilty. A representative of the people, I am one of the people ; and I present myself to those who choose me, only with the claims of character (be they what they may) unaccredited by patrician patronage or party recommendation. Nor is it in this free country, where in every walk of life the road of honourable success is open to every individual—I am sure it is not in this place that I shall be expected to apologise for so presenting myself to your choice. I know there is a political creed which assigns to a certain combination of great families a right to dictate to the Sovereign, and to influence the people ; and that this doctrine of hereditary aptitude for administration

is, singularly enough, most prevalent among those who find nothing more laughable than the principle of legitimacy in the Crown.

Canning's speech.

"To this theory I have never subscribed. If to depend directly upon the people as their representative in Parliament; if, as a servant of the Crown, to lean on no other support than that of public confidence—if that be an adventurer, I plead guilty to the charge; and I would not exchange that situation, to whatever taunts it may expose me, for all the advantages which may be derived from an ancestry of a hundred generations."

Leyland's medal.

After the election, a subscription was entered into by the Reform party, for the purpose of presenting a silver medal to each of the 738 freemen who had voted for Mr. Leyland. The medal was about the size of a crown-piece, bearing on the obverse the Liver—the crest of the Liverpool Arms, with the motto, "Liverpool be free;" on the reverse, the name of the elector, with the legend, "One of the independent minority 738, who voted for Thomas Leyland, Esq., at the Liverpool election, 1816." On November 25, a copy of the medal in gold was presented to Mr. Leyland, bearing the same obverse, having on the reverse the following inscription: "To Thomas Leyland, Esq., presented by the independent freemen of Liverpool, as a testimony of their esteem for his active and patriotic conduct as chief magistrate, and as a pledge of their future support to raise him to the dignity of representing them in Parliament." A complimentary address accompanied the presentation, to which Mr. Leyland replied, declining to commit himself to any prospective engagement.

Kemble's farewell.

On Friday, July 12, 1816, the great actor, John Philip Kemble, took his final leave of the Liverpool stage in the character of Coriolanus, his first appearance in which character had been in Liverpool. His reception was most enthusiastic. Mr. Kemble may almost be claimed as a Liverpool worthy, having been born at Prescot, within eight miles of the town. On June 23, 1817, he bade farewell to the sock and buskin at Covent Garden theatre in the same play.

Proposed bridge at Runcorn.

In this year (1816) a scheme was brought prominently before the public, in which Liverpool at the time was supposed to be greatly interested. This was a proposal for the construction of a bridge across the Mersey at Runcorn. The want of a bridge at a lower point than Warrington had long been felt. The

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circuitous route increased the distance to London and the Midland districts by at least an hour, which, with the rage for accelerated speed prevailing during the first quarter of the present century, was considered a grievance. The Cheshire interests were also desirous of a shorter and easier communication with the commercial and manufacturing districts.

The idea of crossing the river at this point, where the tidal estuary is narrowed by bold bluffs on each side, was not new. When the Duke of Bridgewater's canal was in course of construction, the bold genius of Brindley proposed an aqueduct across the river to carry the Duke's navigation direct to Liverpool. The great cost of the undertaking prevented its being carried out. In 1814, Thomas Telford was consulted as to the construction of a bridge. The width of the river (about 1200 feet), and the necessity for keeping the navigation clear, rendered a bridge of the ordinary construction inapplicable. The idea of a suspension bridge here first presented itself, and after a number of very interesting experiments on the strength of malleable iron, Telford prepared his design, which consisted of a central opening of 1000 feet span, and two side openings of 500 feet each. The roadway was to be 30 feet wide, with a central footway and two carriage-ways. The very grandeur of the design prevented its being carried out; but there can be no question that here were matured the skill and experience which culminated a few years afterwards in the beautiful and hitherto unrivalled Menai Suspension Bridge by the same engineer.

In 1816 the idea was revived. At a meeting held at Sandbach on August 22 of parties the most interested, it was resolved —"That it would be highly advantageous to the counties of Chester and Lancaster, to the town of Liverpool, and to the public in general, to have a bridge at or near Runcorn Gap, with proper and commodious roads leading thereto." The meeting was adjourned, to meet at Runcorn on October 22, Mr. James Cropper, of Liverpool, in the chair, when the previous resolution was confirmed, and an influential committee appointed to take further proceedings. On January 13, 1817, a numerous meeting of the committee was held in Liverpool, Sir John Chetwode, Bart., in the chair, when plans of the proposed bridges were laid before the meeting by Captain (afterwards Sir Samuel) Brown, and Mr. Thomas Picton, of Liverpool.

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In the meantime opposition began to manifest itself. The Mersey and Irwell navigation company anticipated interference

with the navigation at Runcorn, and by their influence a petition to Parliament against the measure was adopted, and presented on the 28th February, numerously signed by many of the leading inhabitants of Liverpool and Warrington.

On the 13th March Mr. Thomas Telford submitted a report and estimate to the committee which had been appointed at the public meeting. The plan was that propounded in 1814, described above. The estimate was £84,990, afterwards reduced to £62,565.

Another public meeting was held on the 27th July, when Mr. Telford's plans were adopted and subscriptions sought. The result was discouraging. The subscription list only amounted to £12,500 in £100 shares, amongst 34 subscribers. Under these circumstances further procedure was impossible.

Telford's design was transferred from the Mersey to the Menai; and the Runcorn project slumbered for another half century, until the powerful influence and capital of the railways realised with ease the magnificent idea, and erected the present structure, which, with its light lattice work and long ranges of viaduct arches, sweeping across the country in a graceful curve, far exceeds in grandeur and beauty its tubular rival on the Cambrian Straits.

In 1815 Parliament had revised the laws relating to the importation of corn, and had passed an Act prohibiting the importation of wheat, whilst the average price was at or under eighty shillings the quarter. The harvest of 1816 was one of the worst ever known. Trade suffered greatly in consequence, and much discontent prevailed. On October 18th a public meeting was held at the Town-hall, under the presidency of the mayor, Sir William Barton, in compliance with a requisition, "To take into consideration the distresses of the country, and the best means to be adopted for remedying the same." This meeting was in many respects a remarkable one. Although called by the mayor for a purpose—ostensibly at least—irrespective of party, the Tories for some unexplained reason declined to attend. The Radicals, therefore, had a field-day to themselves of jeremiads over the past, and proposals of political reform for the future. The principal speakers were the leading local reformers of the day—Colonel Williams, Dr. Crompton, Rev. William Shepherd, Messrs. Egerton and John Smith, Mr. Rushton, and Mr. Casey. The staple of the speeches was of course political, attributing the distress to expensive wars and

Public meeting on distress.

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1816. Public meeting on distress.

extravagant taxation, and contending for reform in Parliament as the great panacea. Some of the more advanced speakers went beyond this, and wished to carry resolutions attributing the distress to the corruption of the legislature, to pass a vote of censure on the Ministry, and to recommend the reduction of the interest on the national debt. The part taken by Mr. Shepherd was replete with good sense. He more than once called back the attention of the meeting to its proper object. He said: "Sir,—I am not ashamed to avow that I have strong political feelings, and to gain a point in politics I would go far—to the utmost limits prescribed by honour and integrity. But humanity has a still stronger claim upon our exertions. The feeding of the distressed poor is an object far more pressing than any political considerations; and, gentlemen, I appeal to your humanity, and call upon you to support the original resolutions which supply that material provision which the others do not."

The resolutions as passed acknowledged the distress, and appointed a committee to make a minute survey of the town, to endeavour to procure work for the unemployed, and institute a subscription if necessary. They recommended the Corporation and Dock Committee to take up loans in order to employ a greater number of hands.

The remainder of the resolutions were political, blaming the recent wars, complaining of the standing army, and of the expense of the civil list, and recommending such a reform as would give to the people a full, fair, and free representation. A petition to the Prince Regent was agreed to, embodying these resolutions.

The petition was forwarded to General Gascoyne, and by him duly transmitted through Lord Sidmouth to the Prince.

Distress.

In order to provide funds for employing the poor, a sum of £10,000 was raised on security of dock bonds in sums of £100 to £1000, subscribed by many of the principal merchants and others.

The distress increased throughout the country. The Spa Fields riots took place in London in November and December, which led to serious alarm and very stringent measures.

Grand Duke Nicholas.

On December 31st, 1816, Liverpool was honoured by a visit from the Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia (afterwards Emperor) with a numerous suite, amongst whom were the celebrated General Kutusoff, Baron Nicholay and Sir William Congreve.

In February 1817 a requisition was presented to the mayor, Mr. John Wright, to call a public meeting to consider the subject of a reform in Parliament. The mayor having declined the request, the meeting was held in Clayton Square on February 14th, Colonel Williams in the chair. The numbers present were variously estimated at from 2000 to 10,000. The speakers were nearly the same as those at the meeting in October, and the resolutions an echo of the previous ones. The petitions which resulted from the meeting were signed by 14,000 persons. That to the Commons was presented by the Earl of Sefton on March 10.

Reform in Parliament.

On the opening of Parliament on January 28th, 1817, the Prince Regent had been insulted by the populace on his way to the house. In obedience to a requisition, the High Sheriff convened a general meeting of the county at the Court-House, Preston, on Tuesday, February 25, for the purpose of "addressing the Prince Regent on the late atrocious outrage offered to his Royal person, and of expressing our ardent attachment to his Majesty's person and Government." The Court-House was crammed to excess, great numbers not being able to procure admission. Sir H. Hoghton, Bart., moved a loyal and dutiful address in correspondence with the requisition. This was met by a counter-address, moved by Dr. Crompton of Liverpool, which, whilst lamenting the outrage which had been perpetrated, severely reflected upon the conduct of the Ministry, and prayed his Royal Highness for their dismissal. This led to an animated discussion, in which the leading Liverpool reformers took part. After a debate of two hours' duration, the amended address was carried by a large majority, and forwarded with the signature of the High Sheriff to the Regent.

County meeting.

To counteract these Whig tactics, the Liverpool Tories prepared a loyal declaration, which was deposited at the town-hall and signed by 3934 individuals, "including the mayor, merchants, bankers, clergy, and other respectable inhabitants," to which each affixed his place of residence. The address lamented the distress of the country, applauded the meritorious exertions of his Majesty's Government, and of the Regent, expressed the strongest feelings of indignation at the mischievous arts of designing men in disseminating amongst the people the most atrocious doctrines, and pledged the subscribers to support the lawful exercise of the sovereign authority, to maintain the British constitution with the spirit of Britons, and to resist to

Loyal declaration.

CHAP. IV. 1817.

every extremity those visionary innovators, whose only end and aim is to disturb the public peace and to destroy our civil liberties.

The town-council also voted an address of congratulation to the Regent, breathing a similar spirit.

Suspension of Habeas Corpus.

On March 3, 1817, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended by Parliament, and on the 29th of the same month an Act was passed for restraining seditious meetings. No meeting could be held without previous notice in the newspapers and notice to the clerk of the peace; all political clubs were to be suppressed and prohibited; and all places in which lectures or discussions were held must be previously licensed, or be declared unlawful.

The Liverpool newspapers of March 14 contain announcements of the dissolution of several debating societies in anticipation of the measures then pending. Whilst the political atmosphere was thus agitated and convulsed, the march of improvement could not but be retarded; still some progress was made.

Steam on the Mersey.

The application of steam to the ferries across the Mersey was first adopted in 1817. In February, an announcement was made that a steam-packet was building, "for the purpose of conveying passengers, carriages, horses, etc., across the Mersey with a degree of security, comfort, and despatch, which it is impossible to obtain by any other mode of conveyance. This packet consists of two vessels 65 feet in length, connected by beams, and over the whole is a deck 28 feet wide. She will be propelled by a wheel placed in the centre." Great advantages were promised by the adoption of this plan. The passage was to be very short, and the inconvenience to passengers, and the risk to carriages, inseparable from the use of sail-boats, was to be almost entirely removed. On March 7 the boat was launched and called the "Etna." She first began to ply in connection with Chester Races on May 2, and is advertised to cross from "the new slip at the west side of the Queen's Graving Docks" to Tranmere Ferry pier every half-hour. Passengers were charged 3d. each on week-days and 4d. on Sundays. The dimensions of this passage boat, 65 feet by 28 feet, seem now almost insignificant, but it was a vast stride in advance of anything previously attempted. The boat plied for many years; but her usefulness was much marred by the very inconvenient situation of her landing-place, at the Queen's Dock, a matter of

"Etna" steamer.

necessity in the then existing state of the central piers and stairs, which were only adapted for the sailing-boats then in use.

At this time, travelling from Liverpool into North Wales, chiefly passed by the route of King's Ferry, or by sailing-boat from Parkgate to Bagillt. In June 1817 a steam-packet was advertised to ply across the Dee between these places, continuing to cross from three hours before to three hours after high water, making three passages to and fro each tide. The passengers were conveyed by coach from Parkgate to Tranmere, where a small steamer—the "Regulator" (the second ferry steamer on the river)—brought them on to Liverpool. It may give some idea of the natural change which has taken place in the river Dee during the last half century to record that where at that period a steamboat could cross three hours before and after high water, at the present day a small sailing-boat can barely cross at the summit of the tide. Of course all ferry communication has long since ceased.

Steam on the Dee

On June 28, 1817, a public open-air meeting was held in Clayton Square to petition the Prince Regent and the Houses of Parliament against the further suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. In accordance with the Act for the suppression of seditious meetings, public notice had to be given by responsible parties of their intention to hold such meeting, with the time and place annexed. This notice was signed by seventeen of the leading reformers in the town, including William and Richard Rathbone, David Hodgson (mayor in 1845), Thomas Thornely (afterwards M.P. for Wolverhampton), Joseph Sandars, Robert Preston, J. B. Yates, James Ryley, Thomas Avison, Egerton Smith, etc. Colonel Williams was voted to the chair. The meeting was addressed by Messrs. T. Booth, Joseph Sandars, Egerton Smith, William Rathbone, and others. Resolutions were passed condemnatory of the restrictive measures of the Government, and petitions adopted praying for their repeal.

Public meeting.

A singular physiological problem kept the Liverpool public on the *qui vive* during the autumn of 1817. A Miss M'Avoy, a young lady residing in St. Paul's Square, about seventeen years of age, was attacked by hydrocephalus, and partial paralysis. Her eyes were affected by gutta serena, and she was pronounced by her medical attendants to be entirely blind. Shortly afterwards she was reported to possess the faculty of reading print and distinguishing colours by the touch, her eyes being so completely bandaged as to prevent the possibility of

Miss M'Avoy.

CHAP. IV.

1817 Miss M'Avoy.

deception. The story got wind, and the house in St. Paul's Square became a centre of attraction to the wonder-loving public. There could be no mercenary object to gain by imposture, as the family were respectable and no money was ever received. Many wonderful accounts were published of her capacity of deciphering the smallest print and the most delicate colours in utter darkness as well as with the eyes covered. Dr. Renwick, a physician of eminence, published a pamphlet, in which he gave explicit credence to the new and supernatural faculty. Encouraged in this way, her pretensions assumed a higher flight. She now claimed the faculty of discerning objects at a distance by placing her fingers behind her upon the glass of the window, and was said in this way to have described the figures of persons in the churchyard opposite and the colour of their clothes. This naturally excited some suspicion, which was strengthened by other circumstances. The interposition of any substance between her face and hands deprived her of the faculty of seeing as it were by touch. This she attributed to the necessity for her breath having free and uninterrupted communication with her hands. To obviate this difficulty an ingenious gentleman (Mr. Egerton Smith) contrived a mask which whilst entirely covering the eyes and face, left the breathing free and uninterrupted, and offered to pay twenty guineas, which another gentleman doubled, if Miss M'Avoy with this mask on could read a single line of moderately-sized print. After some equivocation the test was declined, and Miss M'Avoy's pretensions fell to zero and were soon forgotten. There is nothing new under the sun. The brothers Davenport of more recent days, and the modern spiritualists with their mediums, are uniformly found to fail when, as in this instance, brought to the crucial test of practical experiment and common sense.

Election for Mayor.

On St. Luke's Day, 1817, a contested election took place for the mayoralty between Messrs. Thomas Case and Jonathan Blundell Hollinshead. Hitherto it had been usual to close the election in a single day, holding by the letter of the charter, that the mayor must be elected on the day in question, keeping the poll open if necessary until midnight. This was transgressed only in a single instance, the election of 1797, between Staniforth and Brooks, when the poll was kept open for three days. In the contested elections of 1802 and 1803 the returning officers (the retiring mayors) decided that the poll must close at midnight, the choice falling on the candidate who had then the

majority. In the present instance the mayor (Mr. Wright) decided to adjourn the court in spite of the protest of Mr. Blundell Hollinshead, who claimed to have the majority at that hour. This was on Saturday night. After the resumption of the poll on Monday morning Mr. Case was elected, the numbers being: Case, 1020; Hollinshead, 912.[1]

Death of Princess Charlotte.

In November 1817 the nation was plunged into heartfelt grief by the melancholy decease of the Princess Charlotte, on whose future the hopes of the country seemed to be centered. A public meeting was held in the town-hall, under the presidency of the mayor, for the purpose of adopting addresses of condolence to the Prince Regent and to Prince Leopold. When the proposed address to the Regent was read, it was moved by Colonel Williams that the following paragraph should be expunged:

Address.

"We are anxious to embrace this opportunity of renewing to your Royal Highness our sentiments of fidelity and attachment to your Royal Highness's person, and to your illustrious house; and to express our earnest hope that your Royal Highness may long be spared to a loyal and affectionate people."

On a show of hands the amendment was rejected, and the original motion carried by a large majority, with vehement expressions of approbation.

Churchwarden Dennison.

A lively commotion prevailed in the town during a great part of the year 1818, arising out of the vagaries of Mr. Dennison, one of the churchwardens of the parish, which, unlike many other large towns, includes the whole of the original borough. Mr. Dennison entertained the notion that it was the function of the parishioners to pay and of the churchwardens to spend, and up to this idea he fully acted. His colleague was set aside; the parish committee, like H. B.'s caricature of the Duke of Wellington's Cabinet in 1835, was represented by vacant chairs. He erected schools and buildings at his own will and pleasure with the parish money—the Gothic gateway in St. Nicholas's churchyard being a standing monument of his architectural taste. His hospitality (at the parish expense) was almost unbounded. There were weekly dinners at the workhouse on Tuesdays, to which his friends were very freely invited. Sixteen dozen of port at 65s.; £70 worth of Vidonia, and sixteen

[1] Mr. Thos. Case was the son of Jonathan Case of the Red Hazles near Prescot, an estate which had been in the family for some generations. In 1782 he entered Manchester Grammar School. In 1803 he sold the Red Hazles estate to Mr. afterwards Sir Joseph Birch, Bart. He subsequently purchased Thingwell Hall, where he resided.

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gallons of rum, had thus been consumed in the year, besides brandy, jellies, and lemons; 200 gallons of wine were given to the clergy for their private use; £1416 was paid for wine, spirits, and malt liquor within the year; £32 : 15 : 6, for mourning and scarfs for the parish officers attending the funeral of the parish doctor; £11 : 0 : 6 for six gold-laced hats for the constables. These are specimens of the items in the churchwarden's accounts for the year.

Vestry Meeting.

The annual vestry of the parishioners, held on March 24, 1818, was a very stormy one, and Mr. Dennison's conduct met with severe reprehension. The opposition was led by Mr. Joseph Dutton, a Newfoundland merchant, who pursued his opponent from court to court with the pertinacity of a sleuth-hound. The result was that a large proportion of the churchwarden's outlay was disallowed by the Quarter Sessions, besides a considerable amount due and unpaid, for which Mr. Dennison was liable. In addition to this, he was prosecuted at the Lancaster Assizes for a penalty of £20, for refusing inspection of the rate-book, in which he was cast with the expenses. On the whole, his short reign of churchwarden cost him about £2000 out of pocket. An attempt was made some years afterwards to excite public commiseration, with a view to an entire or partial reimbursement, but it met with little success.

Repeal of salt duties.

On April 3, 1818, a public meeting was held in the townhall, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament for a repeal of the duties on salt. At that time, manufactured salt could be exported duty free; but for home consumption a duty of £30 per ton was levied. The effects of this impost were injurious in many ways. The consumption of salt in the whole of the United Kingdom only amounted to 120,000 tons. Had the duty been continued, the alkali manufacture of Great Britain, now so valuable a branch of our export trade, with many other chemical operations, could never have come into existence. Another circumstance which it was impossible to guard against, led to the defrauding of the revenue to a considerable extent. The salt for export having already paid the excise duty, was entitled to a drawback of the amount so paid. Now it is well known that no substance has such an attraction for moisture as common salt. The consequence was that the salt which had paid duty at Northwich in a dry state, when sent down the Mersey for transhipment, added considerably to its weight by the moisture imbibed, on which the drawback of £30 per ton had to be paid,

Salt trade.

to the loss of the revenue and the benefit of the manufacturer. It was not until 1823 that the duty was reduced to £4 per ton; and many further years elapsed before it was finally removed.

Meeting on forging notes.

On April 28, a public meeting was held at the town-hall, under the presidency of the mayor (Mr. Thomas Case), "to consider the propriety of petitioning Parliament to take into consideration the progressive and alarming increase in the crimes of forging and uttering forged Bank of England notes," with a view to some remedy. At this time the English law was perfectly "Draconian" in the number of capital crimes, of which forgery was one of the principal. One pound notes were still the chief medium of ordinary transactions; and notwithstanding the terrors of the law, multitudes were found to brave all the consequences, from the facility with which the crime was committed. The meeting was addressed by Mr. John Gladstone, Mr. John Wood (afterwards M.P. for Preston), Dr. Crompton, and others, and resolutions were passed recommending the revision and amendment of the criminal law.

Election.

In June 1818 Parliament was dissolved, and the new writs were made returnable on August 4. Not disheartened by the result of the contest of 1816, the Whigs looked about for a candidate. In the first instance they applied to Mr. Leyland. A meeting was held on May 12, under the presidency of the Rev. William Shepherd, at which a requisition was adopted and forwarded to that gentleman. On the 19th a reply was received, declining to stand. This gave great umbrage to the reform party, who considered that Mr. Leyland had given them substantial grounds for considering that he was prepared to serve when called on.

Lord Sefton.

Their attention was then directed to the Earl of Sefton, who, at that time only possessing an Irish title, was eligible for a seat in the House of Commons. A meeting was held on June 2, at which it was determined to put Lord Sefton forward as a candidate, Mr. Charles Lawrence being the chairman of the committee.

Canning.

The friends of Mr. Canning had been first in the field, having held a meeting and sent their requisition on April 23. No requisition was forwarded to General Gascoyne, but he issued his address on June 3. The other two candidates issued their addresses on June 10, the day on which Parliament was dissolved. Mr. Canning made his public entry into the town on Wednesday the 17th, being escorted from Low Hill by his friends, with the usual display.

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The same day the following circular was issued :

Dr. Solomon.

Worthy Freemen, and dear Sir,

The honour of your attendance is earnestly requested at Gilead House on Thursday morning next the 18th inst., to proceed with the full band of music and colours to the Tally ; when I shall have the honour personally to accompany you as the friend of Lord Sefton, and the rest of my honest set of staunch fellows, who are in my list of freemen, to regain for yourselves and brave companions the blessings of real freedom.

I am, sir,

Your most faithful, obliged, and very humble servant,

S. Solomon, M.D.

Gilead House, June 16, 1818.

Nomination.

The election commenced on Thursday, June 18. Mr. Canning was proposed by Mr. John Bolton ; seconded by Mr. William Ewart (father of the future member). General Gascoyne was nominated by Mr. J. B. Aspinall ; seconded by Mr. John Wright (the ex-mayor). The Earl of Sefton was proposed by Mr. William Earle ; seconded by Mr. Roger Hunter. At the close of each day's poll Mr. Canning addressed his supporters from the balcony of Colonel Bolton's house in Duke Street. Lord Sefton was represented by his son, Lord Molyneux (afterwards the third earl), who spoke from Mr. Preston's house in Clayton Square. I extract a few passages from Mr. Canning's speeches. At the close of the first day he observed : " Gentlemen, I may be allowed to say that the contest has begun auspiciously. It is not absolutely nothing that we are favoured as we are by the beauty of this day, which enables the immense multitude which I see around me to be assembled without inconvenience, and that we bear in recollection what day this is—the anniversary of the greatest victory that ever crowned the British arms.[1] Gentlemen, all these auspicious circumstances undoubtedly are not peculiar to ourselves ; the same sun which brightens the scene before me shines with impartial light upon our opponents. But there are points upon which those who hold the political opinions which we concur in holding have feelings more peculiarly their own ; because we know to our sorrow, and as Britons to our shame, that there are breasts in which the recollection of the day, of which this is the third anniversary,

Canning's speech.

[1] The battle of Waterloo.

excites no such triumphant sensations as it excites in your breasts and in mine; there are those to whom the recollection of that mighty victory, in which the right arm of Britain struck down the most stupendous tyranny that ever bestrode the world, affords matter rather of regret and lamentation than of unqualified exultation and national pride. Canning's speech.

"But, gentlemen, peace has its triumphs as well as war. If the memory of that battle, which rescued Europe, and in rescuing Europe saved this country from the common lot with which sooner or later it might otherwise have been overwhelmed, is to be cherished in our hearts with everlasting and grateful remembrance, it is not merely because it exalted to the highest pitch the military character of this country; it is not merely because it may be supposed to have shielded us from the evils of a renewed and long protracted conflict; not because it preserved our shores from invasion (for when could these happy shores have seriously to dread being trampled by the foot of the invader?)—not merely that it maintained to Great Britain the rank which she had always vindicated to herself among the nations of the world; but because, through all these means, it contributed to the maintenance of that Constitution from which all our blessings and all our strength, all our power to achieve and all our right to enjoy, are derived; and that Constitution, we have but too much reason to be aware, has, even when the dangers of external attack are past, internal enemies to combat."

Election squibs.

There was a profusion of squibs and lampoons issued during the election, but none of any very great literary merit or smartness. The poet laureate of the Tories (Mr. Silvester Richmond), who had been a strong partisan of "the old general," had transferred his allegiance to Mr. Canning, which is sarcastically alluded to in the following *jeu d'esprit:*

Horace, Book 3, *Ode* 9.

Isaac.—Whilst on your honour I relied—
(Damme, I ne'er did that)—*aside*—
Both Brougham and Creevy I did spurn,
And sat secure for my return.

Sil.—Whilst you forgetting self and son,
Did toil and job for me alone,
Bedizen'd o'er with ribbons blue,
Sil to his Isaac then was true.

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1818. Election squibs.

Isaac.—The LEIGHS[1] alone support my cause,
The man of tallow, man of laws;
To raise the wind in vain I've tried,
This *Leigh-way* ne'er will stem the tide.

Sil.—To GEORGE, that lord of high *controul*,
I've pawned both honour, word, and soul;
Though *sworn* to work at no election,
To him I now look for protection.

Isaac.—If my own son neglecting, I
Should get young SIL a company,
Would you my cause again support,
And leave that minion of the court?

Sil.—If it my interest should be,
I'd even shout for Liberty;
I'd change my scarlet into blue.—
To my own interest ever true.

Coalition.

It would have seemed the most natural thing in the world for the friends of Canning and Gascoyne to have united their forces, professing as they did the same principles; but the word "*coalition*," for some unexplained reason, probably referring to former elections, seems to have been equally obnoxious to both sides. "The odious coalition" was the burden of many of the appeals of the Sefton party; whilst Mr. Canning's committee, and Mr. Canning himself, took the earliest opportunity of repudiating the insinuation as "wholly false and unfounded." Nevertheless, as a matter of fact, the majority of votes on the Tory side, as was natural, were split between Canning and Gascoyne, whilst those for Sefton were plumpers. The mode of voting at that period by alternate tallies of ten at each bar, gave a decided advantage to the coalescing candidates. To obviate this, on the third day Mr. Arthur Heywood was nominated a candidate in order to open another bar. This was met on the other side by the nomination of Colonel John Bolton. Colonel Williams was then proposed on the other side; and to such an extent was this carried, that there were at one time eighteen nominal candidates in the field, besides the three real ones.

Election squibs.

The squibs on the Tory side were for the most part superior

[1] Roger Leigh, tallow-chandler; John Leigh, attorney, father of John Shaw Leigh (mayor in 1841).

in point of ability to those of their opponents. Advantage was taken of the topics of the day. Parodies on Lord Byron's "Beppo" and Moore's "Fudge Family," just published, and on the popular songs of the day, were pressed into the service, whilst some are entirely original. I subjoin a few specimens: Election squibs.

SONG. Tory song.

The Bang up[1] *Peer and his Party.*

The universal suffrage boys, determined on a row,
Declared they'd send a member up, but then the point was how?
First to Leyland they did go, did go,
To Tommy they did go.

Now Tommy thought in Parliament he might have made a splash;
But then thinks he, I'd better far decline, and keep my cash.
So to Sefton they did go, did go,
To Sefton they did go.

Lord Four in hand, the Bang up Peer, in bed was on his back,
Their requisition when he read, he jump'd up in a crack,
And his colours now they show, they show,
His colours now they show.

Says he, I can't attend myself, because you know I'm ill,
But "Dandy" will be with you soon, and dance them a quadrille
When a polling we will go, will go,
A polling we will go.

Then Williams will take post in front and charge up to the poll;
Rebellion in his aspect, and venom on his jowl,
And a polling we will go, etc,

And Shepherd show his squinting face, to know him is a sin,
To any party worthless, most the party that he's in,
And a polling we will go, etc.

There's Casey too, will show his teeth, and when we make the start,
That mountebank Sam Ryley, I'll be bound will play his part,
And a polling we will go, etc.

[1] This was a slang term of the day, borrowed from the sporting world, of which the Earl was a distinguished member. There was a "Bang Up" stage-coach of some celebrity from Liverpool to London.

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Rail fiercely 'gainst the ministers, the government and laws,
King, Lords, and Commons—everything—'tis worthy of the *cause*,
And a polling we will go, etc.

Swear *Cochrane* is a martyr, and *Hunt* a perfect saint,
That *Hone's* a worthy character, and *Burdett* free from taint,
And a polling we will go, etc.

I'll decorate my six young bloods with ribbons pink and green,
Some day among the thick of it, high mounted I'll be seen,
And a polling we will go, etc.

A clever parody of Burns' "Jolly Beggars," was put forth by the Whigs. It is too long to quote entire, but I give a few stanzas :

Whig song.

GLEE FOR THREE VOICES.

Messrs. Ewart, Tayleure, and Myers.

Ye Gentlemen of England,
Next Thursday, if you please,
We advertise some thousand souls,
Which you may buy with ease.

SONG—*Mr. Ewart.*

Who'll buy Mr. Richmond,
Silvester who'll buy ?
He'll be knocked down for nothing, Stubbs,
Don't let us try.

SONG—*Sir Wm. Barton.*

How happy could I be with either,
If my wife was but out of the way,
And since you both please me together,
To her not a word will I say.

SONG—*Mr. Gladstone.*

John Gladstone was as fine a man
As ever graced commercial story.
Till all at once he changed his plan,
And from a Whig became a Tory.

And now he meets his friends with pride,
Yet tells them but a wretched story,
He says not *why* he changed his side,
He *was* a Whig—he's now a Tory.

CONCERTO, JEW'S HARP—*Mr. Taylor.*[1]

TRIO—*Messrs. Thomas, Isaac, and George Littledale.*

There was a pretty man, and he had a pretty song,
A pretty little song it was reckoned, reckoned, reckoned;
And his brother Isaac too, though not quite so slim to view,
Can occasionally help him with the second, second, second.

Then the cousin to the brother, is a six feet high another,
And the jemmy little broker for insurance —surance—surance,
Will walk with them together, if it should but be fine weather,
And the heat is not oppressive past endurance—durance—durance.

SONG—*General Gascoyne.*

The General he is come to town,
Old Ladies lips to smack, sir,
Some votes to take, a show to make,
But as he came, go back, sir,
Yankee doodle, doodle, doo,
Yankee doodle, dandy;
The General's conscience is his guide,
When there is none more handy.

DUET—*Mr. Duff, Mr. Stavert, and full chorus.*

Should dinner-time be e'er forgot,
Nor always kept in min',
Can dinner-time be e'er forgot,
And plenty o' guid wine?
Bring plenty o' guid wine my lads,
Bring plenty o' guid wine,
And we'll tak a richt guid-willie waught,
O' Mr. Canning's wine.

SONG—*Mr. Jonathan Blundell Hollinshead.*[2]

There are freemen of great and small note,
And I go to the bar in a fuss,
Our rival has always a vote;
But d—n the one's coming to us.

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[1] Mr. Taylor went by the sobriquet of "Jew's Harp Taylor." He had an extraordinary talent for playing on this little instrument, which he could make discourse most exquisite music.

[2] This gentleman was in the habit of interlarding his conversation with profane exclamations as described in the text. In October 1818, he was elected mayor. A squib was issued, requesting the freemen to meet early in the day at the Bridewell, to conduct the new mayor to the Town-hall.

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Whig song.

G—d d—n it now, what shall we do,
D—n the fellow there's coming to vote for us,
By G—d we shall never get through.

SONG—*Mr. Hollinshead senior.*

Let not rage, thy bosom firing,
Wisdom's warning voice remove,
Since thy hopes are just expiring,
Leave a scene thou can'st not love. etc. etc.

The "Old General" did not usually keep a poet, but some madcap young wag amongst his canvassers rattled off the following ditty, entitled—

Gascoyne song.

A SONG *dedicated without permission to the Parlour canvassers of District No.* 10.

The roguish lieutenants a kissing will go,
Heigho, the Lieutenants;
The roguish Lieutenants a kissing will go,
Whether their Captain will let them or no,
With their bonny blue ribbands a kissing they go,
Heigho, the Lieutenants.

The lasses all hide their sweet pretty faces,
Heigho for the lasses;
The lasses all hide their sweet pretty faces;
But they love to be kissed for all their grimaces,
With their coying and shying to show off their graces,
Who wouldn't kiss the lasses?

"Oh, give me a ribband, pray do if you please,"
So cry the lasses;
"Oh, give me a ribband, pray do if you please,"
And where's the Lieutenant such angels would tease,
Or see a kind smile ruffled e'en by a breeze,
For the sake of a true blue ribband.

My bonny sweet lass, wear this ribband so blue,
Thus cry the Lieutenants;
My bonny sweet lass, wear this ribband so blue,
'Tis a colour will prove your love faithful and true,
And so may each lover, my lass, prove to you,
True blue, my sweet lasses. etc. etc.

The poll was kept open seven days. At the close the numbers stood: Canning, 1654; Gascoyne, 1444; Sefton, 1280. 2876 freemen recorded their votes, being the largest number ever polled, with the exception of the election in November 1830. Poll.

Lord Molyneux, as the representative of his father, won golden opinions from all parties. He was in the heyday of youthful manhood (aged about 22), with a graceful presence and winning manners. He was not much of an orator, but possessed a magnificent voice, which rang like a trumpet to the remotest corners of the multitudes he addressed. In winding up the election, after the chairing, Mr. Canning, in the course of his speech, paid him the following compliment: Lord Molyneux.

"Gentlemen, There is no one quality which so effectually extracts the gall of political animosity as that generous British spirit which, while it is warm in conflict, is sedate and temperate after victory; which, while it asserts itself, does justice to an enemy. Gentlemen, in this spirit, you will I am sure, agree with me in feeling, and so agreeing, will think that I do right in stating, for myself and you, that the representative of the candidate whose pretensions alone caused the contest—I will name him because I name him with honour—Lord Molyneux, has conducted himself throughout with a propriety, a moderation, a grace as well as a spirit, which, though they have not enabled him to fasten his father's pretensions upon Liverpool, must, I am sure, have established for himself a claim to the good-will and good opinion of his neighbours. Of this young nobleman I had no personal knowledge till I saw him on the hustings; but it is but justice to say, that in a situation so new and trying for so young a man, his whole demeanour has been such as to win, day by day, upon the regard of his opponents." Canning's speech.

On June 29, Mr. Canning's return was celebrated by a public dinner in the Music Hall, Bold Street, Mr. H. Blundell Hollinshead in the chair. In responding to the toast in his honour, Mr. Canning made the following observations, which, illustrated by the light of succeeding events, seem almost like a declaration of faith from the antediluvians: Public dinner.

"Gentlemen, my object in political life has always been, rather to reconcile the nation to the lot which has fallen to them (surely a most glorious and blessed lot among nations!) than to aggravate incurable imperfections, and to point out imaginary and unattainable excellences for their admiration. Canning's speech.

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1818. Canning's speech.

I have done so, because, though I am aware that more splendidly popular systems of government might be devised than that which it is our happiness to enjoy, it is, I believe in my conscience, impossible to devise one in which all the good qualities of human nature should be brought more beneficially into action—in which there should be as much order and as much liberty—in which property (the conservative principle of society) should operate so fairly, with a just but not overwhelming weight—in which industry should be so sure of its reward, talents of their due ascendancy, and virtue of the general esteem.

"The theories of preternatural purity are founded, on a notion of doing away with all these relations, of breaking all the ties by which society is held together. Property is to have no influence, talents no respect, virtue no honours among their neighbourhood. Naked, abstract political rights are to be set up against the authority of nature and of reason; and the result of suffrages thus freed from all the ordinary influences which have operated upon mankind from the beginning of the world, is to be—the erection of some untried system of politics, of which it may be sufficient to say, that it could not last a day—that if it rose with the mists of the morning, it would dissolve in the noontide sun. Gentlemen, one ill consequence of these brilliant schemes, even where they are the visions of unsound imagination, rather than the suggestions of crafty mischief, is, that they tend to dissatisfy the minds of the uninformed with the actual constitution of their country.

"To maintain that constitution has been the unvarying object of my political life; and the maintenance of it, in these latter days, has, I have said, exposed me to obloquy and to hatred—to the hatred of those who believe either their own reputation for sagacity, or their own means of success, to be connected with a change in the present institutions of the country."

Improvements in paving

Down to about this time Liverpool was one of the worst paved towns in the kingdom. The carriage-ways were pitched with rough boulders. Many of the narrow streets had no footways, and were paved in the old continental fashion, with a channel along the middle. Where footways existed, they were paved with small angular pebbles, to which the natives had become hardened, but which on strangers produced the most uncomfortable effect. A few cases in which flags had been laid down on the footways were exhibited to strangers as a

curiosity. The commissioners of the highways at last took heart of grace, and began to flag the footways and macadamise some of the principal streets. Church Street was the first to have the benefit of the improvement. A few years sufficed to render the town second to none in this department.

Gas lighting.

Although gas had been partially introduced and exhibited in the streets in January 1816, and a company formed for its supply to the inhabitants, it was not until the session of 1818 that the lighting of the town was provided for by the Act 58 Geo. III. c. 66, which incorporated the company and settled the terms.

Post-office.

The state of the postal communication at this time attracted attention. Letters from Liverpool for the Continent despatched on Saturday did not leave London until Wednesday morning. This and other impediments had caused the correspondence between Liverpool and the Continent actually to decrease, notwithstanding the general progress in the trade of the town. A public meeting was held on October 2, 1818, in the town-hall, the mayor (Mr. T. Case) in the chair, when a memorial to the Government was adopted, calling attention to the grievance and praying for its redress.

On October 9 the first stone of the church for the blind in Hotham Street was laid by the Bishop of Chester with considerable *éclat*. There was a procession of the mayor and council, the clergy, and principal inhabitants, on foot and in carriages, with the pupils of the school. The freemasons also attended in force with their insignia, the ceremony being performed with full masonic honours.

Sir Francis Burdett.

On December 4, 1818, Sir Francis Burdett, then in the zenith of his popularity, was entertained at a public dinner by the Liverpool Concentric Society of Reformers. Nearly 300 guests sat down at table, under the presidency of the Rev. William Shepherd. In the course of the chairman's remarks, alluding to the name of the society, he observed: "It is the object of the founders of the Concentric Society to unite the various classes and descriptions of reformers in one close system of benevolence, candour, and liberality to each other; and in a firm phalanx as opposed to our common foes, the advocates of corruption.

Speech of Shepherd.

"Upon the general question of the necessity of a reform, the members of the Concentric Society are united in opinion. And they gather the necessity of this reform from speculation, and from what Mr. Pitt was wont to denominate—'experience and the evidence of facts.' They well know the present composition

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1818. Speech of Shepherd.

of the House of Commons. They well know the nature of ministerial boroughs. They thoroughly understand, also, the operations of those parts of the community vulgarly known by the name of borough-mongers. They are well aware that, by the proceedings of these men, the authority, or I should rather say the power, to legislate and to decide upon the dearest rights and interests of Britons, is made a marketable commodity, a subject of bargain and sale; ay, as much so as a bale of cotton or a hogshead of tobacco. They well remember that the members of that honourable house—for honourable it must be called by courtesy—have been told to their faces—and none of them had audacity sufficient to deny the allegation—that seats in that honourable house are as much a matter of letting and hire as stalls at a cattle-fair. They ask, are these things right? are they honest? are they consistent with the principles of justice and common sense? are they consistent with the principles of the British Constitution? Of such a system they further ask, is it, or can it possibly come to good?" Sir Francis Burdett's speech was an echo of similar sentiments. The meeting was also addressed by Sir Charles Wolseley, Bart., Colonel Williams, Mr. Egerton Smith, and others.

Thomas Campbell, the poet, in the autumn of 1818, delivered a course of lectures on poetry at the Royal Institution.

Depression of Trade.

The year 1819 opened with general complaints as to the state of trade and industry. A paragraph having appeared in the *Scotsman* newspaper that "Liverpool is the only place where trade is not complained of, and that is on account of its vast shipping concerns;" the Liverpool newspapers hastened to dispel the illusion. One of them states "that there never was a period in our recollection when pecuniary embarrassments, distress, and dismay, were so conspicuous as at the present. Scarcely a day passes over our heads without some commercial failures; and every man we meet in the street has something to tell us about returned bills, or the absolute impossibility of obtaining payments."[1] Another says: "It is acknowledged by every one that commerce was never in such a situation as at present. Property of every kind is depreciating daily. The recent failures will produce the most disastrous effect, and many, who are not in the slightest degree injured by them directly, must very soon be seriously affected by the destruction of all confidence."[2]

[1] *Mercury*, May 7, 1819.
[2] Gore's *Advertiser*, April 22, 1819.

1819. Increase of shipping.

If from this gloomy picture we turn to the actual returns, it is evident that, whether carried on to a profit or a loss, the trade of the town was rapidly increasing. The statistics for the three years 1817, 1818, 1819, are as follows:

	No. of ships.	Tonnage.	Dock dues.
1817 . . .	6079	653,425	£75,889
1818 . . .	6779	754,690	98,538
1819 . . .	7849	867,318	110,127

Gold currency.

The question of the Bank Restriction Act and the return to cash payments occupied the public attention in the early part of 1819. For some reason or other, the proposed return to a gold currency did not find favour with some of the leading Liverpool merchants. A petition was privately prepared, it was said by some of Mr. Canning's chief supporters, against the proposed change, and carried about for signature. Similar petitions were also presented from Leeds and Halifax, which Mr. Canning admitted, on a question from Mr. Tierney in the House, had really originated in Liverpool. On Tuesday, February 2d, a secret committee was appointed by the House of Commons to inquire and report on the subject, of which Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Peel was appointed chairman. On May 6th the committee presented their report, which recommended the gradual return to cash payments and a gold currency, to be completed by May 1, 1823. This report was adopted with some trifling modifications, and has ever since remained the law of the land.

Trial of Kinnear.

In April 1819 a rather remarkable trial took place in the Court of King's Bench, "The King against Kinnear and others," for conspiracy to defraud. John Kinnear had been a merchant in Liverpool. He was said to have transacted business to a greater extent than any merchant hitherto known. He had agents for the receipt and remittance of goods in almost all parts of the world. His precise returns in trade were never accurately known: some saying that he returned one million every year, some two millions, and others even as far as three millions in the year.

These extensive transactions being based on little or no capital, and maintained by a system of floating bills, at length came to an end. He became bankrupt, with assets almost nil. When he came to attend the meeting of creditors he drove up in a chariot and four, stating in reply to remonstrance that his time was too valuable for paltry economies of that kind.

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Trial of Kinnear.

He then left Liverpool for London, where he joined a gang of swindlers, who by false pretences defrauded merchants in Manchester, Glasgow, and elsewhere, to a large amount. The charge in the indictment was "that the defendants had combined to set up certain persons who were mere beggars, as merchants of credit and opulence; that they had placed funds in their hands in order to enable them to pay ready money in the first instance, to induce various subjects of his Majesty to give them credit; and that they intended to convert the goods so obtained to unfair ends, and to deceive those who had entrusted them to their care." Three of the defendants, Kinnear, Woolf, and Levy, were convicted. Kinnear was sentenced to imprisonment for two years in the gaol at Ilchester; Woolf to imprisonment in Coldbath Fields for two years, and to pay a fine of £10,000; Levy to be imprisoned in the gaol of Gloucester for two years, and to a pay fine of £5000. It was stated that the conspirators had realised very large amounts by these nefarious transactions.

Atlantic steamers.

On Sunday, June 20, 1819, the first steamer which ever crossed the Atlantic arrived in Liverpool. She was called the "Savannah," commanded by Captain Rogers, brother of Commodore Rogers, and made the passage from Savannah in twenty-six days. She was on her voyage to St. Petersburg, intended as a present to the Emperor Alexander. Although only 319 tons burthen, she was considered a splendid specimen of naval architecture. The leviathans of modern days were at that period altogether beyond conception. A steamer was launched at Greenock in June of this year, of the burthen of 200 tons, said to be the largest hitherto built in Britain.

Clyde steamers.

In August 1819 the "Robert Bruce" steamer was advertised to sail regularly between Liverpool and Greenock, and the "Waterloo" between Liverpool and Belfast, being the first steam communication between these places. The latter boat was shortly afterwards transferred to convey passengers between Liverpool and Dublin.

Orange riots.

On July 12 in this year a serious riot took place, in consequence of a public procession of the Orange societies. The procession, accompanied by music and banners, with the usual Orange insignia—the lamb, the ark, the Bible, men dressed in ermine, pontifical robes, leopard skins, etc.—attended divine service at the parish church of St. Peter where a sermon was preached, and afterwards paraded the principal streets. At the

east end of Dale Street a large party of Irish were assembled, armed with brickbats and stones, and at a given signal a violent attack was made. The members of the society, not numbering more than a hundred, were knocked down and trampled on, the banners torn, and the staves broken into cudgels. No lives were lost, but many of the Orangemen were seriously injured. The police arrangements at this time were weak and imperfect. The town was kept in a state of uproar and alarm for a great part of the day. The ringleaders of the mob were, however, secured. At the Borough Sessions in July eleven of them were tried for a misdemeanour, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. The Whig party took up the cause of these men, and opened a subscription for their wives and families. On October 19, on the expiration of their term of durance, they were received with acclamations by an assembled crowd, and decorated with green cockades and ribbons.

Orange riots.

Rise of Birkenhead.

The whole of the Cheshire coast up to this period remained in a rural and pastoral condition; but the introduction of steam gave such facilities for intercourse, that enterprise soon found opportunity for its exercise. On Monday, July 26, the first stone of St. Mary's Church, Birkenhead, was laid by Lord Kenyon. The building was designed by Thomas Rickman, and erected at the expense of Mr. Francis Richard Price, of Bryn-y-Pys, Flintshire, lord of the manor of Birkenhead. The same paragraph which gives this information also announces that a commodious hotel was in course of building, and would shortly be opened, surrounded by luxuriant scenery and beautiful gardens, with an adjoining building for baths and a commodious pier and landing-place. Half-a-century has since elapsed. The hotel has run its course, and has been removed off the face of the earth. The gardens are converted into the world-famed shipbuilding establishment of Messrs. Laird, and the beautiful scenery is now the site of a large, busy, and dingy town. The ruins of the old Priory still remain, shut up in a corner, as if retiring from the strange aspect of the modern upstart world, only serving to remind us of the England that has passed away.

Birkenhead.

Peterloo massacre.

August 16, 1819, will be rendered ever memorable in the history of Lancashire as the date of what is called by one party the Peterloo massacre, and by another the Manchester riots. Political opinions would be quite out of place in a work like the present; I only allude to the facts for the purpose of recording

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1819. Peterloo massacre.

the manner of their reception in Liverpool. A large concourse of people assembled in the then open fields round St. Peter's Church, Manchester, to consider, as stated in the announcement, "the most legal and effectual means of obtaining a reform in the Commons House of Parliament." The great demagogue, Hunt, was present as leader and chairman. According to one account the meeting had just commenced, and was proceeding peaceably and quietly, when, without previous warning, the Manchester Yeomanry Cavalry, about one hundred in number, charged upon the unarmed multitude, sabre in hand, and cut down all within their reach. The opposite account attributes to the assembly all the preparations and aspect of a riot, and alleges that the attack of the cavalry was provoked, and that it really prevented greater mischief. The latter version was adopted by the Government, who thanked the Manchester magistrates for their judicious conduct in suppressing the alleged riots. A very painful state of excitement was caused throughout the country by this untoward event.

Public meetings.

In Liverpool a requisition was presented to the mayor on August 23 to call a public meeting, "to consider the propriety of addressing his Royal Highness the Prince Regent; vindicating those who are friendly to the constitutional measure of a reform in Parliament from the calumnies which the Ministry and many of the magistrates of the county have lately thrown out respecting them; and earnestly exhorting his Royal Highness . . . to pay the earliest possible attention to the rights of an unrepresented people." The mayor refused to call the proposed meeting, which was then called together by public advertisement, and was held in Clayton Square, on Monday, August 30, Colonel Williams in the chair. The mayor issued a placard, suggesting that, to avoid tumult and disorder, those who disapproved of the objects of the meeting should refrain from attending. The Liverpool Light Horse were mustered, and a multitude of special constables sworn in, to guard against a possible breach of the peace. The rain fell in torrents, but the public excitement was so great, that a very large number of people were in attendance. The meeting was addressed by the chairman, by the Rev. W. Shepherd, and Messrs. Ottiwell and John Wood, Egerton and John Smith, and Rushton. An address was voted to the Prince Regent calling for a reform in the Commons House of Parliament.

Public meetings were held in London and in most of the

principal towns in the kingdom condemnatory of the proceedings of the magistrates in Manchester, and calling for a rigid inquiry. A requisition was presented to the mayor of Liverpool to call a public meeting for this purpose, which was refused. On September 29 a meeting was held in Clayton Square, according to announcement, "to consider the propriety of presenting a petition to the Prince Regent, praying his Royal Highness to institute a strict, solemn, and efficient inquiry into the proceedings which took place at Manchester on and subsequent to the 16th day of August last." Public meetings.

The Earl of Sefton took the chair, and strongly recommended that no other topic should be introduced but the necessity of a full inquiry into the lamentable occurrence. The meeting was addressed by the Rev. W. Shepherd, Messrs. Joseph Sandars, Edward Rushton, William Rathbone, Colonel Williams, Dr. Crompton, and others. Dr. Crompton endeavoured to diverge into a disquisition on reform, which caused some disturbance, which was quelled by the chairman ruling that the subject was irrelevant to the purpose of the meeting. An address to the Prince Regent was adopted, which received 10,400 signatures.

Contests for the mayoralty.

During several successive years about this time the mayoralty seems to have been an honour somewhat highly coveted, the five elections from 1817 to 1821 having been all contested ones. On St. Luke's day, 1819, two candidates were proposed, Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Tobin and Mr. Thos. Leyland, banker, who was put forward by the Whig party on every possible occasion, whether for mayor or member of Parliament. A brisk poll ensued, which was terminated within the day in favour of Mr. Tobin, by 722 votes to 683. A statement was made at the time, and not contradicted, that every freeman who voted for Mr. Tobin received a ticket which entitled him to six shillings on demand. This was probably considered as compensation for the loss of a day's work.

Cobbett.

In November 1819 William Cobbett returned from America by way of Liverpool. He arrived on Sunday the 21st, but was detained in the river by the quarantine regulations until Tuesday the 23d. He was received on the quay by a great crowd, who hailed his landing by loud cheers. The following statement is very characteristic: "On Wednesday morning he proceeded to the Custom-house, whither his luggage had been brought up from the vessel to undergo the usual inspection, and where a

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Cobbett.

great number of persons had congregated to see him. When the last trunk was opened, and sundry deeds and manuscripts removed, a division of woollen appeared; and Mr. Cobbett, standing up, said to the surrounding spectators, 'Here are the bones of the late Thomas Paine!' This intelligence excited a sudden and visible sensation, and the crowd pressed forward to see the contents of the package. Mr. Cobbett remarked, that 'Great indeed must that man have been whose very bones attract such attention.' The officer took out the coffin-plate inscribed, 'Thomas Paine, aged 74, died 8th June, 1809;' and having lifted up several of the bones, replaced the whole and passed them."

On Friday, the 26th, Mr. Cobbett attended a public meeting in Clayton Square, and addressed a considerable multitude from an open carriage. In the evening he was entertained at a public dinner, to which about sixty gentlemen sat down, the beverage drank being chiefly water: Cobbett himself being a water-drinker long before the profession of teetotalism was customary. Mr. Cobbett spoke in his usual racy style. The meeting was also addressed by Mr. Edward Rushton, Mr. John Smith, and others of his admirers.

Demolition of Tower.

In consequence of necessary improvements in Water Street, the corporation resolved to demolish the venerable old Tower, which had been identified with the history of the town for 500 years. The record of its history is reserved for a future chapter. The materials were sold by auction for £200 on Friday, December 10, 1819, and the building was soon afterwards removed.

Address to Hobhouse.

On December 27 a meeting of the Whig party was held for the purpose of adopting an address to Mr. John Cam Hobhouse (Sir J. C. Hobhouse, afterwards Lord Broughton). Mr. Hobhouse, in addressing a public meeting at Westminster, held to remonstrate against the so-called Manchester massacre, had made use of very strong language on the Parliamentary proceedings. This was held to be a contempt of Parliamentary privilege, and on the Speaker's warrant he was arrested by the sergeant-at-arms and committed to Newgate. The Liverpool address was numerously signed and presented, which brought forth a suitable reply. Owing to the demise of the Crown, and the consequent prorogation of Parliament, Mr. Hobhouse was set at liberty on February 28.

Suffering of the poor.

During the winter of 1819-20, owing to want of employ-

ment and the severity of the weather, the poor suffered greatly. A subscription was entered into for their relief, which realised £1460 : 13 : 3.

Presentation to Blundell Hollinshead.

In January 1820, Mr. Jonathan Blundell Hollinshead, who had filled the civic chair in 1818-19, was presented by a public subscription with a handsome testimonial of plate, consisting of a candelabrum, a pair of soup tureens and covers, and a pair of wine coolers, bearing the following inscription: "To Jonathan Blundell Hollinshead, Esq., Mayor of Liverpool, in grateful remembrance of his public services, and particularly of his improving the principal approach to the centre of the town by the widening of Dale Street, these five pieces of plate are respectfully presented by a considerable number of his fellow-townsmen, 1819."

Death of George III.

On January 29, 1820, old King George III departed this life, and was succeeded by "the first gentleman in Europe." The day of the deceased monarch's interment, February 16, was observed in Liverpool with great solemnity. The shops were closed, and business of all kinds was suspended. Divine service was celebrated in all the places of worship.

Reign of George III.

The close of the reign of George III. is coincident with an important change in our commercial history. The reign had been on the whole a prosperous one for the country, though marked with some serious disasters. We had lost our British American Colonies; but had gained in their stead Canada, many of the West India Islands, and the Cape Colony. India, where the commencement of the reign recognised only a few penal settlements held on sufferance, had grown at its close into a mighty empire. British manufactures had subsidised a powerful ally in the force of steam, which opened the way to unlimited dominion over the powers of nature; and commerce had begun experimentally to test the capacity of the same force for dominion over the ocean. The population had more than doubled, and wealth had increased in more than an equal proportion. All this, however, was on what might be called the old lines. These were soon to be overstepped, and a wide and boundless domain opened up to British enterprise. The locomotive powers of steam, both by sea and land, aided by the facilities of the electric wire, were soon to revolutionise all commercial operations, and to give an impulse ever accelerating to British industry. Nor was progress confined to the material elements of prosperity. Improved laws, better fiscal regulations, oppressive duties re-

General progress.

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pealed, restrictions on commerce abolished, defects in our constitution amended, religious disabilities swept away—these are a few of the directions in which public opinion was soon to advance. The remainder of our story will indicate the part taken by Liverpool in aiding and contributing to these onward movements.

CHAPTER V.

NINETEENTH CENTURY.—REIGNS OF GEORGE IV. AND WILLIAM IV.—1820-1837.

On Saturday, February 19, the ceremony of proclaiming the new monarch was performed with all suitable splendour. The bells struck up merry peals, flags floated on all the public buildings, and a new royal standard, prepared for the occasion, waved from the town-hall. All the ships in the docks and harbour displayed their national flags, and brought out every strip of bunting. A procession was organised on a very extensive scale. It was headed by the Liverpool Light Horse and a detachment of the 71st Regiment, at that time quartered in the town. The various trades and societies followed, with their flags and insignia, accompanied by bands of music. The mayor was accompanied by the magistrates, clergy, council, and principal inhabitants, who vied with each other in the exuberant display of loyalty. The procession paraded the principal streets, the proclamation being read at the town-hall, at the market-place (at that time round St. George's Church), and at the Custom-house. On the return of the procession the military formed in two lines along Castle Street and fired four volleys, after which the bands struck up "God Save the King," amid the huzzas of the people.

Proclamation.

On Thursday, February 24, a meeting was called by the mayor at the town-hall, pursuant to a requisition, "For the purpose of considering the propriety of addressing his present Majesty, condoling with him on the death of his venerated parent, and congratulating him upon his own accession to the throne of these realms." The meeting was very numerously attended by persons of all political parties. A loyal and dutiful address was moved by Mr. J. B. Hollinshead, seconded by Mr. William Rathbone, and unanimously adopted. A scene then took place of a somewhat tumultuous and rather ridiculous character. It had been arranged that one gentleman of each

Meeting to address the King.

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party should be united with the mayor in the presentation of the address, and Messrs. Adam Lodge and Richard Rawson were nominated for the purpose; but—"Dis aliter visum est." A quaker gentleman in the body of the meeting wore his hat on his head, which was rudely knocked off by one of his neighbours. This brought up Mr. Rushton, the "fiery Hotspur" of the period, who protested warmly against the interference, and called on the mayor for protection. Mr. Rathbone—himself a Quaker—stood up before the mayor, and placing his hat on his head, indignantly insisted on the right of every sect to maintain their own conscientious opinions. Mr. Adam Lodge took the opposite view, and loudly exclaimed: "If people will not conform to the decorums of society, they ought to keep out of that society." This was received with a storm of disapprobation; and when Mr. Lodge's name was proposed it was negatived, and the names of Messrs. Hollinshead and Rathbone agreed on.

Meeting to address the King.

Adam Lodge.

This incident gave rise to the following epigram:—

THE FALL OF ADAM.

Big with the prospects of his future fate,
Lo! polished Adam, as he sits elate,
Chuckles to think how soon, 'midst plaudits loud,
The vote shall pass from the discerning crowd,
That he shall bear our homage to the throne,
Present the town's address, and show his own;
How soon 'mong lords and ministers he'll range,
And how much longer he will be on change:
Nay, who can tell (delightful thought to Madam)
If Tobin rise "Sir John," he may—"Sir Adam."
O! ill-starr'd mortal, that a Quaker's hat
Should blight thy harvest, lay thy honours flat,
And doom thee 'stead of bows from knights and earls,
To stay at home, and mind thy "*pots and pearls.*"[1]

The address was presented in due course; and at the levée, on May 11, Mr. Tobin received the honour of Knighthood.

Election.

The new Parliament was called for April 21, 1820; the election was fixed for March 8.

The friends of Mr. Canning were early in the field, having

[1] Mr. Adam Lodge belonged to the firm of Lodges and Tooth, American Merchants, who dealt largely in "Pot and Pearl Ashes."

summoned a meeting for February 18, two days after the funeral of the deceased king. His address soon after appeared. General Gascoyne's address is dated February 18. The Whigs were sadly at a loss for a candidate. They first presented a requisition to Dr. Crompton, signed by 1000 inhabitants, to which he favourably replied on March 3. Not content with this, a meeting was held at the Tennis Court, Gradwell Street, on March 7, when it was resolved, notwithstanding all their previous disappointments, again to put forward the name of Mr. Leyland. Two other addresses were issued, one in the name of Watkin Llewellyn Jones, Bampton House, Glamorganshire; the other in the name of Constantine Wyvill, Blechington Park, Yorkshire. Whether these were genuine, or mere political squibs, I have no means of ascertaining; most probably the latter.

Nomination.

On Wednesday, March 8, the election began. Mr. Canning was proposed by Colonel Bolton, seconded by Mr. H. B. Hollinshead; General Gascoyne was nominated by Mr. J. B. Aspinall, seconded by Mr. John Leigh. Dr. Crompton had for his proposer Colonel Williams, seconded by Mr. R. E. Harvey; Mr. Leyland was proposed by Mr. John Harvey, seconded by Mr. Edward Rushton.

Election.

The contest was hopeless from the first. The whole was a mere farce, or rather it was considered by the Whigs as a protest against corruption and influence. Mr. Rushton concluded a vigorous philippic on the hustings against Mr. Canning with the following words:—"The Right Honourable gentleman, since his arrival in Liverpool, has added another title to those he has already acquired. He has waved the wand and muttered the spell of the magician; and that phantom, which in 1816 he thought to treat with contempt, again appears before him. No wonder he should be appalled by its reappearance for it is the ghost of that freedom which he and his coadjutors have so basely murdered; and whenever he presents himself at the bar of the public, this awful shade shall appear before him; nor shall it be appeased until strict justice be administered between the oppressor and the oppressed."

Mr. Canning's wit and skill in repartee never shone brighter than in his speeches at this election. It was meat and drink to this consummate master of fence to receive the attack of some rash and inexperienced political opponent, whose furious lunge he would quietly parry, and in the twinkling of an eye transfix

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him with his merciless wit. At this election he had ample scope for this propensity. Dr. Crompton, of Eton House,[1] one of the candidates (father of the late Mr. Justice Crompton), was one of the class preferred by Cæsar—

> Let me have men about me that are fat,
> Sleek-headed men, and such as sleep o' nights.

His jolly, rotund person was the incarnation of good humour. His proposer and principal supporter, Colonel Williams, was of the very opposite character. Of a lean, wiry person, the milk of human kindness in him seemed to have turned sour. As a magistrate he was the terror of small delinquents, and the *bête noire* of the country waggoners. His election addresses partook of the acidity of his temperament. The rasp and the file were the weapons the readiest to his hand. It will easily be seen what a temptation this "par nobile fratrum" presented to the exercise of Canning's trenchant weapon. I will quote an instance or two.

Dr. Crompton.

Dr. Crompton, in his speech on the hustings after his nomination, remarked: "A rumour has been spread abroad that my opposition to the return of our late representatives is wholly vexatious. Fool indeed should I be to come forward and put myself to every inconvenience in a place where I live, to such a purpose; and still greater fool to expose myself thereby to the severe censures of Mr. Canning, whose exquisite wit and humour can turn into ridicule everything, both sacred and human. The impartial page of history informs us that Nero fiddled while Rome burned. Mr. Canning smiled when Colonel Williams flashed his crimes in his face."

The mayor here interposed, requesting the worthy doctor not to indulge in personalities, and assuring him of his protection. The doctor continued:

"I thank you, Mr. Mayor, for the offer of your protection, but I fear not the face of man. I was observing, when I was interrupted, that while *Rome* fiddled *Nero* burned. (Laughter). I meant to say, that while Rome burned Nero fiddled. But I

[1] Peter Crompton, M.D., came of an old Lancashire family, of which a branch was settled in Derbyshire. He died 23d January 1833, aged 68, leaving five sons and three daughters. Charles, the second son, was raised to the Bench as one of the puisne Justices of the Common Pleas. One of his daughters married the Rev. Llewellyn Davies, rector of Marylebone, another married Mr. R. Hutton, sometime M.P. for Dublin.

cannot smile amidst the ruins of my country. When I look at what England was in the days of her glory, when there was plenty in every cottage of the realm, and look at what she now is, my heart sinks within me. When I see Englishmen oppressed in the manner they are, then my indignation is roused. I am indignant at seeing their hard earnings squandered away on useless placemen and pensioners."

To this Mr. Canning replied at the close of his speech, as follows:

Canning's speeches.

"My new antagonist has touched upon a variety of general topics into which I am not disposed to follow him; but he has addressed nothing personally to me, except some vague and, I do assure him, most exaggerated apprehensions of the treatment which he may expect at my hands. I have already assured you, sir, that on the present occasion I had no intention of saying anything; but even my silence was not safe from the scrutinising jealousy of the worthy doctor, for it seems he discerned something in my looks while the honourable colonel was speaking, which alarmed him for the colonel's safety and his own. I smiled? If I did so, I assure him it was a smile of complacency, or perhaps of amusement, but in no degree of contumely or evil intention. The honourable doctor, indeed, has tempted me somewhat high with his references to ancient history—with his allusion to the conflagration of Rome, and to the Emperor Nero's musical accomplishments. Of that allusion I have not, to this moment, made out the application; but if he intended (which seems the most probable solution of it) to compare the honourable colonel's eloquence to a conflagration, and his own to a musical instrument, I have only to hope that if I offended by smiling at the colonel's fire, I may have made atonement by looking grave at the doctor's fiddling."

During the progress of the election it had been announced that Colonel Williams was to stand for the representation of the county, to be proposed by Dr. Crompton. In his closing speech, after his election and chairing, Mr. Canning thus alludes to the circumstance: "It was surely no small presumption, especially on the part of those who are continually declaiming against the undue interference of powerful individuals, and against the servile surrender of the freedom of election—it was no small presumption, I say, for any such party to think that they might with one hand grasp the representation of Liverpool, and with the other indicate the representative of the county.

CHAP. V. 1820. Canning's speeches.

Gentlemen, the process by which this twofold operation was to be brought about was one of a curious kind. It reminds me of what I have read in some of the political pamphlets of, I believe, the reign of Queen Anne, of an empiric, who, not liking to sound his own praises, but wishing to have them sounded, hit upon a notable expedient of obtaining the benefit without incurring the reproach, of such a proclamation. A youth preceded him in the crowd, crying with a loud voice, 'My father cures all sorts of diseases.' The doctor marched behind him, with a sedate and solemn step, simply declaring, 'The youth says true.' Now, Colonel Williams appears to have acted, on our hustings, the part of the ingenuous youth, when he proposed Dr. Crompton to you as a healer of all the diseases of the political constitution. Dr. Crompton followed, with a modest and measured pace, not singing his own praises, but admitting the truth of the praises which had been sung.

"But one good turn deserves another; and the operation in hand was, as I have described it, twofold. The peculiar inducement held out to you to receive Dr. Crompton as your representative was, that he was in possession of some great specific which would enable him to restore peace to the community, and to heal the differences by which the nation is unfortunately distracted. What this panacea was we could never extract from the doctor on the hustings. Thus much only could we learn, that it was some cabalistic name which he was to pronounce upon the hustings at Lancaster, which would still the popular storm and diffuse liberty and contentment throughout the country. Well, when the time arrived, and Dr. Crompton departed for Lancaster, we found that the scene exhibited a few days before at Liverpool was to be acted over again at the county town, with a change only in the order of the *dramatis personæ*. Dr. Crompton was now to be the herald of the praises of his proposer; and the name of Williams, pronounced in the Shire-hall, was the charm by which the county was to be lulled into peace and exalted into glory. Colonel Williams's election for the county was the prescription by which all diseases were to be healed. Pity that the county should reject the dose; but natural enough that, after that rejection, you should upon his return to you reject the doctor."

There were a considerable number of squibs issued, but none of any very special merit. The prose portion was principally distinguished either by dulness or scurrility. One or two of

the poetical ones may be picked out for notice. It must be remembered that scarlet was Mr. Canning's colour; blue, General Gascoyne's; and pink and green, those of the Whigs.

Election squibs.

Whig song.

UP WITH THE PINK.

Britannia's sun, not yet gone down,
Through many a garish cloud is gleaming,
With lightning glance, and louring frown,
On hostile flag and pennon streaming.
"Ah woe," she cries, "my vaunted blue
Hath joined the warrior's scarlet hue,
To girdle round corruption's crest,
Or badge the fallen bondsman's breast."

She deems it hard, those colours bright,
Of glory erst a joint partaker,
Should, when the foe has leagued his might,
In peril's trying hour forsake her.
She mourns the gallant soldier's dye
Should bloom on Freedom's enemy;
Or that her veteran navy blue,
Should blossom 'midst corruption's crew.

"My sons," she cries, "the hour is meet,
The bribe or threat, if nobly spurning,
Thoul't crush the hydra 'neath thy feet,
Which busy coalition's forming.
Go drain the gold from every vein,
Till not a fang or head remain;
Arise an infant Hercules,
And robe thyself in mightiness."

Then freemen rise for victory,
And prize the boon your fathers gave you,
For when the hour of danger's nigh,
No earthly power but that can save you.
Then raise the rose, and let it tower,
Enwreathed with green o'er every flower,
Up with the pink the rallying cry,
A glorious fall or victory.

The discomfiture of the Whigs was celebrated by the Tories in the following triumphant strain, probably from the pen of Mr. Richmond:

CHAP. V. 1820. Election squibs. Tory song.

Good Doctor, I fear we shall make a bad bout of it,
Indeed, from the poll there can be little doubt of it,
Our mob are so downcast they can't make a shout of it,
Before, I ne'er knew them to fail.

Dear, dear, what can the matter be?
Denison[1] tell me, what can the matter be?
Where can cadaverous Harvey the hatter be?
We can never get on without ale.

Of Canning beware, he's confounded satirical,
Your plans of reform he pronounces empirical,
If you get off scot free 'twill be next to a miracle,
At retort he was ne'er found to fail.

Dear, dear, what can the matter be?
Radicals tell me, what can the matter be?
Where can Egerton's[2] puns and his clatter be?
I fear that all will not avail.

Billy Shepherd[3] they say is laid up with the gout again,
And none left but impudent Rushton to spout again;
Vagabond Ryley declines to come out again,
Because he can't get any ale.

Dear, dear, what can the matter be?
Skeleton Ryley never will fatter be;
Where can Ottiwell's son[4] with his chatter be?
In vain he may bluster and rail.

George Williams has vanished since Canning so cut him up,
The Preston pot-wallopers won't even put him up,
Unless he grows cooler 'tis better to shut him up,
Instantly nought can avail.

Dear, dear, what can the matter be?
Oh, Peter Woods, declare what can the matter be?
Where can our friends so used to bespatter be?
All absconded for want of some ale.

Poll.

The poll continued open seven days, and at the close the

[1] Henry Denison, attorney, Castle Street.
[2] Egerton Smith, editor of the "Mercury" newspaper.
[3] Rev. William Shepherd, of Gateacre.
[4] This refers to Mr. John Wood, M.P. for Preston, son of Ottiwell Wood.

numbers stood: Canning, 1635; Gascoyne, 1552; Crompton, 345; Leyland, 125.

1820. Chairing.

The chairing took place the day after the election. After parading the principal streets, Mr. Canning addressed his supporters from the windows of Colonel Bolton's house, Duke Street.

On Saturday, March 18, Mr. Canning was entertained at a public dinner in the Music Hall, Colonel Bolton in the chair. On this occasion the great orator expounded his political faith in one of the most finished and elaborate speeches he ever delivered.

Canning and Sidmouth.

During the election, amongst the many bitter attacks made on Mr. Canning, he was charged with serving under Lord Sidmouth, whom in earlier years he had lampooned in his powerful satiric vein. The reference was to a *jeu d'esprit*, perpetrated by Canning in his youth on Lord Sidmouth (then Mr. Addington), who commonly went under the sobriquet of "the Doctor." I append it here as a matter of curiosity. There can be no doubt of its authenticity, as its authorship was publicly attributed to Canning by Mr. Ponsonby in a debate in the House of Commons and not denied. It is entitled

A PARODY.

My name's the Doctor; on the Berkshire hills
My father purged his patients—a wise man,
Whose constant care was to increase his store,
And keep his eldest son—myself—at home.
But I had heard of politics, and longed
To sit within the Commons House, and get
A place, and luck gave what my sire denied.
Some thirteen years ago, or ere my fingers
Had learn'd to mix a potion, or to bleed,
I flatter'd Pitt; I cringed, and sneaked and fawned,
And thus became the Speaker. I alone,
With pompous gait, and peruke full of wisdom,
Th' unruly members could control, or call
The House to order.
Tir'd of the chair, I sought a bolder flight,
And grasping at his power, I struck my friend,
Who held that place that now I've made my own.
Proud of my triumph, I disdained to court
The patron hand which fed me—or to seem
Grateful to him who raised me into notice.

CHAP. V. 1820. Canning and Sidmouth.

And when the king had called his Parliament
To meet him here convened in Westminster,
With all my fam'ly crowding at my heels,
My brothers, cousins, followers, and my son,
I show'd myself *Prime Doctor* to the country.
My end's attained, my only aim has been
To keep my place—and gild my humble name.

This was the last appearance of Mr. Canning on the hustings at Liverpool. Before finally taking leave of the scene, let me record a circumstance which manifests the kindness of heart and generosity of the great statesman. I have often mentioned above the name of Mr. Edward Rushton as a leading speaker of the reform party, and an especial antagonist of Mr. Canning. He was at this time in the vigour of youth, with a noble presence, a fine voice, and an excitability of manner which acquired for him from Cobbett the epithet of "Roaring Rushton." Mr. Canning was capable of appreciating capacity and promise even in his opponents. He strongly advised Mr. Rushton to go to the bar, for which his qualifications seemed especially adapted. He was at this time a printer and stationer. He took the advice, and in due course was called to the honourable position of an advocate. It cannot be said that he quite realised the sanguine expectations of his friends. Probably he entered the profession too late in life. He was employed by the Whig Government on several royal commissions, and ultimately was appointed stipendiary magistrate for the borough, in which office he was much respected, and which he retained till his decease in April 1851.

Rushton.

Meeting on pauperism.

On May 24 a public meeting was held in the town-hall, pursuant to a requisition to the mayor, "to consider the alarming increase of pauperism, and to petition the Legislature to take the subject into its most serious consideration, and to adopt measures to remedy the evil." Although it was expressly stated that no party politics were to be introduced, the whole of the speakers belonged to the Whig party. It is a curious fact that for a number of years before and after the period we are considering, the oratory of the town was almost entirely in the hands of the reformers. The mantle of Mr. Canning had certainly not fallen on the shoulders of any of his supporters. Public meetings were held at short intervals on all manner of subjects, and in all, the same names perpetually recur; when

the opposite party did put in an appearance, they sometimes came to grief, as in the case of Mr. Adam Lodge noticed above. On the present occasion the mayor (Sir John Tobin) presided. The meeting was addressed by Dr. Crompton, Colonel Williams, Messrs. Booth, Egerton and John Smith, Rushton, and others. Mr. Dutton delivered a noble and manly speech. Some startling facts were brought forward as to the increasing poverty of the working classes, attributing it in great measure to the high price of provisions. A string of resolutions was carried, several of which complained of the corn laws and restrictions on commerce as a main cause of the evil.

Soon after the accession of George IV. the public mind began to be greatly excited on the subject of the unfortunate Queen Caroline. In few places was greater sympathy felt for her and expressed than in Liverpool. May 17 being her birthday, the bells of the parish churches rang a merry peal. A holiday was observed at the custom-house; flags were hoisted on the churches, on the shipping in the harbour, and on most of the public buildings, but *not* on the town-hall. Amongst the election squibs the following stanzas were circulated:

Queen Caroline.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

God save our gracious Queen,
Long live our noble Queen,
God save the Queen.
Britons who her adore,
Reserve your joy in store,
Hail her to Albion's shore,
God save the Queen.

Prepare her golden crown,
Place her on England's throne,
Long may she reign.
Sound her praise to the skies,
Loud mingle with your cries,
Scorn for her enemies,
God save the Queen.

Oh God thy mercies send,
Be thou her guide and friend,
As thou hast been.
Great George our king incline,
To smile on Caroline,
May all her cares be thine,
God save the Queen.

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From this time until the withdrawal of the bill of pains and penalties in November, the people of Liverpool continued to take an intense interest in the proceedings. Public opinion was to some extent divided, but the great majority, without pronouncing any decided opinion as to her guilt or innocence, sympathised with her as an oppressed and injured woman, "more sinned against than sinning." The lead was of course taken by the Whig party, but the Tory party kept aloof from any hostile demonstration, probably influenced by the conduct of Mr. Canning, who separated himself from his colleagues in their prosecution of the Queen,[1] and shortly afterwards resigned his office in the Ministry.

Public meeting.

On August 15 a public meeting was held in the Tennis Court, for the purpose of considering the propriety of presenting an address to her Majesty. Colonel Williams took the chair. The meeting was addressed by Mr. Egerton Smith, Mr. Ottiwell Wood, and others. An address of allegiance and attachment was adopted, and received in a few days 24,300 signatures. It was forwarded to her Majesty, who returned a suitable reply.

Acquittal of the Queen.

The news of the withdrawal of the bill, on November 9, was received in Liverpool with great rejoicings. The day of its arrival being Sunday, prevented any immediate demonstration; but placards were issued calling a meeting in Queen Square on the following day, "to consider the best mode of celebrating the victory of her Majesty by a general illumination and other demonstrations of joy." On the appearance of the placards the mayor sent for the printer and inquired the names of the parties who gave him instructions. Having requested their attendance, he expressed his fears lest some disturbance might be caused by their intended proceedings, and requested that discretion and caution should be observed, which was promised. The meeting was

Public meeting.

duly held, and attended by a dense crowd. Colonel Williams took the chair. The assembly was addressed by the usual Reform orators, and resolutions were passed expressive of abhorrence of the late persecution to which the queen had been subject, with joy at its defeat. With respect to the celebration, the following determination was come to:

"That as we cannot recommend, without the sanction of the

[1] Mr. Canning, in a speech on the king's message respecting her arrival in England, had passed a warm eulogium on the queen, whom he had designated as "the life, grace, and ornament of society."

public authorities, the usual mode of demonstrating our joy on great occasions by a general illumination, we recommend all the friends of her Majesty to join in public procession, to take place on Monday next, at twelve o'clock, to proceed through the different parts of the town."

Queen's procession.

The procession took place on Monday, November 20, and was probably the most numerous which ever promenaded the town. The church bells were rung; the shipping displayed their flags, and a royal salute was fired from a battery of seven carronades extemporised for the occasion. Clayton Square was the starting-place, whence the procession perambulated the principal streets, returning to the same point. The van consisted of 125 gentlemen on horseback, carrying white silk bannerets, preceded by the British standard with four trumpeters on horseback. Then followed the members of the various trade societies, to the number as stated of 7000, with their insignia and bands of music, and after these a miscellaneous following of those interested. The total number taking part in the procession is stated to have been not less than 35,000 persons, and occupied an hour in passing any single point. On their return to Clayton Square a version of "God save the Queen" was sung in full chorus, and after a series of hearty cheers, the multitudes dispersed.

Public dinner.

In the evening a public dinner was held at the Neptune Hotel, Colonel Williams in the chair, and on Thursday, November 23, another dinner took place at the York Hotel, Mr. Thomas Booth in the chair; Messrs. Joseph Birch, M.P., Arthur Heywood, William Rathbone, Joseph Sandars, John Ashton Yates, and other Liverpool magnates on the Liberal side, being present.

The agitation soon subsided, and the instinctive loyalty of Liverpool again awoke with the Coronation, and the King's visit to Ireland in the following year. The feeling on behalf of the Queen was kept alive in Liverpool by the conduct of the Rev. Richard Blacow, the incumbent of St. Mark's. On January 27, 1821, he preached and subsequently published a sermon, in which he used the grossest terms in speaking of the Queen. The following is an extract:

A.D. 1821. Blacow.

"The Radicals have one feature about them even more hideous and disgusting than the Jacobins themselves. They fell down and worshipped the Goddess of Reason, a most respectable and decent sort of being compared with that which the Radicals have set up as the idol of their worship. They have elevated

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Blacow.

the Goddess of Lust on the pedestal of shame—an object of all others most congenial to their taste, the most deserving of their homage, the most worthy of their adoration. After exhibiting her claims to their favour in two distant quarters of the globe—after compassing sea and land with her guilty paramour, to gratify to the full her impure desires, and even polluting the Holy Sepulchre with her presence, to which she was carried in mock majesty astride upon an ass[1]—she returned to this hallowed soil, so hardened in sin, so bronzed with infamy, so callous to every feeling of decency or of shame as to go on Sunday last, clothed in the mantle of adultery, to kneel down at the altar of that God "who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity," when she ought rather to have stood barefoot in the aisle, covered with a sheet, as white as "unsunned snow," doing penance for her sins."

Blacow prosecuted.

. . . with much more to the same effect. For this libel Mr. Blacow was prosecuted by Mr. Brougham the Queen's Attorney-General, and on November 26, 1821, he was sentenced by Mr. Justice Holroyd to pay a fine of £100, to be imprisoned in the Marshalsea for six months, and afterwards to find sureties to keep the peace for five years. A subscription was entered into by some of his friends to reimburse him, but it was discouraged by a letter from the bishop to the churchwardens, strongly disapproving of the course.

Ball.

On October 12, 1820, the large ball-room at the town-hall, then recently finished, was opened by a ball and supper given by the mayor (Sir John Tobin) for which about 1000 cards of invitation were issued. Amongst the company were Lord Stanley (13th Earl of Derby), Lord Molyneux (3d Earl of Sefton), Sir Thomas and Lady Stanley of Hooton, Mr. and Lady Georgiana Grenfell, etc.

Pauperism.

The affairs of the parish attracted considerable attention about this time, the increase of pauperism having led to a considerable advance in the rates. The amount expended on the casual poor had increased from £5588 in 1814-15 to £18,519 in 1819-20. A meeting of merchants and other inhabitants was held on July 12, 1820, to consider this alarming state of

[1] Footnote in the original :—

"Enter Jerusalem on an ass,
Then on the stage act columbine ;
Attend with Bergami at mass,
Then to St. Paul's—Oh ! Caroline."

affairs, when an influential committee was appointed to investigate the accounts and report generally on parochial matters. This committee issued several reports, and on their recommendation a memorial was addressed to the churchwardens and overseers, signed by most of the leading business firms, requesting the adoption of the acts recently passed, called Sturges Bourne's Acts for the improved management of parish affairs, and amending the laws for the relief of the poor.

Edmund Kean.

On October 6, 1820, Edmund Kean, the great tragedian, took his leave of the Liverpool public on the eve of his departure for America. He performed in the character of Othello in his very best style. After the fall of the curtain, he delivered an address, in which he said: "I should not fully do justice to my feelings if I did not remark most respectfully that in this town I have not experienced that warmth of approbation and that alacrity of attention with which I have been honoured in other large cities and towns of the three kingdoms." This naturally gave considerable offence. The coldness of which the great actor complained was not the want of appreciation of the artiste, but the disapprobation of the conduct of *the man*.

On St. Luke's Day (October 18), Mr. Thomas Leyland was elected mayor for the third time, having previously served the office in 1798 and 1814.

Canning.

On December 22 Mr. Canning addressed a letter (intended for publication) to Colonel Bolton, announcing his retirement from office, and his intention to go abroad for a time, "until the agitation of this calamitous affair (the Queen's trial) shall be at an end."

Meeting to address the King.

On December 27 a public meeting was called by the mayor at the town-hall, pursuant to requisition, "to consider the propriety of voting a loyal and dutiful address to the king, expressive of their sentiments and feelings upon the present exigencies of the times."

After the excitement which had existed during the agitating events of the Queen's trial, and which had not yet subsided, it was hardly to be expected that a meeting to occupy such debateable ground would pass off without great difference of opinion. The court-room in which the meeting was held could not accommodate more than about 400 persons. The mayor admitted privately ten gentlemen of each party and seven reporters for the press. The doors were then thrown open, and a general scramble ensued for possession of the room, so as to gain a

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majority for their respective parties. Each party of course accused the other of packing the room. The leaders of the Whigs occupied the grand jury box, whilst the petty jury box accommodated the Tory magnates.

Public meeting.

The business of the meeting was opened by Mr. Thomas Booth, who proposed an address to the king, embodying the sentiments "that the rights and liberties of the people have been daringly violated; that the recent proceedings against the queen were odious and unconstitutional; that the people are labouring under an oppressive and intolerable load of taxes." These sentiments were received by the cheers of one party and

Riotous conduct.

the hisses and groans of the other. When Mr. Shepherd rose to second the motion, the tumult swelled into a general uproar. The mayor directed the peace officers present to take the most conspicuous disturbers into custody, but they were so wedged in the crowd that it was impossible to act. After a continuance of this turbulent scene for some time, the mayor found it hopeless to proceed, and during a slight lull he rose and said: "I am perfectly satisfied that it is out of the power of any man to preserve order in this meeting, and therefore I pronounce it to be dissolved:" and after a general chorus of mingled cheers and groans the meeting separated.

The promoters, however, were not satisfied to be thus summarily put down. They immediately got up another requisition to the mayor to call a meeting in some larger place; with which

Second meeting.

his worship did not see fit to comply. The requisitionists, therefore, called a public meeting in the Tennis Court on Wednesday, January 10, 1821. Mr. Thomas Booth occupied the chair. The meeting was addressed by Mr. William Rathbone, Col. Williams, Mr. (afterwards Sir Hardman) Earle, Messrs. William Wallace Currie, Charles Lawrence, Joseph Brooks Yates, Joseph Langton, Thomas Fletcher, Edward Rushton, and others. A series of resolutions was passed, and an address to the king founded thereon was agreed to. In the meantime the Tory party had not been idle. They met without the formality of a public demonstration and adopted a loyal address, which was extensively signed, presented, and published in the *London Gazette*.

Census.

The year 1821 opened under auspices of a somewhat improved character. The census was taken during this year, and showed a population in the borough proper of 118,972, which, with the necessary additions for seamen and the out townships,

would present a total of about 135,000 inhabitants. The number of ships entering the port had increased to 7810, with a tonnage of 839,848, and the amount of dock-dues £94,556.

1821. Trade.

On January 31 the extensive premises near Copperas Hill, known as the Caxton Printing Offices, belonging to Messrs. Fisher and Co., were destroyed by fire. I shall have occasion again to refer to this building in the description of the locality.

Caxton press burnt.

The year 1821 contributed no very stirring incidents to the annals of Liverpool. The principal event of a public nature was the celebration of the king's coronation, on July 19, with which was connected the opening of the Prince's Dock. The inhabitants generally entered into the preparations with characteristic ardour. A numerous committee was formed of persons of all parties to get up a procession on a magnificent scale. A subscription was entered into to enable the poorer classes to partake of the festivities. The corporation signalised the occasion by presenting to the various charities the sum of £1500.

King's coronation.

The Prince's Dock was the centre of attraction on the day of the celebration, to which the multitude finally converged. The quays round the dock, the area of which is 500 yards by 106, presented a very brilliant scene, being lined by the long array of the procession, with their banners and bands of music. The high grounds on the east, formerly the Ladies' Walk, were covered with a gay assemblage, principally ladies, in light summer costume.

Opening of Prince's Dock.

At twelve noon the dock gates were thrown open. The first ship which entered was a Liverpool-built West Indiaman, called the "May," followed by the "Majestic" steamship, and an American vessel called the "Martha."

In point of splendour this display exceeded anything previously seen in the town. The various trades vied with each other in the expensive and gorgeous nature of their equipments. Some were whimsical enough. The glassmakers wore hats of glass, with glass feathers, and each man carried a glass sabre. The Herculaneum potters carried beautifully-painted china vases and models decorated with leaves. The Company of Whalers had an Esquimaux canoe mounted on wheels; and so on almost *ad infinitum*.

Procession.

The following lines were printed at a press borne on a car in the procession, and distributed as it proceeded:

CHAP. V. 1821.

Not 'mid the distant clash of arms,
The waste of war, the widow's tears,
Nor Disaffection's near alarms,
The pageant of to-day appears.
But Plenty hovers o'er the land,
A nation's homage guards the throne;
On Victory's loftiest heights we stand,
The triumph and the pride our own.
No heartless pomp, no forced huzza,
No slavish fears our feelings move,
With ardent joy we hail the day,
That consecrates the king we love.

In the evening a public dinner took place at the Liverpool Assembly Room, and the mayor gave a grand ball and supper at the town-hall.

New Infirmary.

On July 27 the first stone of the New Infirmary, Brownlow Street, was laid by Lord Stanley, after a sermon at St. Peter's Church by the rector of Winwick, and a collection thereafter of £368 : 10s.

Not long after these festivities the public mind was deeply saddened by the occurrence of a shipwreck of a more than usually distressing character. The king having visited Ireland soon after his coronation, there was a great influx of people to be present at the rejoicings in Dublin. Steam navigation had not yet entirely superseded sailing vessels, and a sloop-rigged packet, called the "Earl Moira," set sail from Liverpool for Dublin on the morning of Wednesday, August 8. The number on board was never exactly ascertained, but it was believed to consist of 100 to 110 souls, including the crew of six men. The wind was blowing fresh at the time, and after rounding the Rock Perch, at the entrance of the river, in attempting to tack, the vessel missed stays and drifted on Burbo Bank. An anchor was carried out in a boat, and by this means the sloop was warped into deep water. The captain and part of the crew were said to be intoxicated. The passengers now requested the captain to bear away for Liverpool, but he obstinately refused. In tacking again the sloop again missed stays, and grounded on the Wharf Bank, off Mock Beggar. The tide setting in, the vessel was lifted, and striking the bank, soon became a total wreck. The most heartrending scenes then ensued. The passengers and crew clung to any portion of the wreck above water, whence they were washed away one after another by the

Wreck of the "Earl Moira."

violence of the waves. It was alleged that a boat and crew lay-to a short distance from the wreck and refused to render any assistance, or possibly were unable to do so. The Hoylake lifeboat at length put off to their aid, succeeded by other boats, which took off the survivors from the wreck. The number of corpses afterwards recovered was thirty-one, the remainder of the number on board, about seventy-one, having been saved.

Bethel Union.

On September 12, 1821, a meeting was held in the town-hall, under the presidency of Admiral Murray, for the purpose of establishing an institution for the religious and moral improvement of seamen. The public mind had been called to the subject by the energetic appeals of the celebrated "Boatswain Smith," a quondam sailor turned cleric, who preached on the quays and elsewhere, and attracted considerable attention. The institution was formed, and took the name of the "Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union," which has continued its useful labours to the present time with considerable acceptance.

Contest for the mayoralty.

More than usual interest was excited by the election for the mayoralty on St. Luke's Day, 1821. The candidates were Mr. Richard Bullin, banker, nephew of Mr. Thomas Leyland, mayor the previous year; and Mr William Molyneux, merchant. Why the rivalry should have been so intense it is difficult to say, as the defeated candidate succeeded to the civic chair the following year; but so it was, that the most intense eagerness was exhibited on each side. The poll was prolonged for four days, and at the close the numbers stood: Bullin, 1619; Molyneux, 1567. 3186 freemen polled, being a larger number by 310 than had ever previously recorded their votes at any election, municipal or parliamentary. There was a slight attempt at importing political feeling into the contest, but it fell flat, the whole resolving itself into the power of the purse. There were all the paraphernalia and display of a general election: committee rooms, banners, music, and free drink. The payment commenced at the modest sum of six shillings per man, but the market price of votes soon advanced, in consequence of the competition, to half a sovereign, a sovereign and even upwards, until about noon on the fourth day a placard was openly put forth at the committee-room of one of the candidates, offering £100 for a tally of ten votes! The contest was said to have cost Mr. Bullin the sum of £3100. Mr. Molyneux's expenses were not known.

Bribery.

Great storm.

On the night of Friday, December 1, the town was visited

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by one of the heaviest storms hitherto experienced. Much damage was done, both in the river and on shore. Houses were blown down, many unroofed, and much injury caused by the fall of chimney-stacks. A lady and gentleman residing in Scotland Road (Mr. and Mrs. Barton) were killed by the fall of part of the house on the bed in which they were sleeping. Many hairbreadth escapes occurred. The old mill on Bidston Hill caught fire and was burnt, in consequence of the friction from the rapid motion of the machinery, the mill sails having broken loose.

A.D. 1822. Joseph Hume.

On January 25, 1822, a public meeting was held to sympathise with Mr. Joseph Hume in his attempts at retrenchment and economy in the House of Commons. Mr. Thomas Booth filled the chair. The meeting was addressed by Colonel Williams and Messrs. Hardman Earle, Ottiwell Wood, Fletcher, and Rathbone. An address of thanks and sympathy was agreed to.

St. John's Market.

The new market (St. John's), to which the business which had been transacted time out of mind in Derby Square and Castle Street was removed, was opened on Thursday, March 7. Some dissatisfaction was expressed by the tradesmen and shopkeepers in Castle Street and the neighbourhood at the removal; but as it was a matter of absolute necessity, the agitation soon subsided.

Meeting on Irish distress.

On Monday, May 13, an influential meeting, comprising persons of all parties, was held in the town-hall, the mayor in the chair, "for the purpose of considering the distress of the unfortunate peasantry of Ireland, suffering under the pressure of famine, and the best means of contributing to their relief." The meeting was addressed by Mr. Alderman Case, Sir John Tobin, Colonel Williams, and Dr. Crompton. A committee was formed and a subscription was entered into, aided by collections at the churches and chapels, which ultimately realised the amount of £7432 : 18s.

Riots at the theatre.

In June the Liverpool Theatre was the scene of some noisy demonstrations almost amounting to a riot, arising out of the rival claims of Messrs. Vandenhoff and Salter. The latter gentleman had been dismissed to make room for his rival; and on the evening of June 3, when Vandenhoff appeared in the character of Coriolanus, he was received with uproarious applause by the one party and vociferations of displeasure by the other. This continued during the whole of the performance, not a syllable of either play or farce being heard. Some of the forms

were torn up in the gallery and thrown into the pit, but fortunately without injury to any one. The following night the same scene was repeated with greater violence; but several of the ringleaders having been taken into custody and required to find bail to answer the charge at the Assizes, the excitement gradually subsided, and the affair blew over.

East India trade.

In July 1822 an able report was issued by the Liverpool East India Association on the subject of the vexatious restrictions imposed on the intercourse with India, by the regulations as to tonnage, by the limitation of trade to certain selected ports, by the system of requiring licenses both for ships and persons, by the prohibition against British merchants trading direct with China, and by the restrictions laid on the importation of sugar from the East. The influence of the East India Company was still too strong to be overcome, and it required a further period of eleven years before it was finally surmounted.

Canning appointed Governor-General of India.

Public dinner.

In July 1822 Mr. Canning was selected by the East India Company for the appointment of Governor-General of India. In August he paid a visit to Liverpool for the purpose of taking leave of his friends and constituents. He was received by his party with the greatest enthusiasm. On Friday, August 23, he was entertained at dinner by the Canning Club, Mr. John Gladstone in the chair. On Friday, August 30, a public dinner was given in his honour in the Lyceum News-room, which was attended by between four and five hundred gentlemen, Mr. Henry Blundell Hollinshead in the chair. The speeches at both these meetings, especially the last, were in the great orator's happiest vein. Argument (from his own point of view), eloquence of language, sparkling wit, alternated with each other, and must have afforded a rich treat to those who listened. In the first of the speeches, in alluding to the principles of the club which was called after his own name, he proceeds: "In northern climes the existence of a generous vintage is often preserved in a small liquid nucleus, which remains unfrozen amidst the surrounding congelation; that nucleus, when the time of thaw comes, diffuses itself through the whole, and communicates to the whole its spirit and its flavour. So I trust that in all times—even in times such as the worst we have seen, and such as I hope we are not likely soon to see again—in this club will be constantly preserved the spirit of loyalty and constitutional freedom, to be diffused when the occasion shall arise amongst the community with which you are surrounded."

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1822. Canning's speeches.

At the close of his speech, after recounting his own political career and the motives which had induced him to accept the office he was about to take, he thus concludes: "If, gentlemen, you and I are separated by space, let us continue united by sentiment and by kindness. I leave here, in your keeping, a name, insignificant as it belongs to an individual, but consecrated by the principles of which you have made it the symbol. Guard it, not for its own sake, but for the sake of those its accompaniments. While it may be my lot to administer a government of necessity in a great measure discretionary, I shall reflect that there is, in my own country, a community in which my name is cherished, as associated with rational liberty, with the principles of a free government, and with the institutions of a free people. Guard you my memory, and I shall cherish yours. Removed from you by thousands of miles, it will be a pleasure to me to think that I am occasionally remembered by you; and be assured that in whatever part of the world I may be stationed, the members of this society will have a place in my remembrance and regard."

In the second speech he gave his own political creed at considerable length. He avowed himself an advocate of Catholic emancipation; but on the subject of Parliamentary reform he made merry with his opponents, introducing his celebrated story of the painter and the red lions; and the often-quoted eulogy on the power of public opinion embodied in a free press. He finally took his leave in the following noble words:

"Gentlemen, wherever my lot may be cast, may this great community continue to flourish in the prosperity now happily beginning to be restored to it, after the fluctuations of war and peace; in the principles from which it has never swerved since I have had the honour to be acquainted with it; in the honourable and liberal spirit which pervades all classes of its society, and which marks even its political divisions; and in that cordial union which binds all its members together, without distinction of party, in anything which relates to the interest of your town, or to the benefit of the humbler part of its population. May it flourish, an image of splendid greatness, unalloyed by the besetting vices which sometimes cling to such greatness; an image of those princely merchants whose history one of your own body has illustrated, mixing, like them, with the pursuits of trade the cultivation of liberal science; decorating your town with the works of art as much as it is enriched by enterprise and industry; placing it, by the variety of its useful and the

1822. Canning's speeches.

munificence of its charitable establishments, among the most celebrated of the cities of the world. May you flourish in the happiness and renown to which these qualities entitle you; and when you look for another individual to occupy the station which I have for ten years filled, may you find one more competent to the task than I have been—one more devoted to your interests, more anxious for your prosperity, or more thankful for your kindness, I am sure you cannot find."

On the same day, at Seaforth House (Mr. Gladstone's residence), a deputation from the various associated commercial bodies presented an address to Mr. Canning, "expressive of the high sense they entertained of the services he had rendered them since he had been their representative in Parliament." As a further mark of respect, it was resolved to present him with a valuable piece of plate, as a testimonial of the high appreciation in which he was held by his constituents. Though dated July 1822, it was not actually completed, owing to its elaboration, until March 1823. It consisted of a centre ornament, or candelabrum, 42 ins. in height, and about 60 ins. in circumference at the base. It was of silver gilt, and weighed 1000 ozs. The description is too long to quote, but it contained bas-reliefs of various incidents in the elections and in Parliament, and a number of emblematical and allegorical statuettes and devices. The inscription was the following:

Presentation of plate.

Presented
To the Right Honourable
George Canning,
By a numerous body of his friends,
Freemen and inhabitants of
Liverpool,
On his being appointed Governor-General of India,
July 1822,
In grateful acknowledgment
Of his zealous and impartial attention
To the interests of all his constituents
For a period of ten years,
In the course of which
He has been four times elected
Their Representative in Parliament;
And in testimony of their respect,
As well for his private virtues
As for his disinterested and independent
Publick conduct;

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Presentation to Canning.

And of their admiration
Of those transcendent talents,
As a statesman and an orator,
With which he has uniformly and fearlessly
Maintained the true principles of
The British Constitution.

The plate was designed by Chantrey, and executed by Rundle and Bridge.

Whilst these proceedings were in progress the death of the Marquis of Londonderry by his own hand, on Monday, August 12, entirely changed the state of affairs. Overtures were immediately made to Mr. Canning to join the Ministry as Foreign Secretary. To these rumours he alluded in his speech on August 30 in somewhat vague terms, not having then determined his course.

Canning minister.

Retirement of Canning.

Although not leaving the country, Mr. Canning persisted in his resolution to retire from the representation of Liverpool, considering this position inconsistent with the proper performance of his duties as Foreign Secretary. He did not retire till February 1823, when he strongly recommended as his successor Mr. William Huskisson. This gentleman, so well known as an able financier and a strenuous advocate for gradually striking off the fetters with which he found our commerce trammelled on his entry into office, was born in Worcestershire, in 1770, and was destined for the medical profession. Whilst studying medicine at Paris accident brought him acquainted with Lord Gower, the English Ambassador, who made him his private secretary, and on their return to England introduced him into Parliament and into office. He took an active part in the Bullion Committee, advocating the return to cash payments. After filling various subordinate offices, on Mr. Canning's retirement he succeeded him, in 1822, as President of the Board of Control.

Huskisson.

Election.

The election for Mr. Canning's successor took place on February 14, 1823. Mr. Huskisson was proposed by Colonel Bolton, seconded by Mr. Hollinshead. Mr. Edward Rushton, who seems to have taken the lion's share in the proceedings of the day, after a long and animated speech directed against Mr. Huskisson and his party, concluded by proposing Lord Molyneux, who was seconded by Mr. Mather. Mr. Huskisson addressed the assembly at considerable length, principally de-

fending himself from the attacks of Mr. Rushton, and going very little into public affairs. This called up Mr. Rushton again, who delivered a second harangue, which was replied to by Mr. Huskisson in a second speech. The poll then proceeded. The whole affair was a mere farce. In two days Lord Molyneux only polled 31 votes. His supporters then withdrew, the numbers being: Huskisson, 236; Molyneux, 31. The whole affair was so tame and flat that scarcely any addresses or squibs were issued, and the practice was never revived of collecting and publishing those which did appear.

Poll.

Wreck of the "Alert."

On April 1, 1823, another lamentable shipwreck and loss of life took place. Notwithstanding the progress of steam navigation, sailing packets still plied between Liverpool and Dublin. The "Alert" sloop sailed on the evening of the day above mentioned. The following morning found her on the coast of Wales, near Holyhead; and the wind going down with a strong tide running, the vessel drifted in the direction of a detached rock, called "the Mouse," a mile and a half from the land, on which, notwithstanding an effort to tow her off by means of the boat, she struck with violence and soon went to pieces. The number on board was variously estimated at from 100 to 140, of whom only 17 were saved. The recklessness with which human life was imperilled is manifested in the fact, that for the rescue of 100 to 140 human beings in case of need in a public packet-boat, there only existed on board one small shallop 12 ft. long! A little before this time, Mr. Gladstone of Liverpool had obtained the introduction into the Steamboat Act of an imperative provision of boats sufficient for the number of passengers the vessel was licensed to carry. This humane proviso has been the means of saving many hundreds, if not thousands, from a watery grave.

Proposed removal of Assizes.

During the spring of 1823 the attention of the Liverpool public was called to the inconvenience sustained by the inhabitants of the commercial and manufacturing districts of South Lancashire in the assize business being conducted at Lancaster, situated at one extremity of the county, nearly sixty miles from Liverpool and Manchester. On April 11 a meeting called by public advertisement was held in the town-hall, the mayor (Mr. William Molyneux) in the chair, to adopt a petition to the Government, praying that the Assizes for the southern district might be removed to a more convenient locality. The meeting was addressed by Aldermen Hollinshead and Case, and others;

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a petition was adopted, and an influential committee appointed. Other towns in the southern district also petitioned; but it was not until 1835 that the difficulties were overcome, and the Assizes first held in Liverpool.

Strikes of workmen.

In the latter part of 1823 and the spring of 1824 the peace and good conduct of the town were seriously affected by disputes between the masters and men in several branches of trade, but particularly amongst the ropemakers and sawyers. Messrs. Duncan and Co., who had extensive ropewalks in Brownlow Hill, not being able to agree with their hands as to the mode of carrying on their trade, a strike took place, and fresh hands were introduced from Scotland and elsewhere. This produced the usual result. The new comers were waylaid, and threatened to such an extent that they were intimidated and withdrew. The leaders of the trade club were indicted for a conspiracy, and tried at the Liverpool Quarter Sessions on August 1, 1823, when, after a long inquiry, they were all acquitted. The disputes and alienation still continued, and on January 7, 1824, a fire broke out on the premises under very suspicious circumstances. This was got under; but on February 14, another fire took place, breaking out in two places at once, by which the premises were totally destroyed. Two rewards, of £300 and £100 respectively, were offered for the conviction of the offender, who ultimately turned out to be a youth named Sylvester Thornton, fourteen years of age, an apprentice. He was tried and convicted at the Assizes. The punishment for arson at that time was death; but in consequence of his youth it was mitigated to transportation for life, and ultimately commuted to seven years.

Fires.

Sawyers murdered.

The case of the sawyers was still more serious. Disputes had existed for many months. In 1822 a sawyer, while at his work, was shot by one of the turn-outs, for which he was tried, condemned, and executed at Lancaster. On February 9, 1824, another sawyer was waylaid and brutally murdered in Vauxhall Road, by a gang of ruffians, one of whom, named Henry Griffiths, was taken, tried at Lancaster on March 20, and condemned to death. He was executed on Monday the 22d.

Fires.

Whilst these proceedings were going forward, on Sunday morning February 28, the shipbuilding premises of Messrs. C. and J. Smith, in Baffin Street, where the murdered man had been employed, were found to be in flames, and from the attendant circumstances there could be little doubt that it was the work of an incendiary.

On March 21 the carpenters' and joiners' shops of Messrs. J. and B. Slater, in Seel Street, were also destroyed by fire, which from the time when it commenced, being Sunday evening, there was no other conclusion to be arrived at but that of incendiarism.

Meeting in aid of Spain.

On Wednesday, August 13, 1823, a public meeting of the Reform party was held, "for the purpose of considering the propriety of promoting subscriptions to assist the constitutionalists of Spain to repel the atrocious aggression of the French." Colonel Williams was called to the chair. The meeting was addressed by the chairman, and Messrs. Egerton Smith and Rushton. A subscription was entered into, and a committee formed to promote the objects of the assembly.

Canning's last visit.

In August Mr. Canning, accompanied by his friend Mr. Huskisson, paid a visit to his old constituents, and was received with great warmth and cordiality. On Monday they took an excursion on the river, accompanied by about three hundred gentlemen of all parties. In the evening, the mayor (Mr. William Molyneux) gave a dinner at the town-hall, at which were present, besides Messrs. Canning and Huskisson, the Polish Prince Sapieha, Lord Blayney, Mr. Hughes the Chargé d'Affaires from the United States to Sweden, and a number of Members of Parliament and other gentlemen. Mr. Huskisson, Huskisson. in returning thanks, expressed his earnest desire as a member of the Government to promote by every means in his power the advancement of trade and commerce, and requested the co-operation and advice of the merchants of Liverpool on every question connected therewith. Mr. Canning proposed the health of Mr. Hughes, then on his way to represent the United States in Sweden, and spoke in terms of the utmost cordiality of the friendly union of the two nations.

With this réunion Mr. Canning's intercourse with Liverpool came to a close. During the few remaining years of his life he never revisited the town, but left behind him memories which will ever remain while Liverpool has a history.

Musical festival.

In September 1823, the triennial musical festival was celebrated on a scale of great splendour. The names of the performers bring up memories of departed excellence and popularity, such as will rarely be found again united on the same orchestra. F. Cramer as leader, Mori, Griesbach, Lindley, Dragonetti, Nicholson, Puzzi, and Harper, amongst the instrumentalists; and amongst the vocalists, Mrs. Salmon, Miss Goodall, and Miss

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Stephens (afterwards Marchioness of Exeter), Braham, Bellamy, Phillips, Knyvett; with Signor and Madame Ronzi de Begnis for the evening performances. Two grand balls were given, one on Monday, September 29, at the Wellington Rooms; and a fancy-dress ball at the town-hall, on Friday, October 3.

Balloon Ascent.

The most novel feature was the ascent of Mr. Sadler in his balloon, on Tuesday, September 30, from the area of the Workhouse, Brownlow Hill. The day was showery, with a tolerably fresh breeze. The neighbourhood at that time was open and unbuilt on, and vast crowds congregated to witness the spectacle, with all the usual accompaniments of a holiday and fair. Mr. Sadler took a companion in the car. As the balloon arose, the force of the wind prevented it properly clearing the adjoining houses, and the car struck violently against a stack of chimneys. The balloon descended slowly in the middle of the dense crowds assembled, and being relieved by Mr. Sadler's friend getting out, it again rose, and was soon lost to sight amongst the distant clouds. He descended in safety[1] beyond Warrington, about 22 miles from Liverpool.

The nett proceeds of the Festival amounted to the handsome sum of £2200, which was divided amongst the public charities.

Political agreement.

Party spirit and political rancour had been for some time on the decline in Liverpool. Mr. Canning had been recently welcomed by all parties in the most cordial manner. His political enemies could not but acknowledge that "he had rendered essential service to the port of Liverpool; that his influence had been successfully and impartially exerted for the benefit of many townsmen, who had been involved in critical and embarrassing circumstances." Even the "old General" came in for his meed of praise, as "having served the town during the greater part of his life with unremitting and exclusive zeal."[2]

Whig mayor.

Another manifestation of this feeling was exhibited in the election on St. Luke's day (October 18), for the first time during many years of a Whig mayor, Mr. Charles Lawrence, proposed by Mr. Arthur Heywood, seconded by Mr. John Gladstone;

[1] Twelve months after this, the daring aëronaut came to an untimely end. On September 29, 1824, he made an ascent from Bolton, and was thrown out of the car and killed on the spot.

[2] *Liverpool Mercury*, August 29, 1823.

and of two Whig bailiffs, Messrs. William Earle, jun., and William Wallace Currie.[1]

On Friday, January 16, 1824, a very interesting meeting of all political parties was held at the town-hall for the purpose, as stated in the requisition, "of receiving and adopting as a public institution the mechanics' and apprentices' library, which has been successfully commenced in the town by private exertion, and which is now offered to public acceptance and control." This institution had been commenced in the year 1821, and so far conducted mainly through the efforts of Mr. Egerton Smith, the proprietor and editor of the *Liverpool Mercury*. Mechanics' library.

The mayor took the chair, and the meeting was addressed by Mr. Smith, Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Gladstone, Rev. Robert Philip, Messrs. Ottiwell Wood, William Wallace Currie, and others. Mr. Smith had always been eminently a party man, and had hit hard, especially at Mr. Gladstone, whom he looked upon as a renegade from the Liberal camp. It was pleasing on this occasion to witness the friendly approximation of the opponents. Mr. Gladstone in the most handsome manner, both in his speech and in a letter to Mr. Smith, bore willing testimony to his worth and valuable public services. Resolutions were passed taking over the institution and making arrangements for its future management.

It cannot be said that this undertaking ultimately proved a success. Its maintenance depended on voluntary subscriptions, which fell off, and its friends became lukewarm and indifferent. The time was not quite ripe. After pursuing a quiet career of usefulness for some years, it was merged in the "Brougham Institute," which was established in Lawton Street, and in its turn fell into decay. What became of the library of books I am unable to say.

On February 14, 1824, a public meeting was held in the town-hall, the mayor in the chair, "for the purpose of considering the best means of assisting the Greeks in their present important struggle for independence." The uprising of the Greeks was at this time very popular. The adherence of Lord Byron to the cause had thrown about it a halo of poetry and romance which was very attractive. Meeting to assist the Greeks.

Although not limited to one party, the speakers mainly

[1] The two latter gentlemen were elected members of the first council under the Municipal Reform Act, Mr. W. W. Currie being the first mayor so elected.

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belonged to the Whigs, though Mr. Gladstone addressed the meeting very warmly in favour of the cause. The other speakers were the Rev. W. Shepherd, Colonel Williams, and Messrs. W. Wallace Currie, Rushton, and Egerton Smith. Appropriate resolutions were passed, and a subscription list opened, which raised a considerable sum.

Meeting to recognise the Spanish Colonies.

On Saturday, June 5, another public meeting was held at the town-hall, the mayor in the chair, "for the purpose of petitioning his Majesty's Ministers to advise the King's most excellent Majesty in Council to recognise such of the Governments of the late Spanish and Portuguese Colonies in North and South America as have established their independence."

The meeting was numerously attended, and was addressed by Messrs. H. Booth, Cyrus Morrall, Frank Jordan, Col. Williams, Mr. Egerton Smith; and Col. Stevenson and General Devereux from South America. A petition embodying the object of the meeting was agreed to. After no very long period Mr. Canning, whose liberal tendencies in the latter period of his life were beginning to manifest themselves, as Foreign Secretary carried out the wishes of the nation by admitting the emancipated colonies into the comity of nations, thereby opening a vast field for the expansion of British commerce.

Freemen's rights.

The rights of the freemen and the question of a common hall were this year mooted for the last time. The corporation of Liverpool were at this time and long after, the *ex officio* trustees of the Dock Estate. Reports had got abroad that in the execution of the large dock works then in progress, there had been irregularities, if not frauds, to a large extent in the supply of the materials. At a meeting of the dock ratepayers, the audit commissioners appointed under the Dock Acts were requested to investigate the matter and to report thereon. Their report was presented to the annual meeting held on June 24, 1824, and fully confirmed the suspicions that had previously existed. The conclusions at which they arrived were, either that great mistakes had been committed, or that frauds had been practised upon the trustees, and they strongly recommended that a more efficient system of control should be adopted.

Frauds on the Dock Estate.

The general subject of the management of municipal affairs was taken up by the reforming party as illustrated by these transactions, and a requisition was presented to the mayor and bailiffs, signed by 778 freemen, requesting that a common hall might be called for the purpose of instituting an inquiry into

Call for common hall.

the management of the corporate estate. This requisition was refused by the Whig mayor and bailiffs. At the election of the mayor on St. Luke's day (October 18, 1824), the subject was brought prominently forward by Mr. Rushton, who reflected bitterly on the conduct of the mayor and bailiffs in rejecting the prayer of the requisition. He said "this had been done by men who had stood before the freemen as the friends and advocates of popular rights. Had men of different political sentiments done this, their conduct would not have excited much surprise; but that they should have so failed in fulfilling the just expectations of the public, conveyed to his mind both regret and astonishment."

These sentiments met with support from a somewhat unexpected quarter. Mr. John Gladstone, in seconding the nomination of Mr. J. B. Hollinshead to the chair, supported warmly Mr. Rushton's views. He said that, "had he had the honour of filling the office of mayor, he should for various cogent reasons have been disposed to meet the wishes of the freemen by complying with their requisition for calling a common hall." . . . He "was of opinion that there had been on the part of the Corporation a certain degree of negligence which he could not but regret, and from which much inconvenience and great mischief appeared to have resulted. From the best opinion he could form founded on the charter, the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Burgesses were authorised conjointly to make by-laws; and if that opinion were correct, how, he would ask, could those by-laws be legally made unless the burgesses were assembled in Common Hall?"

The question of the rights of the burgesses under the old system was not again mooted. Ten years afterwards the monopoly was broken down by the Municipal Reform Act

Presentation to Mr. Gladstone.

On October 18, 1824, a public tribute of respect was paid to Mr. John Gladstone by the presentation of a magnificent service of plate of 28 pieces, bearing the following inscription:

To John Gladstone, Esq., M.P., this service of plate was presented MDCCCXXIV. by his fellow-townsmen and friends, to mark their high sense of his successful exertions for the promotion of Trade and Commerce, and in acknowledgment of his most important services rendered to the town of Liverpool.

Mr. (Sir John) Gladstone was one of the most eminent in

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the long succession of the enterprising merchants of Liverpool. Far-seeing, sagacious, and clear-headed, his views were at once comprehensive and practical. As a mercantile man, he was looked up to as the leader; "*facile princeps*" on the Liverpool Exchange. By his industry and intelligence he realised a large fortune. Politically he looked at the practical rather than the theoretical side of every question. In the early part of his career he had adopted Whig principles, and had been a supporter of Roscoe in the election of 1806. His sagacity led him to the conclusion that Mr. Canning, who, though taking part with the Tories, was on many subjects a man of expansive and enlightened views—would be the most suitable representative to promote the interests of Liverpool. His foresight was amply justified by the result, but for a time it brought down upon him the bitter animosity of his former associates.

This feeling had now softened down, and the many services which he had rendered the town, and his liberal sentiments on many subjects, had restored his popularity.

Rev. Edward Irving.

In December 1824, public curiosity was excited by a visit from the Rev. Edward Irving, then in the zenith of his short-lived popularity. He preached at the Scotch Church, Oldham Street, on Friday, December 3d, and on Sunday, 5th, he officiated at the opening of the new church in Rodney Street. The crowds which attended or endeavoured to attend his ministrations, were almost without parallel. The general opinion was one of admiration for his talents and character, with a little criticism of his extravagances and peculiarities.

A.D. 1825.

Tunnel under the Mersey.

In January 1825 a proposal was made for a tunnel under the Mersey, but, for want of encouragement, it soon died away. The scheme has frequently since been revived, but hitherto without success; nor is it likely to be carried out until it is found to harmonise with the interests of some of the great railway systems, which alone have the capital and influence for a work of this description.

Ship-canal.

Soon after this the idea of a ship-canal to Manchester was broached, and excited great ridicule in the Liverpool newspapers. Whether it was ever seriously entertained does not appear, but the railway scheme then in progress effectually disposed of it.

Meeting on the window-tax.

On Friday, March 11, 1825, a public meeting was held in the town-hall, the mayor in the chair, for the purpose of agitating for the repeal of the obnoxious window-tax. Addresses

were delivered by Mr. William Rathbone, Mr. J. A. Yates, Mr. Rushton, and other gentlemen. Resolutions were passed, and a petition to parliament adopted.

Two questions at this time claimed special public attention. They have both long been disposed of, but it is interesting to observe the progress of public opinion concerning them in any given locality. One was Catholic Emancipation. The association in Ireland was beginning to assume alarming dimensions. In the session of 1825 the Catholic question took a very prominent place. On February 25, Mr. Canning made a noble speech in support of the Catholic claims. In the beginning of March, petitions were presented from Liverpool on behalf of the Emancipation Bill then before the House.

Catholic emancipation.

On May 10 the Bill passed the Commons by a majority of 21, but was subsequently thrown out in the Lords. The Liverpool members took opposite sides in the division, Mr. Huskisson voting for the Bill, and General Gascoyne, "true blue" to the "backbone," supporting Protestant ascendency. Three years of further turbulent agitation elapsed before Wellington and Peel yielded to the force of circumstances, and conceded to pressure what their wiser predecessor Canning would have granted as a boon.

The other question which began to assume an important aspect was the Repeal of the Corn Laws. Mr. Huskisson was one of the earliest advocates of free trade, but crippled as he was by his official position, he could not give free scope to his convictions. On April 21 he intimated to the House of Commons his intention of moving early in the following session for an inquiry into the whole subject of the laws relating to corn. On the 28th he moved certain modifications in the law as it then stood to enable the corn in bond to be brought into the market. On March 3 a meeting was convened by the Boroughreeve of Manchester to consider the subject of the Corn Laws; and on April 14 the Lord Mayor of London, at the request of some of the leading city firms, called a public meeting, which petitioned parliament for a revision.

Corn-laws.

On April 8 a public meeting was held in the Liverpool Town-hall "to consider the propriety of petitioning the legislature to make an alteration in the existing laws relative to the importation of corn." The Mayor (Mr. J. B. Hollinshead) presided. Considerable difference of opinion prevailed amongst the speakers, both sides being fairly represented, and being

Public meeting on the corn-laws.

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patiently listened to. Messrs. W. Wallace Currie, Thomas Case, William Rathbone, Rushton, John Smith, and Mozley, pleaded for relaxation of restrictions, and Messrs. Lafone and Bryans upheld the cause of the farmers and the landed interest. It is remarkable that neither in the speeches nor in the resolutions is a total repeal of the duties even hinted at. All parties seemed satisfied that some import duty should be levied; the only question was as to the scale of the impost. A string of resolutions was adopted, and a petition was agreed to, praying for an inquiry, and a revision of the laws relating to the import of corn.

Mechanics' Institute.

About this time the exertions of Dr. Birkbeck and others in the establishment of Mechanics' Institutes had begun to tell on the public mind with considerable effect. The subject was ventilated in Liverpool, and met with a warm response. A

Public meeting.

public meeting, convened with the concurrence of the leading men of all parties, was held in the Music Hall, Bold Street, on Wednesday, June 8. Mr. Alderman Thomas Case was voted into the chair. The meeting was crowded to excess, and most enthusiastic in its demonstrations. The subject was introduced by Dr. Traill,[1] in a clear and lucid speech, and was pursued by Messrs. W. W. Currie, Egerton Smith, Samuel Hope, Rushton, Adam Hodgson, and others. Probably the most telling address was delivered by the Rev. Andrew Wilson, minister of the Scotch Church, Rodney Street, a man full of fire and enthusiasm, whose career of usefulness was cut short by his premature decease in the prime of life. A letter was read from Mr. Huskisson, highly approving of the institution, and promising his support. An influential committee was formed, Mr. Case being the president, Messrs. John Gladstone, M.P., and John Moss, with Dr. Traill, being appointed vice-presidents. The institution was immediately organised, first in St. Thomas' Buildings, then removed to Slater Street, and subsequently to the spacious buildings in Mount Street, erected for the purpose, where, under the name of the Liverpool Institute, it still pursues its useful career.

Improvement Act.

In the session of 1825 was passed the Improvement Act (7 Geo. IV. c. 57), by which Castle Ditch and its tortuous approaches were swept away, Lord Street widened, and Dale

[1] Dr. Traill practised as a physician in Liverpool for a number of years, and afterwards filled one of the professional chairs in the University of Edinburgh.

Street greatly improved. I shall have again to refer to this in describing the localities.

The winter of 1825 was a memorable period, both in Liverpool and in the country generally. Many causes had conspired to produce a state of factitious prosperity and commercial inflation of an entirely abnormal character. The natural and healthy reaction after a long and expensive war, during which trade had been crippled and commerce restricted, gave the first impulse to progress. The opening of fresh outlets by the revolt of the Spanish American provinces, with the anticipations of boundless mineral treasures to be found there, increased to an enormous extent the development of our national industry. This increase of trade required an increase in the circulating medium, and this was not slow to be provided. The return to cash payments in 1821-2 was succeeded by a restriction in the currency, which was felt as an inconvenience. To remedy this an Act was passed in 1822 permitting the circulation of small notes beyond the date originally fixed. "This extension of time tempted the bankers to increase their issues, instead of providing for the withdrawal of some of their paper. In 1825 there was from 30 to 40 per cent more paper out than in 1822. Just at that time the Bank of England, followed by other banks, lowered the rate of interest. Thus there was money in abundance, which the owners did not know what to do with. Prices had been so low for two years, that they were sure to rise, suddenly and vastly, while so much money was abroad; and the opportunity for speculating was one which few men of enterprise engaged in trade were able to resist." [1]

Commercial inflation.

Fictitious capital.

Then followed a repetition, on a much larger scale, of the madness of the South Sea bubble, of about a century before. Joint stock companies for every imaginable purpose—steam ovens, steam laundries, milk and egg companies, butter companies, etc.—were brought out, and the shares eagerly grasped at and speedily sold at a premium. Gold, pearls, and precious stones were to be found in America in such abundance, that the value of money would be essentially changed, and the glittering heir-looms of our noble families put to shame. It is recorded that a single share of the Real del Monte mine, on which £70 had been paid, yielded a profit of 2000 per cent, having speedily risen to a premium of £1400 per share.

Wild speculation.

[1] Martineau's *History of England during the Thirty Years' Peace*, vol. i. 355.

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1825.

State of trade.

The trade of Liverpool was naturally stimulated by this state of things. The tonnage of the shipping rose from 892,902 in 1822, to 1,180,914 in 1824; but as it was undoubtedly of a more legitimate character than the speculative schemes afloat in the country, it did not suffer so much when the reaction arrived.

Down to October 1825 coin and bullion continued to be exported, and the Bank of England, followed by the provincial banks, went on increasing its issues. As the winter came on uneasiness began to be felt. Exports to an enormous extent had left the country, but few returns came in exchange for the vast sums sent abroad. Credit was exhausted, bills became due. Then the Bank of England, to protect itself, began to draw in its issues. From June 1824 to October 1825 between ten and twelve millions, in coin and bullion, had been exported, and left nothing in their place but promises to pay. Suspicion and alarm now began to set in, soon deepening into panic. The run upon the banks commenced in the country, and very soon spread to London, to which the provincial banks looked for supplies. On December 5 the banking-house of Sir Peter Pole and Co. stopped payment, followed the next day by that of Messrs. Williams, Burgess, and Co. A general crash then set in, and in five or six weeks nearly seventy banks had stopped.

Panic.

General crash.

A.D. 1826.

It would be out of place here to enter into a general account of these transactions. I am only concerned with the effects they produced in Liverpool. The only local bank which succumbed to the pressure was that of Mr. Joseph Hadwen, which suspended payment on January 24, 1826. The newspapers of the day are full of complaints and forebodings. The number of bankruptcies gazetted between January 3 and February 14, 1826, was 514. On the whole, the Liverpool mercantile community, though suffering great embarrassment, weathered the storm much better than could have been expected. Nor did the trade of the port materially suffer. The three years 1825, 1826, and 1827 continued about stationary, after which the rate of progress resumed its course with an elasticity which has never given way in the most adverse times.

Mr. Huskisson's services.

In the midst of these disastrous circumstances all parties in the town united in paying a deserved compliment to their representative, Mr. Huskisson. During the short time which he had sat for Liverpool, between 1823 and 1825, he had won golden opinions from the commercial community by his atten-

tion to their interests, and by the liberal and enlightened policy which he had adopted and was engaged in carrying out. The Canning party of course stood by him, and the Whigs were quite won over. In an article on the coming election in the *Mercury* of May 13, 1825, it is stated: "Mr. Huskisson does not require our panegyric. His public conduct is generally known and approved of. He is of all men we know the most proper person for the representative of this town; and we venture to predict he will continue to be returned its member without the necessity of submitting to half the humiliation inseparable from the canvass of any other candidate for Liverpool."

Presentation to Huskisson.

About this time a subscription was commenced for the purpose of presenting Mr. Huskisson with a service of plate, to which all parties contributed. On February 14, 1826, the presentation was made, through Colonel Bolton, the chairman of the committee of subscribers, Mr. Huskisson not being able to come down to Liverpool through the pressure of Parliamentary business.

Mr. Huskisson, in his reply, which is too long for insertion here, touches on the commercial distress then prevailing, and points to the changes in progress likely to have a beneficial effect. The principal piece in the service bore the following inscription:

Service of plate.

The Service of Plate,
Of which this Candelabrum is a part,
Was presented to
The Right Honourable WILLIAM HUSKISSON,
By a numerous body
Of the Merchants, Freemen, and Inhabitants of
Liverpool,
As a testimony
Of their sense of the benefits
Derived to the nation at large from the enlightened
System of Commercial Policy
Brought forward by him,
As President of the Board of Trade,
And of their gratitude
For the zeal and ability with which,
As Member for Liverpool,
He has watched over the interests of his constituents,
1825.

Rock battery.

On March 31, 1826, the first stone of the Rock Battery, at

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the entrance of the river, on the Cheshire side, was laid by the mayor (Mr. Peter Bourne), with all the usual honours. It was designed and carried out by Captain Kitson, of the Royal Engineers.

Negro slavery.

The agitation against negro slavery, which had been carried on ever since the slave-trade was abolished, was now drawing to a head, and all parties looked forward to its abolition at no distant period. To aid in this good work a public meeting was held, of a very enthusiastic character, in the Music-hall, on Monday, April 24, Mr. James Cropper in the chair. The business was introduced by an interesting letter from the venerable Roscoe, who had for some time retired from taking part in public proceedings. The meeting was then addressed by the chairman, and Messrs. William Rathbone, Isaac Hadwen, Samuel Hope, Adam Hodgson, Wallace Currie, and others. Resolutions were passed favourable to the object, and a petition founded thereon was adopted.

Public meeting.

On Monday, May 1, a meeting of the inhabitants was held in the town-hall, under the presidency of the mayor, "for the purpose of promoting a subscription to alleviate the sufferings of the unemployed weavers, manufacturers, and others, in the manufacturing districts in this country." The speakers were Mr. Alderman T. Case, Messrs. Samuel Hope, Rushton, Heyworth, B. A. Heywood, and others. Several of the speakers, particularly Mr. Rushton, attributed a large portion of the distress to the restrictive legislation, and especially to the Corn Laws, and ultimately succeeded in carrying a resolution recommending to the Government "the adoption without delay of some measures for the mitigation of the sufferings now existing, and for effectually preventing the recurrence of those scenes which cannot be contemplated without exciting feelings of the most painful description."

Election.

Parliament was dissolved in the beginning of June 1826. In anticipation of this, on May 1, a requisition, very numerously signed by persons of all parties, was presented to Mr. Huskisson, thanking him for his past services, and earnestly requesting him again to come forward. To this he sent a cordial reply.

Meetings.

On June 1 a meeting of Mr. Huskisson's friends was held at the King's Arms Inn, to make preparations for the coming election, at which Mr. John Gladstone presided. The proceedings went on harmoniously until near the close. Three cheers being proposed for Mr. Huskisson, some hisses were mingled

with the applause. A man named Allen, a shipwright, then claimed to be heard, as a freeman of the borough, and considerable confusion ensued, during which the chairman and his friends left the room. Allen then got upon the table and read from a newspaper the report of a speech by Mr. Huskisson in the House of Commons on the subject of combinations amongst the shipwrights, in which Mr. Huskisson had said that if these were persevered in they must be met by admitting the foreign shipbuilding trade to come into competition with the ship carpentry trade at home. Three groans were given for Mr. Huskisson, and the meeting dispersed.

The passing of the combination laws, in the previous session, had given great umbrage to the artizan class, and Mr. Huskisson was accused of having supported them. On Friday, June 2, there was a meeting of freemen and others in Mosslake Fields, "to take into consideration the propriety of supporting a gentleman of their own choice, who should oppose the combination laws." Nearly 2000 persons assembled, the greater part out of mere curiosity. Mr. Thomas Green, auctioneer (the General Green of Brougham and Creevey), being present, was voted to the chair, on a pile of bricks; and various opinions were taken as to a candidate to be sent up with the "old General" to oppose the combination laws. The choice ultimately fell upon Mr. Charles Wye Williams, barrister, who had recently come to Liverpool to manage the affairs of the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company. A requisition was accordingly improvised on the spot, and the meeting adjourned to the following evening, in Clayton Square. At this meeting the requisition was signed by about 500 freemen. Mr. Williams, as soon as he heard of these proceedings, declined the proffered honour. The requisition was then forwarded to Mr. Houldsworth, of Manchester, with the same results.

Meeting of freemen.

Mr. C. W. Williams.

During all this time neither General Gascoyne nor his friends made any public sign. A short time previously the trades of Liverpool had subscribed £120 for a piece of plate to be presented to the General, as a token of their gratitude for his opposition to the repeal of Mr. Hume's bill respecting combinations. For some unexplained reason the presentation was private, and did not find its way into the newspapers till some time afterwards. The plate consisted of a large, massive silver cup, holding seven quarts, 18 ins. high, weighing 16 lb., beautifully embossed, and bearing the following inscription:

Presentation to Gascoyne.

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Presented to General Isaac Gascoyne, M.P., by the under-mentioned Societies of Operative Mechanics in Liverpool, as a token of gratitude for his decided opposition to the re-enactment of the Combination Laws, 1825.

A very handsome silver gold-lined snuff-box accompanied the cup.

Meeting.

On June 8 the General attended a meeting of the True Blue Club, at the Golden Lion, where he addressed his friends. The day following he was escorted into the town by a large number of the operatives, whom he addressed from the balcony of the Adelphi Hotel.

Huskisson on Change.

On Saturday, June 10, Mr. Huskisson arrived in the town, and on visiting the Exchange room he was welcomed by loud and long-continued cheering by a crowded assemblage of gentlemen of all parties, whom he addressed; and alluding to the complaints which had been made of his conduct, hoped his censors would meet him at the hustings on Monday, when he would be prepared to prove that he was in fact their friend.

Nomination.

On Monday, June 12, the election took place. The General was evidently the favourite with the working classes, who attended in great numbers. The first nomination was that of Major Gascoyne, son of the General, proposed by William Allen, boatbuilder, seconded by John Robinson, slater and plasterer. Alderman Bourne proposed, and Alderman Bullin seconded, the nomination of the General. Mr. Huskisson was received with mingled hootings and applause. He was nominated by Colonel Bolton, seconded by Alderman Lawrence. Mr. Rushton, in a most animated and eloquent speech, commended Mr. Huskisson for his free trade principles, but complained that he did not go far enough: that he did not apply to corn, the prime necessary of life, the same freedom that he pleaded for the other commodities. He then denounced the conduct of General Gascoyne in a tone of withering scorn.

Poll.

Mr. Huskisson delivered a long and argumentative speech in defence of his conduct and principles. The poll was then opened and continued for about two hours, when by common consent it was closed with the numbers as follow: Huskisson, 113; Gascoyne, 103; Colonel Bolton, 21; Major Gascoyne, 13. The members were then chaired with the usual display.

Deaf and Dumb Institution.

In July of this year, steps were taken for the establishment of an institution for the education of the deaf and dumb. It

was originally commenced by Mr. William Comer and carried on for some time at his sole expense; but at the meeting in question a committee was formed and the undertaking handed over to them. The institution has continued its useful career in a modest unostentatious way to the present time, and has been the means of rescuing and placing in useful positions many hundreds of those labouring under the infirmity for which it provides.

St. James's Cemetery.

The old quarry between St. James's Road and Hope Street, from which stone for the Liverpool buildings had been extracted during the previous century, remained a rough and unsightly valley of desolation. Schemes had at different times been propounded for utilising it. Public attention had recently been directed to the disgraceful state of the graveyards in large towns, and to the necessity for some better provision for interment. This feeling in Liverpool was stimulated by the opening of the Necropolis early in 1825, which was established by the Protestant Dissenters. A plan was soon after proposed to convert this quarry into a Church of England cemetery. The site was admirably adapted for picturesque effects, and catacombs could easily be excavated in the scarped precipices which bounded the land. A prominent mass of rock at the entrance afforded a fine position for a Greek temple, being a sort of acropolis in miniature. The land belonging to the corporation, the council agreed to appropriate it for the purpose, and to take a certain proportion of the shares of the joint-stock company formed to carry out the plan. The first stone was laid on August 28, 1827. The cemetery was consecrated on January 13, 1829. The first interment took place June 11 the same year.

Meetings on the corn-laws.

On November 15, a public meeting was held in the town-hall, pursuant to a requisition, "for the purpose of taking into consideration the expediency of presenting petitions to the legislature for the repeal of the Corn Laws or for their modification." The mayor (Mr. T. Littledale) occupied the chair. The meeting was addressed by Messrs. Henry Booth, W. Wallace Currie, James Brancker, Thomas Thornely, Adam Hodgson, and others. Resolutions were passed deprecating restrictions on the free intercourse of trade, and pleading for some relaxation of the existing stringent legislation. There was, however, a timidity in grappling with the essence of the question, a fear of boldly denouncing any interference with the importation of food,

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which it required years of agitation to remove. It seemed to be taken for granted that some amount of duty must be imposed, the only matter for discussion being the proportion.

On March 2, 1827, another meeting on the same subject was held by the working classes, at which a petition to Parliament was agreed to, denouncing the Corn-laws, and praying for their abrogation. Mr. Canning's Ministry, under the able guidance of Mr. Huskisson, soon after this began to move in the direction of free trade; the last words of the last speech ever delivered by Mr. Canning, being a pledge that in the succeeding session the Government would deal with the question, an alteration towards a more liberal system passed by the Commons having been defeated in the Lords on the motion of the Duke of Wellington.

Canning on the corn-laws.

Canning Prime Minister.

After the retirement of the Earl of Liverpool, in April 1827, Mr. Canning received the king's commands to form an administration. The difficulties he met with from the hostility of the ultra-Tory party are matters of history on which it is unnecessary to dilate. His old constituency to a great extent sympathised with him, supported by all the influence the Whig party, so long the bitter opponents of Mr. Canning, could bring to bear. For the purpose of giving expression to the public feeling on the subject, a meeting was convened by the mayor (Mr. T. Littledale) pursuant to a numerously-signed requisition, at the town-hall on Wednesday, May 9. The meeting was crowded and enthusiastic, principally consisting of the mercantile classes. The absence of a large number of those who had been Mr. Canning's principal supporters was very significant. Mr. John Gladstone was true to his allegiance, and took a prominent part in the proceedings, by moving "that a dutiful and loyal address to his Majesty be transmitted from this meeting, congratulating his Majesty on the formation of his present Ministry." This was seconded by the Rev. William Shepherd.[1] Mr. Cyrus Morrall, a quondam supporter of Mr. Canning, opposed the adoption of the address, commenting severely on several points of Mr. Canning's conduct, and concluded by moving, "That this meeting do adjourn to this day six months." Mr. Thomas Tinley animadverted in strong terms

Public meeting to address the king.

[1] The approximation of these two gentlemen on the present occasion was very remarkable. During the election of 1812 Mr. Shepherd had penned a bitter satire on Mr. Gladstone for his support of the very man he now came forward to eulogise.

on Mr. Canning's advocacy of Catholic Emancipation, and on his commercial legislation, stating that "he doubted his honesty and disapproved of his measures." Colonel Williams, who never missed an opportunity of pouring out the vials of his wrath, after round abuse of the late Ministry, declared that "he did not care for Canning or Brougham, or any other man for Minister: but when he found him acting on principles which he conceived to be calculated to advance the good of the country, he would support any man, or even the devil himself." Mr. Canning was eloquently defended by Mr. Rushton and Mr. Wallace Currie, and the address was carried by acclamation.

A very short time after this meeting, Mr. Brougham, Canning's former rival but now his close ally, visited Liverpool as counsel in the trial of an important claim for land taken by the trustees for dock purposes, which will be mentioned hereafter. The opportunity was availed of by his admirers to entertain him at a public dinner, which took place at the Music Hall on Monday, June 18, Mr. Francis Jordan in the chair. Mr. Brougham was most enthusiastically received. The speech which he delivered is not included amongst those collected and published by himself, but some parts of it are in his happiest vein. The burden of it was naturally an explanation of his position as a supporter of Mr. Canning's Government, into which he went very elaborately. I will give a few of the passages which possess the most interest in connection with Liverpool. After referring to the election of 1812, he proceeds: "It does so happen, that from that day to this, I have never had the happiness of visiting Liverpool, and, as the last day that I was here I was occupied in speaking against Mr. Canning —not personally, but against the side on which he appeared— the very next time I raise my voice amongst you is to avow to you that he and I are, at the present moment, acting together; he in office, and I out of office; he in power and in place, and I supporting that power, and helping, with the humble mite of my assistance, to preserve to him that place, because I conscientiously believe that I cannot render a greater service to my country than by humbly but disinterestedly tendering him such my assistance."

Dinner to Brougham.

Brougham's speech.

After a eulogium on Mr. Canning personally, he goes into a history of previous parliamentary coalitions, which for the most part he denounces as unprincipled. He then shows that the present emergency requires the public support of Mr. Canning,

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as being far in advance of his late colleagues, and fighting the battle of progress, for the country, for liberty, and for mankind. Alluding to the Duke of Wellington's recent opposition to the relaxation of the Corn Laws, he says:

Brougham's speech.

"I speak on a day when it becomes me to express the highest gratitude an Englishman can feel to an illustrious warrior, who on this day twelve years led our countrymen to the most glorious of all their victories. I wish to express my gratitude to that distinguished Captain for those services, which all the gratitude of his country (and it has been all but boundless) never can repay. Still I cannot help feeling for his fame and for his character, which is public property; I cannot but express my regret, with all that good humour which is called for by such a day as this, that he had not found some other antagonist and some other field than the late question, since none but himself could have been his own conqueror."

Towards the close of his address he spoke as follows: "Gentlemen, I have entered into this explanation, which I have purposely made minute, detailed, tiresome if you will, because I almost look upon myself as rendering an account of my publick conduct to my own constituents. (*Loud Cheers.*) Accidents have severed us for many years, but I have never ceased to remember your kindness, and I have never ceased to feel that the first time I came amongst you it was as much my sacred duty to render you an account of my public life as if you had conferred the trust of a representative upon me. It was no fault of yours that I was not your representative; it was my own fault that I was not. I know that I might have been, if upon that memorable Sunday I had listened to what was then propounded; but we refused that which would have made me in 1812 the colleague of Mr. Canning, instead of being his supporter in 1827. We preferred trying for two members, and we failed; as we should have failed in the late negotiations, if we had followed the Liverpool policy in 1812; for then, instead of having a government composed of liberal men, and established on sound principles, we should have strained at what we could not possibly have achieved; and should have let in men of no light, no knowledge, no liberality. In casting my eye back on the scenes through which we have passed, and of which I have been a nearer spectator than yourselves, I feel that if I had acted another part I should have been sacrificing my most sacred duty to my country, to my principles, and to mankind

Brougham's speech.

—if I had allowed one moment's time or place for the action of mean, paltry personal feelings, and had refused my sanction to the measures which placed Mr. Canning at the head of affairs, merely because it was giving a great, a signal, an illustrious triumph to a personal rival. I do not look upon power as a thing to be envied by any wise man. Power in itself—mere power, is anything rather than either (I fear) a friend to virtue, or a test of merit. The bloated despot enjoys it by the accident of his birth; the unprincipled usurper, the ferocious conqueror wades to it through blood; the defects that degrade him below the rank of a man confer it upon the despicable inmate of the seraglio. But power, to be of use to mankind—the power of doing good to our country—the opportunity of scattering blessings over the land of our birth or of our adoption—the power to enable you to root out ignorance, to diffuse the lights of knowledge, to break the chains of enslaved men, of whatever colour, of what cast, of what sect soever they may be—power, to benefit mankind, and to illustrate our country, and to ennoble our age, and to amend our race; *that* is a power, which a man —ay, which an angel might stoop from his height to take up. (*Loud cheers for several minutes.*) I do believe from the bottom of my whole heart, that in lending my feeble aid to establish power in the hands of the men who at this moment wield it, I have enabled many to hold it for these sacred purposes; and I care not whether I have it in my own hands, or have the happiness of strengthening the honest hands of others. (*Loud cheers.*) I feel assured that he who does so, while his life here is spared, doing good to his fellow-creatures in his own humble sphere, and to the best of his own feeble powers, has that heartfelt satisfaction which, he would dearly purchase any miserable promotion in the state, or in the judicature, or in a foreign mission, or in the command of his country's forces, by giving up; that heartfelt satisfaction which arises from cultivating the minds of his fellow men; from living a life of integrity, pure and disinterested; and from entitling himself to bequeath a name, when he ceases here to exist, to countless ages, as one of the *greatest*, though it may be one of the humblest benefactors of mankind."

This noble peroration was received with the most rapturous applause, the whole assembly rising and cheering, with waving of handkerchiefs for several minutes.

The alliance here so eloquently illustrated was of very short duration. Early in August rumours of Mr. Canning's serious

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1827. Canning's death.

illness got abroad, and on the 8th of the month the noble heart, which had borne up with such courage against a host of difficulties and enemies, ceased to beat. The news was received in Liverpool with a deep feeling of regret and sympathy amongst all parties.

Meeting for a monument to Canning.

On the 27th of the same month a public meeting was held at the town-hall, pursuant to a requisition to the mayor, "for the purpose of taking into consideration and determining upon the propriety of showing some mark of respect to the memory of the Right Honourable George Canning." The mayor took the chair, and the meeting was addressed by Mr. Joseph Birch, M.P.; Mr. John Moss, who attended in the absence of Mr. Gladstone; Messrs. Charles Turner, Wallace Currie, Edward Rushton, William Courtenay, M.P. for Exeter, and others. Suitable resolutions were passed, amongst others —"That a monument be erected to the memory of the late Right Honourable George Canning, and that a subscription be entered into to defray the cost and contingent expenses of erecting such monument."

The result was the statue by Chantrey which now decorates the landing of the grand staircase in the town-hall, one of the finest which ever proceeded from the studio of the artist, and every way worthy of its great subject. The sum paid to Mr. Chantrey for the statue was three thousand guineas. It was first exposed to public view on September 28, 1832.

Rock Light-house.

On June 8, 1827, the foundation-stone of the lighthouse erected on the site of the old Rock Perch was laid by the mayor. The structure is built on the principles of the Eddystone lighthouse, and shows a series of revolving lights, two white to one red.

Musical festival.

The Musical Festival of 1827 was celebrated in the first week in October with more than usual splendour. The Duke and Duchess of St. Albans (*née* Miss Mellon, afterwards Mrs. Coutts) the Derby, Grosvenor, and Wilton families, with most of the Lancashire and Cheshire gentry, attended the proceedings. The principal vocal attraction was Madame Pasta, then in the first flush of her brilliant career. Besides the musical performances there was a balloon ascent by the veteran aeronaut Green, and two balls, one at the Wellington Rooms, the other a fancy dress ball of more than ordinary magnificence. In order to accommodate the large number of guests, the Exchange Newsroom was pressed into the service, with a covered way extemporised from the town-hall rooms across the quadrangle—

an expedient which has since been resorted to more than once on state occasions.

The handsome amount of £4200 was realised clear of all expenses, which was divided amongst the charities of the town.

I have recorded above the particulars of several contested elections for the mayoralty, culminating in that between Messrs. Bullin and Molyneux in 1821, with the lavish expenses and the prices paid for votes. All these were, however, thrown into the shade by the contest of 1827, between Messrs. Thomas Colley Porter and Nicholas Robinson.

Contest for Mayor: Porter and Robinson.

The reasons and grounds for the contest were of the most trivial and personal character. There was no political question at issue, nor any municipal point to be decided. Even Mr. Disraeli's Tadpole and Taper would have felt it difficult to find a subject on which to establish "a good cry." The most probable origin of the struggle was the jealousy between the tradesmen and the mercantile interest. Mr. Porter was a thriving and prosperous plumber and painter, who had by industry raised himself to affluence, and by means of some family connections had obtained admission into the ruling municipal clique. Mr. Nicholas Robinson was a respectable merchant of standing and position. Previous to the election the friends of each candidate held a meeting, at each of which some feeble attempt was made to disparage their antagonist and to eulogise the man of their choice; but there was no salient point to take hold of. Every person could see that it was simply a question of money. The office of mayor was to be put up to auction and knocked down to the highest bidder. In anticipation of the good things to come, no fewer than 540 new freemen put in their claims and were enrolled in the burgess list.

Election of Mayor.

At the nomination it clearly appeared that the corporation influence was with Mr. Robinson, whilst—probably from the reaction—Mr. Porter was the popular candidate. According to custom, the poll was kept open the first day until midnight. The excitement was quite as great as at a general election. Bands of music, preceded by flambeaux, escorted the voters to the hustings.

On the first day Mr. Porter's friends proposed to pay to each freeman six shillings, which had been a usual allowance for loss of time in coming to vote. It was stated that Mr. Robinson's committee paid ten shillings a man to the first

Bribery.

CHAP. V.

1827. Election of Mayor.

tally. This, of course, stimulated the opposite side to bid higher; and so the auction for votes proceeded for six days, until at the last the prices had run up to £30 or £40 per vote. It must be understood that there was not the least attempt at concealment. There was no mysterious "Man in the Moon," concealed in a dark room, administering the so-called "sugar" in secret; all was open and aboveboard. The price of a vote was bargained for with as much keenness as a bale of cotton or a puncheon of rum. Nor were creature comforts forgotten. The following paragraph from a publication of the period will show the style in which the whole affair was conducted: "The arrangements of Mr. Robinson's committee for the comforts of the canvassers and freemen evinced their considerate attention and admirable management. This morning (the fifth day) a table, the whole length of the room in the King's Arms, was laid out and covered with joints of meat and the most substantial refreshments. To this sumptuous entertainment no fewer than 200 freemen sat down at once to partake of the liberal fare. Several of the gentlemen who acted as canvassers were in attendance, and waited on the worthies, supplying all their wants. It presented a scene of bustle and uproarious merriment that defies all description. The canvassers dined every day together at the King's Arms. We question if an electioneering contest was ever conducted in a more perfectly systematic style than by the committee who managed Mr. Robinson's election."

Treating.

There, gentle reader, is a picture of Liverpool manners and customs in the year of grace 1827, the magnificent prize being the mayoralty of a provincial town for a period of twelve months! Gambling and betting, of course, followed in the wake of corruption. About the middle of the sixth day, the Robinson party, both funds and men being exhausted, gave in, as the contemporary account euphemistically states—"in the most handsome and candid manner." The procession of the winning party after the close was of the most gorgeous description. The contest was wound up by a dinner of Mr. Porter's friends at the York Hotel.

The whole affair was one of the most extraordinary exhibitions of senseless folly on the one hand, and of shameless greed and corruption on the other, which had ever been witnessed. The expenses were estimated at not less than £10,000 on each side, and one of the candidates no doubt seriously embarrassed himself by the outlay.

This state of things did not go unnoticed by the public, amongst whom a general feeling of disgust and indignation prevailed. The grand jury at the Quarter Sessions then sitting made a presentment, expressing "their protest against the disgraceful system of bribery practised at the elections for this borough, not only by the friends of the candidates for the civic chair, but also by the partisans of the candidates for the representation of the borough in Parliament." It was felt that an institution so thoroughly rotten to the core could not last. A public meeting was called, at which resolutions were passed in favour of extending the franchise to householders, which were vehemently resisted by a number of the freemen. When it was put to them by one of the speakers whether they would not be willing that their fellow-townsmen should participate in their privileges, he was met by loud cries of "No, no, we won't."

Extension of the franchise.

The numbers at the close of the poll stood as follows: Porter, 1780; Robinson, 1765.

A.D. 1828.

After the formation of the Wellington and Peel Administration, Mr. Huskisson, having accepted the office of Colonial Secretary, presented himself to his constituents for re-election, on February 5, 1828. He was proposed by Colonel Bolton, seconded by Mr. John Gladstone. Some suspicion attached to Mr. Huskisson for taking office under the party which had hunted his former leader to the death. Mr. Charles Turner stood forward, and said, that "being one of those Whigs who had signed the requisition to Mr. Huskisson again to become a candidate for their representation, he hoped to be indulged in stating some few points which appeared to him to require explanation, of the conduct of the right hon. gentleman subsequently to the signing of that requisition." Mr. Turner, however, was interrupted, on the ground that, not being a freeman, he had no right to address the burgesses. Mr. Wallace Currie then took up the dropped thread of Mr. Turner's address, and proceeded to catechise Mr. Huskisson on the leading questions of the day, especially the repeal of the Corn Laws and Catholic Emancipation. In his reply, Mr. Huskisson entered into an elaborate defence of his conduct in taking office in the Tory Administration. The following passage was rendered memorable by subsequent events:

Election.

Nomination.

"In my interview with the Duke of Wellington, I felt myself called upon to look to three things: first, to measures; secondly, to the guarantees to those measures; and thirdly (what I have

Huskisson's speech.

CHAP. V. 1827.

as much at heart as anything else), that nothing should be done by me inconsistent with my attachment and fidelity to my lamented friend, Mr. Canning. As to measures, I first looked naturally to the foreign policy of the country; and I looked also to the commerce, the internal industry, and the colonial interests of the country. I was also bound to see to that question which, whatever difference of opinion there might be upon it, I think of vast importance to the permanent peace and security of the country, and to its strength in war—I mean the footing upon which the Catholic question should stand in the new arrangement. If any man can doubt my sincerity, let him look at such men as Lord Dudley, Mr. Grant (Lord Glenelg), and Mr. Lamb (Lord Melbourne), whose continuance in office is the most satisfactory of all guarantees that the general principles of our foreign policy and commercial system would remain unchanged, and that Ireland would be governed with the strictest impartiality in respect to the Catholic question."

Rupture with Wellington.

These expressions about his requiring "*guarantees*" before joining the Administration were commented on in Parliament, and roused the ire of the Duke of Wellington, who rejected with scorn the idea that any gentleman would propose to him any guarantee of the sort, or that he could for an instant listen to the proposal. "Is it to be supposed," said the Duke, "that the right honourable gentleman could have used the expressions ascribed to him at the Liverpool election? If my right hon. friend had entered into any such corrupt bargain as he was represented to describe, he would have tarnished his own fame as much as I should have disgraced mine." Huskisson's explanation was, that he meant to say that the composition of the Cabinet was itself a sufficient guarantee for the carrying out of a liberal policy. A great soreness, however, remained; the Duke and Huskisson did not take to each other kindly, and two months afterwards, on the question of the disfranchisement of East Retford, occurred the celebrated rupture which exhibited in a painful light the contrasted characters of the two men. Huskisson, morbidly anxious to stand well with the party of his former leader, and evidently not quite satisfied with his new position, feeble in health, and sick at heart, having voted adversely to his party, in obedience to what he considered a previous obligation, at once placed his resignation in the hands of the Duke, evidently without the least idea that he would be taken at his word. The "Iron Duke," with his straightforward, decisive habit of mind, had no

Huskisson and Wellington.

sympathy with nice distinctions. He could not understand Touchstone's method of making up a quarrel: "If you said so, then I said so. Your *If* is the only peacemaker; much virtue in an *If*." Mr. Huskisson had sent in his resignation, and the Duke hastened to lay it before the king. Mr. Huskisson submitted that his meaning had been mistaken; his resignation was only conditional. "No," said the Duke, "there has been no mistake, and there *shall be* no mistake;" and thus the services of the enlightened pioneer in the cause of progress were finally lost to the country.

Anti-slavery meeting.

On April 14, 1828, a public meeting was held to promote the anti-slavery agitation, Mr. W. Wallace Currie in the chair. The meeting was addressed by Messrs. James Cropper, Adam Hodgson, Samuel Hope, and other gentlemen; but the time was not yet fully ripe for decisive action, which came a few years later.

Repeal of Test Acts. Public dinner.

On June 19 the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts was celebrated by a public dinner at the assembly-room, King's Arms, the Rev. W. Shepherd in the chair. The chairman's address was in a happy and rollicking spirit of humour. Alluding to the opposition of Lord Eldon to the measure, he said:

Shepherd's speech.

"Gentlemen, there must be great allowance made for this venerable statesman; he had not then, nor has he yet recovered the shock of the tumble down from political power which he experienced. Besides this, he saw that his successor (Lord Lyndhurst) was a man in the prime of life, and in the full vigour of his intellect; that he was possessed of such happy pliability of political principle, that, like a glove, he could accommodate himself to any Ministry; and therefore, that having once got on the woolsack, he was not likely to quit it. Gentlemen, I read in the records of our corporation the account of a man named John Dixon being fined five shillings, in the reign of Charles II., for profanely swearing that, whoever the devil would be mayor, he would be town-clerk. So with Lord Lyndhurst—whoever may be Minister, he seems determined to be Lord Chancellor. . . . As to the declaration, Gentlemen, with which this boon to the Dissenters is accompanied, it reminds me of an old gentleman who, in the plenitude of his liberality, put his hand into his breeches pocket and gave a poor man a sixpence; but suddenly recollecting himself, he turns upon his heel and calls out, 'Halloa, you sir, give me back a penny!' This precaution on the part of the Church to protect herself from the

CHAP. V. 1828.

Dissenters is very much like that of a tall, strapping Amazonian lady who should permit a pigmy to associate with her, but first made him covenant that he would not attempt to violate her honour."

Revenue buildings.

On Tuesday, August 12 (the king's birthday), the first stone of New Revenue Buildings, on the site of the Old Dock, was laid by the mayor (Mr. T. C. Porter). There was a grand demonstration, consisting of a procession of the mayor and corporation, with the trades and schools, with flags, banners, and music. A Champion, in brazen armour, mounted on a charger attracted great attention. There were also boat races on the river, and an exhibition of fireworks at night. In the evening the mayor entertained about 200 gentlemen at dinner in the town-hall.

Visit of Peel.

In the month of October, Sir Robert (then Mr.) Peel paid a visit to Liverpool, and was received with great distinction. On Tuesday, the 7th, accompanied by his lady and daughter, he visited the various objects of interest in the town and port. At the town-hall he was presented with the freedom of the borough, after which a cold collation was served.

Peel's speech.

In the evening a dinner was given by the mayor in the town-hall. In the course of his speech, in response to the toast of his health, Mr. Peel observed: "I cannot at all convey to you an adequate idea of the impressions excited by my visit to your great and flourishing town. I have passed the day in witnessing the wondrous scenes which Liverpool presents; and I have been gratified, astonished, and, allow me to add, surprised, at what everywhere met my eye. I have frequently heard of the rising greatness of Liverpool, but I never conceived that it had risen to such an eminence as it now proudly and magnificently holds. Belonging, as I do, to a family intimately connected with the manufactures and commerce of the county, I was anxious to visit it; and I now feel, that, as a public man, I should have been guilty of a dereliction of duty if I had not inspected a place which is so intimately connected with the interests and prosperity of my country. I was desirous to see a town where the interests of the commercial world concentrate, and where the intelligence, the spirit, the enterprise, and the worth of its inhabitants, have ennobled the character of the British merchant and shed such a lustre upon the country. Gentlemen, I have been gratified. I have viewed your town: its noble institutions and splendid monuments devoted to charity

have been inspected, and I shall leave Liverpool under impressions which cannot easily be erased."

1828.

On October 17 the celebrated Mrs. Fry visited Liverpool on one of her benevolent missions; she preached three times at the Friends' meeting-house in Hunter Street, and subsequently met at the town-hall several clergymen and others whom she endeavoured to interest in her plans. Her manner, voice, and delivery in her addresses seem to have charmed all who heard her. Mrs. Fry.

At the close of Mr. Porter's mayoralty, for which he had paid so dear, his quondam opponent Mr. Robinson was quietly elected, and reigned in his stead. Mr. Porter won golden opinions from all parties during his term of office. Soon after its close, it was determined to present him with a testimonial in the form of a service of plate. A subscription was entered into, which realised £560. The plate was presented on April 16, 1829. The principal articles bore the following inscription: Presentation to Porter.

Presented to
THOMAS COLLEY PORTER, ESQUIRE,
By his fellow-townsmen,
In testimony of their esteem,
And as a memorial of the
Assiduity, Dignity, and Hospitality
With which he discharged the duties of
Chief Magistrate
Of the Borough of Liveroool,
1828.

The day after his election the new sessions house, Chapel Street and Rumford Street, was opened by the new mayor, Mr. Robinson. To this I shall recur hereafter. It had not a very long duration, being taken down in 1869, and the site absorbed into the New Exchange. New Sessions House.

On Friday, December 12, 1828, the celebrated Cantatrice Madame Catalani took her farewell of the Liverpool orchestra preparatory to her final retirement. She reigned for many years as the queen of song, and although, perhaps, requiring rather more of effort, it is stated that she was never more powerful or attractive than in her final appearance. In giving Rule Britannia and God save the King, with her wonderful bursts and rich cadences, she appears to have quite taken the house by storm. Catalani.

CHAP. V. 1829.

The year 1829 was memorable for the passing of the Catholic relief bill. Opinion in Liverpool was very much divided upon the subject. No public demonstrations took place, but monster petitions were sent up on both sides of the question; that against the measure having received 33,000 signatures, and the one in favour, about 30,000.

Catholic emancipation.

Religious controversy was naturally excited. On July 10 a meeting of the Reformation Society was held in the Music Hall, principally to hear an address from Captain Gordon, R.N. A number of Irish Catholics, chiefly of the labouring class, were in attendance, and gave some interruption to the proceedings, which were further enlivened by a somewhat excited speech from a young Irishman, Mr. Sharkey.

Meeting.

Public attention having been drawn towards corporate affairs by the contest for the mayoralty and certain proceedings in the council, a movement was originated amongst the freemen to prevail on the mayor to summon a common hall. A requisition to that effect was presented to the mayor and bailiffs in the beginning of August, which was declined; whereupon a meeting of the freemen—principally of the working class—was convened, at which resolutions were passed, denouncing the proceedings of the council, and expressing the intention of the "free and independent burgesses" to assert their rights. Another meeting of a more public character was held in the Music Hall on October 1, which was addressed by Messrs. E. Rushton, William Rathbone, Colonel Williams, and the Rev. W. Shepherd. At this meeting, in addition to a series of resolutions maintaining the rights of the burgesses, a committee was appointed to carry out the objects of the meeting. Nothing, however, came of the movement. Funds were not forthcoming. It was generally felt that to mend a rotten and fallen system would be a more difficult task than to root it up altogether. In six years from this time the whole was swept away.

Requisition for common hall.

Early in the year a grand fancy dress ball was given in the town-hall rooms on behalf of the fund for the relief of the Spanish and Italian refugees, attended by about 1200 guests. One or two incidents connected therewith are worthy of mention. The ball was not exclusively of a fancy dress character, and some ludicrous mistakes occurred in the announcement and description of the assumed personalities. Mr. Jas. Silk Buckingham, well known for his travels in the east, presenting himself in a foreign costume, was asked, "in what character he came?" Mistaking

Fancy ball.

Ludicrous mistakes.

the word "character" for "carriage," he replied, "in Mr. Theodore Rathbone's." His interlocutor called out, "Put down Mr. Buckingham in the character of Mr. Theodore Rathbone!" Perceiving the mistake, Mr. B. said, "No; my costume is that of an Egyptian Mameluke." His interrogator amended his blunder by setting him down as "Lalla Rookh!" and in the next day's paper appeared amongst the other celebrities, "Mr. J. S. Buckingham, in the character of that peerless lady Lalla Rookh, well supported, and highly interesting!!" A noble act of unostentatious generosity was performed by the mayor, Mr. N. Robinson, at this ball. Though he had nothing to do with the getting of it up, and none of the *éclat* accrued to him, he gave quiet instructions that the whole of the expenses should be debited to himself personally, leaving the entire proceeds to be devoted to the charity.

Mayor's liberality.

Another subject which attracted public attention in Liverpool during this year, was the opening of the trade to China and the far East, in prospect of the renewal of the East India Company's charter.

Trade to China.

A most numerously and respectably signed requisition was presented to the mayor, requesting him to call a town's meeting "for the purpose of taking into consideration the best means of removing the restrictions imposed upon commerce by the present charter of the East India Company, and of prevailing on the Legislature to secure to the public all those benefits which a free commercial intercourse with India and China is capable of affording."

Meeting.

The meeting was held in the new court-room in the Sessions House on Wednesday, January 28th 1829, the mayor in the chair. The principal speakers were Messrs. John Gladstone, William Rathbone, William Ewart, Henry Booth, W. Wallace Currie, David Hodgson, Samuel Hope, and Thomas Brocklebank. The meeting was one of the most influential in a commercial point of view ever held in the town. Strong resolutions were passed in favour of opening the trade, and a petition to Parliament founded thereon was adopted.

On Tuesday, September 15, 1829, Mr. Whitmore, M.P., who had been an earnest and able advocate in the cause of free trade with the East, was entertained at a public dinner at the Adelphi Hotel, Mr. James Cropper in the chair. Mr. Whitmore in his address strongly advocated the general principles of free trade, especially in the prime necessaries of life. "It is my

Mr. Whitmore.

CHAP. V. 1829.

conviction," said he, "that until we re-establish that regular and habitual trade in corn which the present state of the country requires, we can look forward to no degree of permanent prosperity." Messrs. Rushton, Alston, and Radcliffe also addressed the assembly.

Cobbett.

At the end of the year, William Cobbett visited Liverpool and delivered in the Music Hall four lectures on the political questions of the day, especially with reference to the currency, and the lavish expenditure of the country. The lectures were numerously attended and well received.

Distress.

A.D. 1830.

The winter of 1829-30 was severe, and the poor suffered considerable distress for want of employment. On January 4, a meeting of the operatives was held, at which resolutions were passed, expressive of the want of work and the low wages of labour. The establishment of co-operative societies, or working and trading unions was advocated as a remedy.

Night Asylum.

Mr. Egerton Smith, in the pages of the *Mercury*, took up the subject of providing a refuge or night asylum for the houseless poor, and excited the public interest in the benevolent undertaking. On March 2, 1830, a public meeting was held of those favourable to the carrying out of the plan; at which resolutions were adopted, and a committee formed. Premises were rented and the asylum established, which continued to be a refuge for the friendless for many years, until superseded by the action of the parish authorities under the amended Poor-law. On February 3 the Common Council voted £500 to be expended in alleviation of the distress.

Provident District Society.

For the purpose of concentrating the efforts in the relief of the poor and to prevent imposture, a Provident District Society was established during the winter, into which it was proposed that the various agencies all working for a common object should merge. The scheme met with general acceptance, and has been continued to the present day with very beneficial results.

Trade to China.

The opening of the trade with the East was now pressed vigorously on the attention of Parliament. Petitions poured in from every quarter of the country, and the Government, in deference to public opinion, appointed a committee of inquiry. Before this committee several of the most eminent merchants of Liverpool gave evidence against the restrictive policy. This bore its fruit in due time, though other matters of a more pressing nature for a time took precedence.

On Saturday morning, June 26, George IV. departed this life. His successor, William IV., was proclaimed in Liverpool on the 30th. In July the corporation voted an address of condolence and congratulation to the king, which was presented at the *levée*, when the mayor (Mr. George Drinkwater) received the honour of knighthood.

Accession of William IV.

The stirring events of the three July days in Paris caused great excitement, in which Liverpool took its share. A very numerously signed requisition was presented to the mayor to call a public meeting to express the sympathies of the people of England. This his worship declined to do. The meeting was nevertheless held in the Music Hall under the presidency of Mr. W. Wallace Currie. The meeting was addressed by the Rev. W. Shepherd, and Messrs. F. Jordan, John Ewart, H. Booth, Edward Rushton, Thomas Thornely, and others. Resolutions of a congratulatory character were adopted, and a subscription opened for the relief of the sufferers.

French Revolution.

Public Meeting.

On Monday, August 30, 1830, the new cattle market, Old Swan, was opened, the traffic being removed from Kirkdale, where it had previously been conducted. This market has since assumed colossal dimensions, a greater amount of business being here transacted than at any market in the kingdom, the metropolis excepted.

New cattle market.

The election for the first parliament under the new reign was held on August 2. Mr. Huskisson was no longer in office, and was to some extent a defeated and disappointed man. He was also in a very bad state of health, and unable to attend. His friends, however, rallied round him, if not with the enthusiasm of former years, at least with a steady adherence. The committee appointed to conduct his election consisted almost exclusively of gentlemen of the Tory party. A meeting of a very heterogeneous character was held, for the purpose of getting up an opposition, consisting partly of the ultra-Radical followers of Mr. Cobbett, and partly of the lower class of freemen. One of these latter, addressing the meeting, said "he hated a puritanical election, without beer or money, and they ought to get some one to stand who would treat them well." This loyal and sensible observation was greeted with loud cheers. After an indescribable scene of tumult the meeting broke up in confusion.

Election.

Election Meetings.

On the hustings Sir John Tobin acted as Mr. Huskisson's "locum tenens," and read an explanatory address from him,

Nomination.

CHAP. V. 1830.

strongly advocating a reduction of taxation, a more equal distribution of the burdens of the State and the adoption of the system of free trade; in somewhat hazy language, he also pointed towards a reform in Parliament.

General Gascoyne gave utterance to very liberal sentiments. He said "he had always been the supporter of a free trade to India. He also thought that the representation might be improved, and he was desirous of seeing the elective franchise extended to such towns as Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and Sheffield." Judged by his subsequent conduct, the liberality of the General was of very short-lived duration.

The irrepressible Colonel Williams was put forward as a candidate for form's sake, and delivered one of his biting orations. The poll continued open for an hour or two, when the Colonel withdrew, and Mr. Huskisson and General Gascoyne were declared duly elected.

Liverpool and Manchester railway.

The Liverpool and Manchester Railway, which had been some years in progress, and had a host of difficulties to overcome, was now completed and ready for opening. This is not the place to repeat the tale a hundred times told of the history of the rise and progress of the railway system, but it is only bare justice to keep in remembrance the fact that it is to the sagacity, enterprise, and perseverance of Liverpool merchants that the world is indebted for the development of railways in their present form. The subject was not new in Liverpool; as early as the year 1812, immediately after the construction of Blenkinsop's colliery railway from Middleton to Leeds, a proposal had been made for the adoption of railways as a means of travelling, and in 1822 a scheme was laid down for a general network of railways over the kingdom. These, however, were but theoretical speculations. The Stockton and Darlington Railway, the first actually worked for passengers, was opened September 27, 1825. This could only be considered a tentative experiment. Public attention was eagerly directed to the completion of the Liverpool and Manchester line, which was to solve the great problem of the future locomotion of the civilised world. It is needless to say that the most sanguine expectations have been realised a hundred—nay a thousand—fold. What the formation of the grand old highways throughout Europe did for the Romans, the great road-makers of antiquity, the railway system has done for modern society, but in a far higher degree. It has changed the map of Europe; it has altered the

boundaries of states; it has revolutionised the art and practice of war; it has given new directions to trade and commerce. Practically it has levelled the lofty summits of the Alps, and reduced the distance between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans to a mere question of a few days. It has changed the centres of industry, opened up new sources of wealth and employment, created populous towns where existed previously only desolate wastes, brought the wild beauties of the lakes and mountains within reach of the toiling multitudes "in populous city pent." It is gradually softening down prejudices, provincialisms, and peculiarities, and paving the way for the access of that coming time—

> When man to man, the world o'er,
> Shall brothers be for a' that.

And all this we owe to the practical sagacity of a single man—George Stephenson! It would not be too much to say, that the genius of the Northumbrian miner has effected more for the progress of the human race in fifty years, than all the conquerors and statesmen had done in the five hundred years preceding.

Opening of railway.

September 15, 1830, the day fixed for the opening, was a memorable epoch for Liverpool and for the world. There was a gathering of the noble and the celebrated from all quarters. The Duke of Wellington, Prince Esterhazy, Sir Robert Peel, Lords spiritual and temporal, Members of Parliament, and celebrities of all kinds, gathered in great numbers, amongst whom, alas! appeared Mr. Huskisson, who had dragged himself from a sickbed in his anxiety to assist in doing honour to the occasion. The day was fine, and the assembled multitudes probably exceeded in numbers any spectacle before or since. All along the thirty miles of its course the railway was lined by spectators from the surrounding country, many from great distances; here and there in dense masses, on other points more sparse:

> You would have thought the very windows spake,
> So many greedy looks of young and old
> Through casements darted their desiring eyes;

and when after a period of expectation strained to the utmost the train appeared in sight, rolling along slowly in its majesty of power, the excitement seemed almost too great to exhibit itself in the usual British cheer. Foremost on the gorgeous

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car prepared for the occasion stood the hero of a hundred fights, the conqueror at Waterloo, grave and impassive, with arms folded, enveloped in his military cloak, surrounded by the noble and distinguished from all quarters. The real hero of the day, the spirit at whose bidding all this mighty scene had been conjured up—George Stephenson—headed the train, driving with his own hands the locomotive, manufactured by himself, appropriately named "The Northumbrian."

Death of Huskisson.

The lamentable accident at Parkside, by which England lost one of her most enlightened statesmen, and Liverpool a most valuable representative, I will not attempt to describe. Mr. Huskisson and the Duke had only once before met since their rupture,[1] and the opportunity was warmly embraced by both for a friendly recognition during a temporary stoppage of the train. When the cry was raised, "Take care, an engine is coming," Mr. Huskisson, with enfeebled body, and nerves unstrung by sickness, became flurried, missed his footing in attempting to ascend, and fell on the rails just as the engine, "The Rocket," came up, passing over his leg, from the effects of which accident he died in a few hours.

Interment.

On September 24 his remains were interred in the new St. James' Cemetery, after a public procession, in which all sects and parties vied with each other in paying the utmost respect to the memory of the departed statesman.

Monument.

On November 3 a public meeting was held in the Sessions House, Sir John Tobin in the chair, to take suitable steps towards the erection of a monument to the late member. About £3000 was subscribed besides the expenses of the funeral. The monument took the form of a circular mausoleum, enclosing a marble statue of the deceased by John Gibson. The statue is a fine work of art, but from the limited space round it, is not seen to advantage. A duplicate of the statue, cast in bronze, was presented by Mr. Huskisson's widow to the town, and erected in the open space on the north side of the Custom-house.

Festival.

The triennial festival was held during the first week in October. The principal vocal celebrity was Madame Malibran, then in the zenith of her marvellous powers.

Election.

The selection of a successor to Mr. Huskisson in the representation necessitated the election of November 1830, one of the most extraordinary in the annals of electioneering.

[1] At Lord Hertford's seat, Sudbourne, Suffolk, on the 10th October 1829.

Party spirit did not run particularly high at the time, the question of reform not having been yet prominently brought forward. The school of Canning and Huskisson formed a sort of common ground, on which the Liverpool Whigs and Tories were content to meet. Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Poulett Thomson, and Mr. Charles Grant, were successively applied to, but each declined the proposed honour. At length two gentlemen were pitched upon as eligible to represent the town, and received requisitions from their respective friends. Both were young, highly educated, eager for public distinction, and professed to belong to the same political school, anxious to wear the mantle and walk in the footsteps of the late lamented representative. Mr. John Evelyn Denison was a scion of a highly respectable family, son-in-law to the Duke of Portland, Mr. Canning's brother-in-law. Mr. William Ewart was a native of Liverpool, son to Mr. William Ewart,[1] principal in the wealthy firm of Ewart, Rutson and Co., who had graduated at Oxford, had been called to the bar, and had already sat in Parliament for the now disfranchised borough of Blechingley. Whigs and Tories were singularly divided. Mr. Edward Rushton and Mr. William Brown (afterwards Sir William) were united with Colonel Bolton and Sir John Tobin in support of Mr. Denison; whilst the veteran reformers, William Rathbone and Rev. W. Shepherd, coalesced with Messrs. Duncan Gibb and Captain Colquitt, R.N., on behalf of Mr. Ewart. The preparations for the contest began about the middle of October, and from that time to the date of the election on November 23 there was one incessant round of canvassing, attending meetings, appearing on change, and in every way making interest for the sweet voices of the freemen. It is singular, seeing how soon the storm was about to burst in all its fury, with what a mild and gentle tone the question of Reform in Parliament was approached. At a meeting of the Guardian Society on November 2, Mr. Denison stated, "He was favourable to a moderate system of reform; he would be desirous to extend the franchise to ratepayers of

Denison.

Ewart.

Preparations.

[1] The elder Ewart was the son of a Scotch minister at Dumfries. He came to Liverpool in early life, and was apprenticed in the counting-house of Sir George Dunbar, Bart., to whose business he afterwards succeeded. He resided in Birchfield, and died in 1823. He left four sons, John, William, Peter, and Joseph Christopher. William and Joseph successively represented Liverpool in Parliament. John was a merchant. Peter was rector of Kirklington near Ripon.

CHAP. V. 1830. Election.

£20 under Mr. Peel's bill, and would also be happy to see representation given to Manchester and the other large towns."

Mr. Ewart, in an address given on 'Change, alluded to "the absolute necessity of extending to our intelligent neighbours in Manchester and other great communities the constitutional right of a free representation," but waived for the time being going into details.

Proceedings in Parliament.

Whilst these proceedings were taking place, very momentous events were occurring elsewhere. Parliament opened on November 2, and in the debate on the address the Duke of Wellington uttered the memorable words which roused the whole country from John o' Groat's House to the Land's End.

The revolution in France had excited the public mind, and led to an expectation of some indication of a movement in the direction of reform in the speech from the throne. Nothing of the kind being even hinted at, but on the contrary a sort of defiant pledge being given of putting down all disturbance with the strong hand, great disappointment was felt, which was given utterance to by Earl Grey in the discussion in the Lords. To this the Duke replied very decisively. He asserted that "the country possessed at the present moment a legislature which answered all the good purposes of legislation;" and that "the legislature and the system of representation possessed the full and entire confidence of the country; deservedly possessed that confidence." "He was not only not prepared to bring forward any measure of this nature, but he would at once declare, that as far as he was concerned, as long as he held any station in the government of the country, he should always feel it his duty to resist such measures when proposed by others."

Defeat of Ministers.

The gauntlet thus boldly thrown down was soon taken up. On November 15 Ministers were beaten on Sir Henry Parnell's motion on the Civil List, and on the 16th the Duke and his colleagues resigned, and the Grey and Brougham administration was formed. The new ministry had not taken their seats at the time of the Liverpool election on the 23d, but their names were a guarantee for the measures they intended to introduce. This could not but have a powerful influence on the tone assumed by the candidates on the hustings. Mr. Denison said:

Nomination.

"Gentlemen, I stand here as a true friend and firm defender of the institutions of this country; not, however, thinking that they have attained the full reach of perfection, but rather that

one of their greatest merits is, that they admit of improvement; that they adapt themselves to the change of circumstances. I fearlessly declare that I am prepared, in deference to the united voice of public opinion, to give my feeble aid to review and to reform the institutions of the country."

Mr. Ewart said in reference to the same subject, after passing a warm eulogium on Mr. Canning, "It is true that on one great subject, now the source of considerable agitation in the country, the question of Reform, Mr. Canning's opinions were not quite in unison with the spirit of the present age. It was certainly quite consistent with his views to transfer the franchise of East Retford to Manchester or Birmingham. This, however, in my opinion, is not enough. It is not sufficient for the legislature to give when forced. It must also give spontaneously. He who would infuse new life into the constitution through East Retford or Old Sarum only, is like the physician who would infuse blood into the system through the fingers or the toes, instead of strengthening the system itself, and adding vigour from within. On this question, as on every other, I confess myself the friend of sound and rational improvement. On this single term improvement, as on a great principle, I base all my opinions and views."

Election.

Little did either of the candidates dream at this time what point would be given to the words they had uttered by the proceedings of their own friends during the next few days. A great struggle had been prepared for, and the organisation on each side was complete. A large expense might reasonably have been expected; but it cannot for a moment be supposed that either side contemplated the reckless waste of money which ensued, or the scandalous manner in which it was expended. Both candidates professed the same principles, and Whigs and Tories were found in both camps. A political cry was therefore impossible. Mr. Canning's friends had left their leader's principles behind, and were advancing with the times. It was soon found that the freemen would not move without money, and money was accordingly forthcoming—at first in a timid, hesitating way. The price of votes on the first day was from £5 to £6. Our great dramatist says:

> How oft the sight of means to do ill deeds,
> Makes ill deeds done!

So it was in the present case. The polling continued for seven days. On the fourth day Mr. Ewart fell behind his opponent

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Poll.

twelve votes, and so continued until the seventh day, when Mr. Denison's friends having exhausted their strength, resigned. The numbers at the close stood—Ewart, 2215; Denison, 2186. From the first day the market price of votes rapidly rose, until it finally reached about £40 per man.

Bribery.

Whilst I write these lines I have before me an authenticated list of the voters, with the amount of the bribe paid to each. Out of 4401 freemen, not 1000 voted without being bribed. The resident voters received sums varying from £5 to £40 each. Some of the non-resident freemen having to come from a distance received larger sums. The highest on the list is a person from Belfast, styled a "merchant," who voted for Mr. Denison, and received £80. A resident freeman in Liverpool, who voted for Mr. Ewart received £50. The cost of the election, it may well be supposed, amounted to a very large sum. Mr. Ewart's expenses were estimated at £65,000, the whole of which were defrayed by himself and family. Mr. Denison's outlay was not reckoned at more than £50,000, towards which it was said Colonel Bolton contributed £10,000.

Chairing and dinners.

The chairing was a very gorgeous affair. The proceedings were wound up by public dinners to the successful and unsuccessful candidates. The make-believe of political life was never more aptly illustrated than on the occasion of the dinner to Mr. Ewart. What inward scorn and loathing must he have felt in proposing the following toast, which was actually drunk with three times three cheers: "The 2215 freemen of this borough who have so nobly supported the cause of their townsmen, and rescued themselves from all fear of future domination—and Townside for ever!" Out of the 2215 who had "so nobly supported the cause," at least 1700 had been paid on an average £20 each for their patriotic exertions!

Notice in Parliament.

This election gave the *coup de grâce* to the system so strongly upheld by Mr. Canning and the Duke of Wellington. Lord Brougham, in the debates on the Reform Bill, animadverted on it in very strong terms. He said, "He had himself witnessed a contested election in a great rotten borough, for he would so denominate Liverpool, and place it at the head of all the rest; and although for many months afterwards the candidates had no notion of any corrupt or undue practices, the cost of the election amounted to upwards of £40,000.[1] He had been told that three times £40,000 would not be sufficient to pay the expenses

[1] In allusion to his own candidature in 1812.

of the last election that had disgraced the town of Liverpool; he hoped the *last* in every sense of the word; for if the Reform Bill were torn to shivers, another and a local bill would be necessary to deprive parties of a franchise which they had abused."

The career of the two candidates thus inauspiciously commenced, was one in every way creditable. Both of them became decided reformers, prompt in supporting every liberal measure. Mr. Ewart represented Liverpool until 1837, and subsequently the Dumfries boroughs in Scotland. He was a very useful member of the House of Commons, and is entitled to grateful remembrance for his indefatigable efforts in obtaining the several acts for the promotion of public libraries and museums which are called by his name.

Denison.

Mr. Denison's career has been one of honour and renown, until it culminated in his appointment as Speaker, the highest honour in the power of the House of Commons to bestow.

Petition.

Mr. Ewart's return was petitioned against by Messrs. John Wybergh, Mark Rimmer, and Henry Haselden, of Liverpool; and was referred as usual to a select committee, of which Mr. Benett was the chairman.

Parliament adjourned from December 1830 to February 1831. During the recess there was a sort of hushed expectation throughout the country as to the measures to be adopted by the Grey Ministry in redeeming their pledge for Parliamentary Reform. At this time the course of public opinion was comparatively smooth and gentle, and there were few indications of the mighty torrent into which it swelled a few months subsequently, bearing down all opposition with a force which nothing could withstand. This was strikingly manifested by a meeting which was held in Liverpool soon after the close of the election (December 14) for promoting the cause of reform in Parliament.

Reform in Parliament.

Public meeting

The meeting, oddly enough, was called by the churchwardens of the parish, and presided over by the senior warden, Mr. John Holmes (mayor in 1849-50). It was commenced in St. Nicholas's Church and thence adjourned to the Music Hall. The attendance was at first scanty, and the room—not a very large one—was never full during the whole of the proceedings. The meeting was addressed by Messrs. William Rathbone, Adam Hodgson, Leathom, and others. The resolutions originally proposed were of a general character, the petition founded thereon praying for a reform in the representative system

CHAP. V. 1830. Vote by ballot.

without going into detail. Some gentlemen present were not satisfied with this; and a resolution was proposed by Mr. John Taylor, "that it is the opinion of this meeting that the adoption of the mode of voting by ballot is essential to the useful operation of any change, whatever may be its degree, in the representative system of the British empire." This led to a very animated discussion, the more moderate reformers, whilst agreeing generally in the principle of the Ballot deprecating its introduction as premature. Some of them opposed the Ballot, Mr. Thomas Blackburn (surgeon) observing that "a man ought to vote openly and boldly, and if the right of voting were given to the wealthy and intelligent members of the community, the vote by ballot would be quite unnecessary. No reform of the House of Commons would have any good effect which did not render the vote by ballot absolutely unnecessary." Mr. Rushton delivered a very eloquent speech, strongly advocating the Ballot, and ultimately the resolution in its favour was carried with very trifling dissent. Some credit may be given to the prescience of these gentlemen when we find that after forty years' experience of the extended Parliamentary franchise, the Ballot in the session of 1872 was made a Cabinet question.

A.D. 1831.

The public mind during the year 1831 was almost exclusively devoted to the question of Parliamentary Reform, which now agitated the country through all its length and breadth, to the exclusion of every other topic.

Trade to China.

On January 19, 1831, a public meeting of the mercantile community was held in the Sessions House, the mayor (Mr. Thomas Brancker) in the chair, "to consider the propriety of again petitioning both Houses of Parliament on the subject of opening the trade to China and India." The meeting was addressed by Messrs. James Cropper, George Grant, Alston, Thornely, John Ewart, S. Hope, and others. Strong resolutions were passed, demanding the opening of the trade to the East "as an act of justice to the British merchant, of undoubted policy to the country at large, and of a generous and enlightened philanthropy to the nations of the Eastern world." Petitions to both Houses of Parliament were agreed to, and a subscription opened in furtherance of the object.

Joint-stock banks.

The system of joint-stock banking was introduced into Liverpool in 1831, the Bank of Liverpool being the one first established. The Bank of England had opened a branch in the town in 1827. So successful has the joint-stock system proved,

that out of twelve banks existing in Liverpool in 1874, only two were private concerns.

The Reform Bill was introduced into the House of Commons by Lord John Russell on March 1, and on the 23d, the second reading was carried by a majority of one. Reform Bill.

The Liverpool election was an unlucky event for the opponents of reform. It could not be ignored, for the inquiry by the select committee was conducted during the exciting debates on the bill, and the frightful disclosures of corruption and venality were naturally held up as the strongest possible arguments in favour of a total change. Lord Chancellor Brougham in the House of Lords, on March 23, alluded to the subject. He said: "He was ashamed to say, that by a recent decision of a Committee of the House of Commons, the great, the enormous, the overgrown delinquency of Liverpool was made apparent, and the member, the most innocent of all the parties, was unseated. The corruption and bribery practised there surpassed in openness and audacity all that had ever been recorded in the annals of electioneering." Lord Brougham.

On Monday, March 28, the special Report of the Committee on the Liverpool Election was brought before the House of Commons, declaring "that Mr. William Ewart had not been duly elected, and that gross bribery and treating had prevailed at the late election for Liverpool."[1] On the following day it was resolved, on the motion of Mr. Benett, that the issue of a new writ should be suspended until April 18. Ewart unseated.

Before that time arrived great events had happened which threw the Liverpool election into the shade as a matter of no importance. The country was roused in all its length and breadth. Public meetings were being held in all large centres of population, and petitions on both sides of the question poured into Parliament. Reform Bill.
On March 18, the Common Council of Liverpool adopted a petition, praying for such modification of the Reform Bill as would not interfere with the rights and privileges of the corporation. On the day previously, a meeting of those opposed to reform was held at the Clarendon Rooms, when a petition for a similar modification was agreed to and left for signature at the Exchange Newsroom and other places, but it met with little encouragement.

On April 18, the day appointed for Mr. Benett's motion relative to Liverpool, the question of going into committee on

[1] It was stated at the time that the cost of the proceedings before the committee amounted to £4000.

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1831. Gascoyne's motion carried.

the Reform Bill took precedence. On this occasion General Gascoyne, who had sat for Liverpool for thirty-five years as a mere Parliamentary cypher, suddenly emerged into a notoriety which has coupled his name with the history of a great measure in all time to come. Like Lord Byron, "he awoke one morning and found himself famous." He moved a resolution in opposition to Ministers, "that the total number of members for England and Wales ought not to be diminished."

On the following night this motion was carried by a majority of eight against the Ministry. The gallant old general has had rather hard measure meted out to him for his conduct in this affair. That the motion was eagerly adopted by the opposition as a defiance to the Ministry is quite certain; but the resolution itself was a very harmless one, and was practically adopted by the Ministers themselves—as Sir Robert Peel tauntingly reminded them—in the Reform Act as finally passed.

On April 21, the day but one before the abrupt dissolution consequent on the defeat of Ministers, Mr. Benett moved a resolution, "That the system of bribery and treating which prevails in the election of burgesses to serve in Parliament for the borough of Liverpool, demands the attention of the House." General Gascoyne warmly opposed the motion, and caused great laughter by asserting that "he could truly say that if there was a spot in all the world free from corruption, it was the borough of Liverpool! The laugh showed great prejudice but not sense." He continued: "If any man can put his hand to his heart and say that he has been returned for a populous place, and that it had not cost him a shilling, I am that man, so help me, God! I have been returned for thirty-five years, and I can tell the honourable member that if there is bribery, that bribery is from the constituents to the representative. I have received plate to an amount that I should be sorry to boast of; I have received the general thanks and approbation of this town from time to time above a hundred and twenty times. Ale might be given to the electors, but so help me, God! I have not paid for it. If any man cares less than another for being sent back to his constituents I am that man. If there is any change in the elective franchise, I am sure of coming in again." The events of the next few weeks furnished a curious comment on the boasts of the worthy general.

Inquiry.

Gascoyne protests.

Any further action in the matter was barred by the dissolution.

On April 27, a public meeting on behalf of the reform cause was held in the Music Hall under the presidency of Mr. William Earle. The principal local speakers were Messrs. Wallace Currie, John Ewart, John Taylor, T. Thornely, Rev. W. Shepherd, and Colonel Williams, but the greatest excitement was caused by the presence of Mr. William Ewart, who had now thrown himself into the Reform ranks with all the ardour of a new convert. He made a bold and eloquent speech in defence of the Bill. Strong resolutions were passed, and an address to the king adopted, thanking him for his support of the Ministerial scheme, and pledging themselves loyally to maintain the authority of the Crown, in his efforts to promote the liberty and happiness of the people. Reform meeting. Address to the king.

The writs for the new Parliament were immediately issued. The friends of the candidates were not idle. Immediately after Mr. Ewart was unseated, a meeting of his supporters had been held on March 31, Mr. James Brancker in the chair, when a resolution was adopted, pledging the party to use every effort to restore him to the seat, whenever the House should decide to issue the writ. Ewart.

On April 15 a meeting was called of the "unbribed" freemen, at the York Hotel, Mr. Charles Grayson in the chair, to protest against the proposed disfranchisement of the whole of the freemen on account of the delinquencies of only a part. A petition to Parliament embodying these views was agreed to. At this meeting a ludicrous circumstance occurred. Two or three of the "free and independent" who had either not received the whole of their stipulated wages of corruption, or who fancied they had been underpaid, seeing the placards, imagined that the term "unbribed" applied to them, and that they were invited to receive payment of their arrears. On presenting themselves at the meeting and making known their expectations, they found themselves greeted with more vigour than politeness, and were summarily ejected from the room. Freemen.

Parliament was dissolved on April 22. On the two following days addresses were issued by Mr. Ewart and General Gascoyne. Mr. Ewart's address was of a thorough character, though he was scarcely warranted in announcing his principles as "fixed and unchanged." General Gascoyne plumes himself on the many occasions on which he had stood up for the rights of the freemen threatened with attack. Candidates.

Little time was given for preparation, as the election took place on Monday, May 2. On the Saturday previous a meeting

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Meetings.

of Mr. Denison's friends was held, at which it was announced that in the prospect of being returned for Nottinghamshire, he declined being a candidate for Liverpool. On Friday, April 29, General Gascoyne's party held a meeting, at which the modicum of reform principles admitted by himself was utterly scouted and repudiated by his followers. Mr. Cyrus Morrall gave great offence by a speech in which he said: "Our institutions are once more to be put in jeopardy, for the purpose of transferring the franchise from the blue-jackets of this town—men who knew the stem from the stern of a ship, and whom the Ministers did not like, to the shopkeepers, a set of Cockneys who came down from London to vend haberdashery and other such trash, who suited the purposes of Ministers better."

Election.

As the important day of election drew on a wonderful revulsion of public feeling was manifest. It was clear that, carried away by sympathy and impulse, nothing would be tolerated by the people but "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." Poor General Gascoyne had reckoned without his host. From being the favourite and friend of the Liverpool blue-jackets he had suddenly sunk to be their loathing and detestation. It had been intended to give him a public *entrée* into the town on Saturday, April 30; but in consequence of unmistakably threatening signs, it was thought wise to abandon it.

Nomination.

On the morning of the election a most enthusiastic reception was given to Mr. Ewart at the hustings, whilst the groans, hisses, and yells, which greeted the General, were perfectly deafening. General Gascoyne was proposed by Alderman Leyland, seconded by Alderman Bourne. Mr. Ewart was proposed by Mr. James Brancker, seconded by Captain Colquitt, R.N. A letter was then read from Mr. Denison, declining to stand, and so the election seemed likely to terminate. Mr. John Formby then stepped forward and said: "He was determined the freemen of Liverpool should have an opportunity of showing their disinterestedness and patriotism, and he would therefore propose that John Evelyn Denison, Esq., was a fit and proper person to represent Liverpool in Parliament." This was seconded by Mr. Tomlinson. The candidates did not address the electors on the hustings.

Poll.

The poll commenced on Tuesday morning. The freemen came up in crowds unsolicited to record their votes for Ewart and Denison, and at the close of the day the numbers stood: Ewart, 1384; Denison, 1374; Gascoyne, 405.

It was evident that the General was in sporting phrase "nowhere." Popular excitement this day rose to a high pitch. When General Gascoyne appeared at the entrance to the town-hall about half-past twelve, the fury of the populace exceeded all bounds. One wretch diabolically spat in the face of the general, and had it not been for the protection of a posse of special constables aided by the cooling influence of a heavy shower of rain, it seemed as if he would have been torn in pieces.

Gascoyne insulted.

It would seem at first view difficult to account for the extraordinary change which had passed over the freemen in a few short months. The very men who in November had sold themselves to the highest bidder totally irrespective of principle or politics, were in May heaping curses and denunciations on the head of the man who had done his utmost to maintain their privileges intact, and who had expected to be received with open arms. Several causes combined to produce this result. It is only fair to suppose that the exposure of the bribery and corruption at the previous election had touched even the venal freemen with some tinge of shame, and that they had in some degree partaken of the national enthusiasm. Along with this, Ewart and Denison brought with them agreeable recollections of benefits received, which naturally produced a favourable impression towards their benefactors. A third motive might be derived from the threatened disfranchisement, which loomed darkly before their eyes, but which possibly might yet be averted by timely repentance, which in fact proved to be the case. One cannot help feeling sympathy with the gallant old soldier who, together with his brother, had between them represented the borough for half a century, being discarded and treated with contumely by those whom, however mistakenly, he had tried to benefit.

Gascoyne's defeat.

The chairing took place on Friday, May 6, and was of the most gorgeous and ornamental character.

Mr. Denison having been elected for Nottinghamshire, elected to sit as the county member. A vacancy therefore arose in the representation of Liverpool. The unanimity which had existed in the return of Ewart and Denison no longer prevailed. The most radical of the Whig party selected Mr. Thomas Thornely, a merchant of high standing, who afterwards represented Wolverhampton in Parliament for many years with great acceptance. The Tories and moderate Whigs invited Lord Sandon (afterwards

Thornely.

Sandon.

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Earl of Harrowby), to become their candidate. Public meetings were held, at which both candidates expounded their views, and an active canvass set in. The Noble Lord was decidedly the popular candidate. He was young, of agreeable manners, and had the prestige which aristocracy can give. In making the amiable amongst the tenants of St. John's Market some of whom were freemen, his Lordship gallantly imprinted a kiss on the lips of a comely market-woman, hight Hetty Taylor, which brought him thunders of applause, and no doubt gained him votes. The following *jeu d'esprit* appeared at the time :

Election squibs.

His Lordship.

Oh peerless market queen, fair Hetty !
Deign to bestow on me a kiss ;
And if your charming daughter Betty
Would do the same,—'twould crown my bliss.

Hetty (*with a blush and curtsey*).

Thank you, my Lord, with all my heart,
You're kindly welcome to a buss ;
Betty and I will take your part,
You may do what you please with us.

His Lordship.

Oh Hetty dear, my hopes 'twould crown,
If women young and fair prove steady,
For all *old women* in the town,
Are in my interest already.

Hetty.

Keep up your heart, for (barring slips)
I swear your cause I'll ne'er abandon ;

His Lordship.

Let's seal the contract on those lips.

Hetty.

With all my heart—"Huzza for Sandon !"

On July 8, Mr. Denison moved for a new writ for the election of a member for Liverpool. This was opposed by Mr. C. Wynn and other members, who wished the writ suspended until the evidence on the November election was laid before

the House. Mr. Benett, M.P. for Wiltshire, the chairman of the committee, proposed to bring in a bill to alter the franchise in Liverpool, and pending this, the issue of the writ was suspended from time to time. On September 5 a division was taken, and the writ was further suspended. The writ was ultimately granted on October 12. During this period of suspense, the election proceedings were necessarily postponed.

1831. Writ suspended.

On Monday, May 30, the king's birthday was celebrated by a public dinner at the York Hotel. Although ostensibly intended to do honour to the reigning monarch, in reality it was a demonstration on behalf of Mr. Thomas Thornely, the Whig radical candidate, who was present and addressed the assembly.

On June 30, the venerable William Roscoe expired at his house in Lodge Lane in the seventy-ninth year of his age. I shall have occasion again to refer to Mr. Roscoe in a future chapter; but it may here be observed in passing that no native resident of Liverpool has done more to elevate the character of the community, by uniting the successful pursuit of literature and art with the ordinary duties of the citizen and man of business. His remains were attended to the grave with the respect of all parties.[1]

Death of Roscoe.

On August 1 a public meeting was held in the Assembly Room, King's Arms, Mr. John Foster in the chair, to consider the most appropriate mode of doing honour to the memory of Mr. Roscoe. Dr. Traill, and Messrs. Wallace Currie, J. B. Yates, William Rathbone, and other gentlemen, addressed the meeting. A committee was appointed and a subscription entered into for the purpose. This resulted ultimately in a marble statue by Chantrey, which was placed in the Gallery of Art connected with the Royal Institution, in 1841.

Statue.

[1] He lies buried in the graveyard behind the Unitarian Church, Renshaw Street. In 1856 a monument was erected in the church to his memory, consisting of a marble bust in a niche, with the following inscription :—

WILLIAM ROSCOE,
HISTORIAN, POET, PATRIOT,
and
CHRISTIAN PHILANTHROPIST.
Born in Liverpool, March 1753.
Died June 1831.
This monument was erected by
his fellow-worshippers 1856.

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1831.

Omnibuses.

Amidst the stirring events of this year, a modest newspaper paragraph of a few lines, dated July 15, announces the commencement of an institution which has almost become as essential to the inhabitants of a large town as the air we breathe. It is to this purport, "Omnibuses have commenced running between the north and south ends of the town, and *vice versa*, for the accommodation of persons whose business may require a speedy conveyance from one place to the other. Similar vehicles have been long established in London, where they have been found extremely useful. The object of the proprietors of the present omnibuses is to facilitate intercourse between the distant parts of the town, the great extent of which renders such vehicles extremely desirable."[1]

The omnibus doubtless owes its origin to the railway, of which it is a sequel and corollary. It is difficult to realise in the hurry and rush of modern life a state of things in a large town like Liverpool under which there were no means of locomotion except walking or hiring a coach.[2]

Census.

Trade.

The census was taken this year. The population, including the suburbs, now amounted to 205,572; being an increase of 73 per cent in ten years. The statistics of the commerce were as follows: ships entering the port, 12,537; tonnage, 1,592,436; dock dues, £183,455. This gives an increase in ten years of 90 per cent on the tonnage and 93 per cent on the dues.

Wreck of "Rothsay Castle."

The summer of 1831 was saddened by a lamentable shipwreck, which carried sorrow and desolation into many homes in Liverpool and Lancashire. The story has been so often told, that I will only briefly sketch its outlines.

The "Rothsay Castle" steamer, a Clyde-built vessel, had plied between Liverpool and Beaumaris from the month of May 1831. She left Liverpool on Wednesday, August 17, at 11 in the forenoon, with a crew of twelve men and 109 passengers. She had to contend with a head-wind and a heavy sea, so that her progress was very slow; her steaming power, it would appear, being but feeble. It was between 9 and 10 at night

[1] Omnibuses had actually commenced running in May 1830, but this is the first date of their being advertised in the newspapers.

[2] There is nothing new under the sun. On a bas-relief of unquestionably the Gallo-Roman period, preserved in the Museum of Antiquities at Dijon, there is represented a veritable omnibus, rather clumsy in construction, with the driver on the box and passengers shown inside, looking out of the windows. It is drawn by a pair of horses.

1831. "Rothsay Castle."

before she reached the Ormes Head. The sea here became very rough, and the wind right ahead. The boat strained very much, and took in water through the seams. The captain, it was stated, got intoxicated, and refused to take any steps towards seeking shelter, which he might have done. The water gained rapidly in the engine-room, and the steam-power became so reduced as hardly to propel the boat at the rate of a knot an hour. By midnight she arrived at the mouth of the Menai Strait, about five miles from Beaumaris, when the tide, which had hitherto been against them, turned in their favour. By the force of the tide the vessel drifted upon a shoal off Puffin Island, called the Dutchman's Bank, and struck. After various attempts to get her off she fell broadside on, with a mountainous sea breaking over her. For two hours she lay in this position, the unfortunate passengers realising all the horrors which despair could inflict:

> Then rose from sea to sky the wild farewell,
> Then shrieked the timid and stood still the brave,
> Then some leaped overboard with dreadful yell,
> As eager to anticipate their grave.

The boat broke up by degrees. The poop was the first to give way, with between thirty and forty passengers. About eight clung to the rudder, some of whom were ultimately saved. About an hour and a half afterwards the remainder of the ship broke up, and the survivors were nearly all precipitated into the waves. About four in the morning the wreck first became visible to those on shore. Without any delay a boat was put out, which picked up three men alive. Some had reached the shore in safety on broken pieces of the wreck. About twenty-one were saved out of the whole company. About fifty dead bodies were washed ashore. The remainder were never recovered.

Inquest.

The coroner's jury, after a rigid investigation, pronounced the vessel to have been unseaworthy, and recorded in their verdict that "they therefore cannot disguise their indignation at the conduct of those who could place such a vessel on this station, and under the conduct of a captain and mate who have been proved, by the evidence brought before them, to have been in a state of intoxication."

Few events of the kind ever made a deeper impression on the public mind than this. Most of the sufferers and their families were well known in Liverpool and South Lancashire.

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Books and pamphlets were written, sermons preached, and memoirs issued, illustrative of the event, which cast for a time a deep shadow over the community.

Coronation.

The coronation of King William IV. and Queen Adelaide took place on September 8. On the occasion of the coronation of George IV. the Liverpool Corporation had taken a prominent and active part in getting up the festivities, and had contributed £500 towards the expenses. In the present instance they made no sign whatever of any interest in the proceedings. When the time approached within a week, a meeting was called at the Clarendon Rooms, to see what steps could be taken for the due celebration of the day. The Tory party were perfectly passive in the matter, the meeting consisting exclusively of Reformers. Mr. William Rathbone was called to the chair. Resolutions were passed "that it is a duty which the inhabitants owe to their king and country to express their joy at the coronation of his Majesty and his royal consort." A deputation was appointed to wait on the mayor, requesting him to call a meeting, to consult the inhabitants as to the best mode of expressing their loyal feelings. The deputation accordingly waited on the mayor and laid before him the request of the meeting. With this his worship refused to comply, on the ground that "the deputation presented something of a party appearance, and that he could not lend himself to party objects," suggesting that it would be better to prepare a requisition. This was done, and in a few hours a requisition, signed by nearly 100 respectable names, was presented. On Monday a meeting was called together to receive the mayor's reply, which was, that "as I see the requisition does not embrace a decided union of all parties, I must respectfully beg to decline complying with the request." The meeting received this communication with decided marks of disapprobation, and passed a series of strong resolutions condemning the conduct of the mayor, and proposing to hold an open air meeting, to determine the propriety of a grand procession on the coronation day. This meeting was held on Wednesday, September 7, in Clayton Square, Mr. John Ewart in the chair. The meeting was addressed by Messrs. Francis Jordan, J. Ashton Yates, T. Thornely, and others; and resolutions were passed condemning the mayor's conduct, and appointing a public procession to take place on the following day—that of the coronation. The procession had its rendezvous in Dale Street, and consisted of the trades and friendly

Mayor declines to act.

Meeting.

Procession.

societies. After parading the principal streets of the town the procession mustered in Clayton Square, and an open air meeting was held, Mr. John Ewart in the chair, at which congratulatory addresses to the king and queen were adopted.

Addresses to the king.

Although the mayor and council declined to take any public notice of the coronation day, they voted loyal and dutiful addresses to the king and queen. These were confided to the mayor, accompanied by Alderman Bourne and Sir George Drinkwater. The address from the town's meeting was committed to Mr. John Ewart. These addresses were presented to the king in person at a *levée* on September 13. In consequence of the double presentation a little confusion occurred, and a laughable mistake had nearly been perpetrated. Mr. Ewart, with the town's address, was the first in the field. As he knelt to present it, the king seized the royal sword and was about to confer the honour of knighthood on him, under the impression that he was the mayor of Liverpool?" Mr. Ewart seeing the sword suspended, exclaimed hastily, "Not me; don't knight me!" on which the king asked, "Why, which is the mayor of Liverpool?" and was informed that his worship was behind. The scene caused considerable amusement. The mayor and bailiffs were then introduced by Lord Melbourne, and the accolade was given in due form to the mayor, who rose Sir Thomas Brancker.

Mayor knighted.

Reform Bill.

The new Reform Bill passed the Commons on September 21, by a majority of 109. On Monday, the 19th, a public meeting was held in Clayton Square, to consider the propriety of petitioning the Lords in favour of the bill. Sir Joseph Birch, who had been created a baronet by the Whig Government, took the chair. The meeting was addressed by Lord Molyneux, Colonel Williams, and Messrs. Wallace Currie, E. Rushton, William Rathbone, James Cropper, James Aikin, Thomas Bolton, T. S. Gladstone, and others. Resolutions in favour of the Reform Bill were adopted, and a petition to the House of Lords agreed to.

Meetings.

On Thursday, September 22, a similar public meeting was held in Toxteth Park, Lord Molyneux in the chair, with similar results. The Liverpool petition received 18,000 signatures, and that from Toxteth Park 4607.

Bill rejected.

On October 7 the House of Lords threw out the bill by a majority of 41. The country was convulsed from side to side. Nottingham Castle was burnt by the enraged populace, and a

Excitement.

CHAP. V. 1831.

large part of Bristol was laid in ashes. An army of 100,000 operatives threatened to march from Birmingham to London. The firm attitude of the House of Commons tended much to calm down the popular excitement. They passed a vote of confidence in the Government by a majority of 131, and Parliament was prorogued by the king in person on October 20.

Meeting.

On the reception of the news of the rejection of the bill by the Lords, immediate action was taken by the Reformers to give expression to public opinion, and an open air meeting was held in Clayton Square, on Wednesday, October 12, Lord Molyneux in the chair. The meeting was addressed by the chairman, and Messrs. Rushton, Wallace Currie, T. Thornely, James Aikin, W. Rathbone, Captain Colquitt, R.N., and others. Strong resolutions were passed in favour of the bill and of confidence in ministers, and an address to the king was adopted, and entrusted for presentation to Lord Molyneux and Messrs. James Brancker and William Rutson.

Election.

The election for the new member was held on Thursday, October 20, the very day that Parliament was prorogued. Lord Sandon was proposed by Mr. Charles Lawrence, seconded by Mr. John Moss. Mr. Thornely was proposed by Mr. Wallace Currie, seconded by Mr. Thomas Leathom. The electors were addressed by the respective candidates. The scene was rather tumultuous, but everything passed off with perfect good humour. The polling commenced on Friday morning. From the first Lord Sandon took the lead by a large majority, and it was soon evident that Mr. Thornely had no chance of success. At half-past three the poll was finally closed, when the numbers stood—Sandon, 1519; Thornely, 670.

Chairing.

The chairing took place on Saturday the 22d. There was considerable riot and disorder along the route. Several missiles were hurled at his lordship; one or two might have been dangerous, but missed their aim. A "shocking bad" hat and a dead cat were more successful, but the noble member bore it all with impervious good temper. At the close of the procession he addressed his followers from the balcony of the Bull Hotel, Clayton Square. After he had concluded, some surprise was manifested at the appearance of Captain Colquitt, R.N., who proceeded to address the crowd. The gallant captain had been an ardent partisan of Mr. Ewart, and had hitherto acted with the Whig Radicals, having taken part in the open air meeting, held eight days previously, to address the Crown. In

Captain Colquitt.

his address he now attacked Mr. Thornely as an utterly incapable person, who had not even the ability to address a public meeting. Amidst a storm of uproar he eulogised Lord Sandon in the highest terms, telling the electors that "they would soon feel the benefits of his lordship's high situation; and his lordship had obtained that which would confer honour upon him till the last moment of his life."

Dinner to Sandon.

On Friday, October 28, Lord Sandon's return was celebrated by a public dinner at the Amphitheatre, which went off with great *éclat*, about 650 gentlemen sitting down to table. Mr. Charles Lawrence presided. Besides the noble member the meeting was addressed by Mr. J. E. Denison, M.P. Lady Sandon and Lady Charlotte Denison were present. The health of his Majesty's ministers was drunk amidst mingled applause and hisses, amidst which the company were horrified by the band striking up the "Marseillaise Hymn." So resolute and persevering were they, that it was with the utmost difficulty the music was stopped, one zealous Conservative gentleman roaring out at the top of his voice, "Stop, b—t you!"

Election squibs had almost gone out of fashion, but a humorous poetical account of this dinner was issued, which displayed considerable wit. It is too long for insertion, but I will give a stanza or two:

Election squib.

Oh come and listen every one, to what I've got to tell,
It is a tale which I am sure, will please you all full well,
If you're as fond of fun as I, come now and hear my story,
'Tis of a feast where Lynn and Radley gained immortal glory.
Sing, "Sandon said," and ribbons red, and all that sort of thing.

Once on a time there was a very curious coalition,
Of fish and flesh and fowl and fair, and folks of all condition;
Who joined to ask for twenty things, some one of which each wanted,
Though not among the whole were two who wished that all were granted.
Sing, "Sandon said," etc.

After describing the parties and the election, it proceeds:

Their victory to celebrate they made a grand procession,
Where hisses trampled on the cheers in double quick succession,
The dripping lord, like drowning rat, through rain and fear appearing,
The butt of stones, dead cats and groans, and mud and moans and jeering.
Sing, "Sandon said," etc.

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The dinner is then very graphically portrayed; afterwards,

Election squib.

Talking of roast,—Oh Lynn and Radley! you're to blame I think,—
How could you give to such a crew, such lots of grog to drink!
You don't know half the mischief that from out of it did come,
When all these people spoke their minds as they would do at home.
Sing, "Sandon said," etc.

Said one *red* cabbage is the best, another cried up *green*,—
A third would have a bit of each,—a fourth cross-bench'd between,
The only point to which all individuals did agree,
Was cabbage, cabbage of *some* sort, and the largest share for me.
Sing, "Sandon said," etc.

Then glasses flew, and all things grew additionally squally,
Until they closed their banquet with a general *pully-hauley*,
We give these facts without extenuation or addition,
For the benefit when next they meet, of the Sandon coalition.
Sing, "Sandon said," and ribbons red, and all that sort of thing.[1]

Meeting and addresses.

On Monday, November 21, a meeting was convened by circular at the Clarendon Rooms, "to take into consideration the propriety of transmitting an address to his Majesty on the subject of reform and the present state of the country." The gentlemen present belonged principally to the old Gascoyne party, though Mr. John Gladstone and one or two others of them had always ranked amongst Mr. Canning's friends. Sir Thomas Brancker was called to the chair. Mr. John Gladstone was the principal spokesman. The drift of his argument was, that the projected reform was going too far; that due regard was not paid to the influence of property; that qualifications for the franchise ought to differ in differing circumstances. Some divergence of opinion was manifested by the Rev. E. Hull and Mr. John Eden, but eventually an address to the king was carried by a large majority, stating the objections of the subscribers to the plan of reform proposed by the Government, and "humbly imploring his Majesty not to listen to the counsels of those who, for the purpose of carrying a particular object, would urge upon your Majesty such an exercise of the royal prerogative as would be a virtual extinction of a most important branch of the Legislature."

This address was signed by 1500 persons, and was presented

[1] *Liverpool Mercury*, Nov. 4, 1871.

to the king by Lord Skelmersdale, at a private audience, on December 14.

Public opinion was at this time in a very feverish state, and undesigned explosions occasionally took place. This address led to one such at the mayor's table on Thursday, December 8. Captain Lyon, M.P. for Seaford, one of the disfranchised boroughs, the captain of a troop of hussars then stationed in Liverpool, was one of the guests, and in responding to a toast, expressed his pleasure at the political reaction which had taken place in Liverpool, as evidenced by the address alluded to. "This reaction was evident, from the number and respectability of the signatures, which were not those of unwashed artisans who signed their names at the corners of streets to Radical petitions and addresses." Many of the Whig party were at the table, and mischief seemed to be brewing. Mr. Joseph Sandars rose to reply to the gallant officer, but was prevented, and a number of the guests left the room.

Scene at the Mayor's table.

There can be no doubt that a reaction had set in to some extent in Liverpool, as evidenced by the result of the election. In times of excitement such as that of the two Reform Bills, parliamentary and municipal, Liverpool has occasionally raised her voice along with the rest of the country in the cause of progress; but directly the effort has been attempted, like Fear, in Collins's ode—

Reaction.

> Who back recoil'd he knew not why,
> E'en at the sound himself had made,

public opinion has collapsed and settled down again on the dead level of Conservatism.

And thus came to an end the year 1831, one of the most momentous in the history of England, and one of the most important in the annals of Liverpool.

The first notable event in the year 1832 was a visit from the musical prodigy, Paganini. He gave three concerts in the Theatre Royal, at the beginning of the month, and three others subsequently. All the extraordinary rumours which had been circulated about his performances were more than realised by the actuality. Some exception was taken to what was considered his rapacity in the charges for admission, the lowest price, in the gallery, being five shillings. For this he made some amends by giving his services gratuitously, on January 30, at a concert for the relief of the poor.

A.D. 1832. Paganini.

CHAP. V. 1832.

New Reform Bill.

The agitation respecting the Reform Bill had been partially suspended during the recess, but now burst out with renewed vigour. The new bill was brought in by Lord John Russell, on December 12, 1831, and passed the Commons on January 19, 1832. During the debates in the Lords the country was in a fever of excitement, though all the world knew how the matter must ultimately terminate. On May 7 the Ministry were defeated by the Duke of Wellington, and immediately resigned. The country was now fairly roused. Monster meetings were held in various parts of the country. Sixty thousand Scotsmen met under the windows of Holyrood Palace; and an aggregate meeting, probably the largest ever held in Great Britain took place in Birmingham, consisting of 150,000 persons, prepared, if necessary, to march on London.

Ministers resign.

Public excitement.

Great meeting.

On May 14 Liverpool spoke out by the most numerous meeting ever held in the town. Clayton Square began to fill at an early hour; and when the proceedings commenced, soon after noon, the whole area was densely packed, the throng extending into the neighbouring streets. Lord Molyneux was called to the chair. Strong and decisive language was employed. The chairman alluded to the conduct of the king in hesitating to support the Ministry in no measured terms. His Majesty's name was greeted with an united volley of groans. He then proceeded: "We have met that the opinions of this great and enlightened town may be expressed on these events; and once expressed, that they may reach the highest quarter, as affording one more evidence of the feelings of indignation which pervade this great and mighty nation; to prove, in short, that there is neither spiritless apathy nor reaction; to prove that the people only want their rights, and that their rights they will have. (*Tremendous cheers.*) Gentlemen, the king has now deserted us." (*Tremendous groaning and hissing.*)

Captain Colquitt.

The first resolution was proposed by Captain Colquitt, R.N., who had caused such astonishment to his friends by his desertion of the Whigs at Lord Sandon's election, in October. The recent proceedings had re-converted him. He moved: "That this meeting has learned with indignation the present position of the Reform Bill in the House of Lords." In his address he said: "Brother freemen, I address myself particularly to you. I have fought many a battle with you; I was once a Tory, but I now despise myself for it. (*Laughter and cheers.*) I was made a Reformer by the Duke of Wellington, and I think that

the steps the noble duke has taken, and is daily taking, will continue me one to the close of my existence." The other speakers were Messrs. W. Wallace Currie, John Ewart, T. Brocklebank, James Aikin, T. Thornely, W. Rathbone, Edward Roscoe, etc. Colonel Williams caused some amusement by abusing the nobility by name, amongst others the Duchess of Newcastle, whom he called "a baggage." When he was reminded that she was a relative of the noble chairman, Lord Molyneux rose and said that he gave up all his relations, and that the gallant colonel might say what he liked about them. The colonel rather adroitly made the *amende honorable* by saying, "that as the duchess was Lord Molyneux's aunt, he would not call her a baggage; but he maintained that, whatever the sins of the family might be, the noble chairman and his father had redeemed them all." A series of strong resolutions was passed, and an address of remonstrance voted to the king, declaring that they had petitioned the House of Commons to refuse all supplies until reform was granted. Further extreme measures were rendered unnecessary by the yielding of the Duke of Wellington to the popular will on the following day (May 15).

Duchess of Newcastle.

Reform address and petition.

An address from the conservative party had been got up without much *éclat*, and signed by 1406 persons, deprecating the violent changes proposed to be made; but the mischief was done before its presentation. The Reform Bill passed the ordeal of the Lords in its integrity, and became law on June 7.

Tory address.

In the meantime the bill for the disfranchisement of the Liverpool freemen had not been lost sight of in the midst of these stirring events. It was read a second time in the Commons on May 23. Witnesses were ordered to attend before the committee on June 1, and it was expected that some startling disclosures would be made; but the proceeding was postponed from time to time, until on July 14 the bill was finally withdrawn.

Disfranchisement Bill.

In the spring and summer of 1832, Liverpool, in common with the rest of the kingdom, suffered from a visitation of that dreadful scourge, the Asiatic cholera. The first real case occurred on May 4, and the disease prevailed more or less during the ensuing five months. During this period the number of ascertained cases was 4912 in a population of 230,000; the number of deaths was 1523. The most lamentable instance was that of an emigrant ship called the "Brutus," which sailed for Quebec on May 18 with 330 passengers. On

Cholera.

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the 28th, cholera made its appearance on board, and the mortality soon became so serious, part of the crew having been carried off, that the captain found it necessary to put back to Liverpool, where he arrived on June 14, ninety-seven deaths having taken place whilst on the voyage or immediately after the arrival in port.

After the principles of the Reform Bill were settled another question began to agitate the public mind with a degree of intensity continually increasing, until it was finally disposed of. I mean the abolition of negro slavery. The long-continued, untiring efforts of Messrs. Wilberforce, Clarkson, and their associates, succeeded first in opening the eyes of the country to the iniquity of the slave traffic, and then in accomplishing its abolition. Their attention was next directed to the principle of slavery itself, and the necessary evils resulting from it; and at length the way seemed open for a general effort to rid the British Empire of this blot in its escutcheon. Liverpool was deeply interested in the question. The abolition of the slave-trade had deprived the town of a lucrative source of wealth; but many of the merchants were still largely interested in West India property, the great value of which was supposed to consist in the slave labour by which it was cultivated. It was, therefore, natural that a very deep interest should be felt in the question by the people of Liverpool.

Anti-slavery agitation.

On May 24, in the midst of the stormy debates on the Reform Bill, a petition was presented to the House of Lords by Lord Chancellor Brougham, signed by 135,000 persons, praying for the abolition of slavery. The Rev. William Knibb, a Baptist missionary from Jamaica, a man of very earnest and determined character, who had been present and suffered during the disturbances in that island, in the December and January previous, was agitating the country in behalf of the unfortunate negroes. At a crowded and enthusiastic meeting of the Baptist Missionary Society, held in Byrom Street Chapel, on July 24, he gave an exciting and thrilling address, in which he worked up his audience to the highest point of euthusiasm. He concluded by the following words: "The time is fast approaching when Great Britain dares not postpone the question. We have heard enough of gradual emancipation. The House of Lords and the House of Commons have long been looking on gradual abolition, and they may look for a hundred years longer before any good will be done by it. The system must be abolished at

once; and I am fully assured that ten thousand times greater injury will result from any attempt to perpetuate slavery than from its immediate and total abolition."

Anti-slavery agitation.

A series of powerful letters on slavery, signed "Presbyter," addressed to Mr. Charles Horsfall, chairman of the West India Association, appeared in the *Liverpool Mercury* from May to December, 1832. The committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, on the eve of the elections after the Reform Bill, put forth an address to electors urging them to return such members to Parliament as would vote for immediate abolition. The placards containing the address were surmounted by the picture of a suppliant negro, in chains, with the motto, "Am I not a man and a brother?" To counteract the prejudices thus excited, the West India Association put forth another placard, complaining that the public mind was misled; that negroes were clothed in the West Indies, and that chains were no more in use there than in England; that in many respects the condition of the slaves was preferable to that of the British peasant. This placard was signed by Mr. Charles Horsfall. To this a reply from the Anti-Slavery Society was issued and placarded, signed by Mr. John Cropper, chairman of the society.

Thompson and Borthwick.

In September of this year (1832) public interest was excited by the public demonstrations of the rival lecturers on the subject of slavery, Messrs. Thompson and Borthwick. George Thompson was an extraordinary man, admirably qualified for the work he had undertaken. Of humble origin, and no early cultivation, he possessed rare natural gifts. He was a born orator, endowed with a good person and bearing, a pleasing voice and agreeable manner, a fluency which was never exhausted, and a power of declamation which could play upon the scale of human emotion with wonderful effect, commanding all its range, from the deepest tones of sympathy and pathos to the highest pitch of scorn and indignation. He was not profound, and might by severe critics be pronounced wordy; but for a popular audience he has had few superiors. After his labours in the anti-slavery cause were over, and the battle won, he went to the United States to plead for the emancipation of the negro; but met with a very rough reception, having very narrowly escaped assassination. After his return to England he was sent into Parliament for a metropolitan constituency; but here he was out of his place. He was looked upon as an adventurer, and carried no weight. Having no special function, and being destitute

Thompson.

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of means, he soon fell into neglect, and passed out of public view.

1832. Borthwick.

His antagonist, Mr. Peter Borthwick, was also a man of ability, which he needed to be, having the unpopular side to support. He maintained the contest very gallantly, making the very utmost out of a bad and losing cause. He also entered Parliament, but of his subsequent history I am not aware.

Lectures.

Mr. Thompson's first lecture was delivered in the amphitheatre on August 28th. Mr. Borthwick replied on the following evening, followed on the subsequent evening by Mr. Thompson's rejoinder. Immense interest was excited, the large building being crowded in every part. One additional lecture was afterwards delivered by each champion.

Presentation to Gascoyne.

In August of this year the wounded feelings of General Gascoyne were agreeably soothed by two very handsome tokens of respect. One was a splendid candelabrum, presented by the Directors of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, in testimony of services rendered in Parliament. The other consisted of a dinner service of plate, presented by a number of his former constituents. Both presentations contained suitable inscriptions commemorative of the services of the General.

Reform dinner.

The Reformers of Liverpool were rather tardy in celebrating the success of their cause; but on September 4 the triumph of Reform was commemorated by a public dinner in the amphitheatre; the Rev. W. Shepherd in the chair. About 350 sat down to table. The oratory was confined to the local celebrities, including one of the members, Mr. Ewart.

Parliament was dissolved soon after passing the Reform Bill, and the elections under the new act were fixed for December.

Election.

Ewart and Sandon.

Mr. Ewart issued his address on November 1. A meeting of his friends was held on the 12th, when most of the leading Whigs gave in their adhesion. Lord Sandon's supporters met on November 1. The majority of them belonged to the party which had previously supported the Tory members, though a few of the Whigs, such as Messrs. C. Lawrence and Adam Hodgson, had joined their ranks. His Lordship's address is dated the 7th.

It does not appear that in the first instance Mr. Ewart's friends had any idea of putting forward another candidate; but a movement was made, commencing principally with the trades-

men, to bring out Mr. Thornely, who had been defeated by Lord Sandon at the last election. A requisition was accordingly got up, and a large and enthusiastic meeting held at the Liver Theatre on November 19. Stimulated by this opposition, the Tory party considered it necessary to fortify their position by bringing forward a second candidate, whom they found in the person of Sir Howard Douglas, Bart., a Major-General in the army, who had filled the honourable post of Governor-General of Canada, but had resigned in consequence of differences with the Whig ministry.[1] Sir Howard appeared in public on November 27, and addressed his friends in the Corn Exchange.

1832. Thornely.

Sir Howard Douglas.

The nomination day was Tuesday, December 11. The candidates were accompanied to the hustings by the old paraphernalia of banners, flags, and bands of music, and a procession of their friends. Mr. Ewart was proposed by Captain Colquitt, seconded by Mr. Wallace Currie. Lord Sandon was proposed by Mr. Charles Lawrence, seconded by Mr. John Bourne. Mr. Thornely was proposed by Mr. William Rathbone, seconded by Mr. T. Blackburne. Sir Howard Douglas was proposed by Mr. Nicholas Robinson, seconded by Mr. John Wright. The polling commenced on the following morning, the votes being taken in seven separate districts. At the close of the first day, Messrs. Ewart and Thornely were in a considerable majority over their opponents; but on the second day this was partially retrieved, and at the final close the number stood: Ewart, 4931; Sandon, 4260; Thornely, 4096; Douglas, 3249.

Nomination.

Poll.

The state of parties was clearly demonstrated by this result. The rush of feeling arising from the success of the Reform Bill placed Mr. Ewart, its unflinching advocate, at the head of the poll; but the powerful influence of the late Canningite party, aided by the moderate reformers, had been able to stem the torrent sufficiently to secure one candidate and reject the second Whig nominee, whilst Sir Howard Douglas, the chosen of the old True Blue or Gascoyne party, remained at a considerable discount.

On this occasion the absurd ceremony of chairing was omitted, owing to the excited state of the town, and has never since been resumed.

The only other incident worthy of special notice in the year 1832 was a large and influential meeting of the merchants—

Dock Trust Reform.

[1] Sir Howard was the son of a naval captain who had distinguished himself in Lord Rodney's victory in the West Indies in 1782.

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being dock ratepayers—held in the cotton salesroom on November 13, "to take into consideration the propriety of adopting measures to procure a reform in the management of the dock trust." The corporation of Liverpool were the original trustees of the docks, of which they had hitherto had the exclusive management. Grave complaints had been made of this management, and a strong demand was made for a change, which was advocated by gentlemen of both political parties. I shall have occasion to go more fully into this subject in the portion of this work relating to the dock estate. The meeting was presided over by Mr. Hugh Hornby, and was addressed by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Hardman Earle, Mr. (afterwards Sir) William Brown, and others. An amendment to the principal resolution was proposed by Mr. T. B. Horsfall, "that in the opinion of this meeting there is no sufficient foundation to call for an alteration in the constitution of the dock committee." After a stormy discussion the amendment was negatived, and the resolution carried by a large majority.

A.D. 1833.

The year 1833 was not of the eventful character of some of the previous years. After the stirring period of the Reform agitation, the public mind, somewhat exhausted, subsided into comparative calm.

Election inquiry.

The questions arising out of the Liverpool elections were not allowed to sleep. On February 27 Mr. Ewart presented a numerously signed petition, praying for inquiry into the affairs of the Liverpool corporation, and containing allegations of bribery and treating at the last election. On March 6 a select committee was appointed to inquire into the matters alleged. On March 12 a counter petition was presented by Lord Sandon, denying the allegations. Mr. Sheil asked the noble lord if the petitioners courted inquiry. Lord Sandon replied that one or more of the petitioners admitted to him, "that they had formerly been engaged in bribery. They acknowledged themselves as having formerly been sinners, but they denied that any corruption had been practised during the last election." He had never denied that bribery had formerly been practised, his denial solely applied to the last election. "He should like any honourable gentleman to lay his hand upon his heart, and say whether under such circumstances evidence could be given as to the allegations against the freemen of Liverpool."

In the course of the investigation before the committee, a Mrs. Elizabeth Robinson having refused to answer the questions

put to her, on the ground that she feared for her life if she told the truth, was summoned to the bar of the House on March 26. She was severely reprimanded by the Speaker, and told that if she answered the questions she might rely with confidence on the protection of the House. Mrs. Robinson.

On April 1 Mr. Bannerman, the chairman of the committee, brought up an *ad interim* report, "That cases of bribery and corruption have been proved at the late election for Liverpool, but that such cases do not appear to have been with the authority of the candidates, or to have been pursued systematically or extensively." Report.

On July 6, on the motion of Mr. Mark Phillips, the committee was ordered to sit again, and was instructed "to pursue their inquiries into the whole of the matters complained of in the petition, and to report the result of such inquiries to the House from time to time."

On July 19 Mrs. Robinson was again brought before the committee for examination. She stated that she had advanced £400 to General Gascoyne's election committee in 1819 to obtain a situation for her husband as landing waiter, for which sum she received an acknowledgment from Mr. Thomas Foster (subsequently the town-clerk). Her husband was only appointed deputy landing waiter, and died in the August following. She then applied for the repayment of the money she had advanced, and after some demur and negotiation, in the spring of 1820 she received back £200, and gave up the acknowledgment she had received from Mr. Foster. Mrs. Robinson.

This was not the only case proved. A memorial had been drawn up and signed by several persons recommending a Mr. Hunter to the office of landing waiter, on the payment of £400 by his friends to General Gascoyne's election expenses; but before the office became vacant Hunter had changed his mind, and the office was disposed of to another person. Hunter.

The committee presented their final report on July 29. It extended to considerable length, going back to the year 1823, and giving the history of the elections from that time, with the action taken by the House of Commons upon the petitions. It is too long for insertion here, but I will give a few of the salient points. Committee report.

They report, "That bribery and corruption have existed in the elections of Members of Parliament and Chief Magistrates for the Borough of Liverpool, and in some cases to an enormous amount."

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"That at the contested election for Mayor in 1827, the price of votes began at the sum of 6s. each, and rose to £20; and at the contested election for a member for the representation of the borough in 1830, the price began at £2 and rose to £60, and in one instance to £80."

"That at the contest for Mayor in 1827, the election cost each candidate or his friends seven or eight thousand pounds; and that at the contest in 1830 for a representative, the election cost each candidate or his friends upwards of £40,000."

Committee's report.

"That from documents and evidence on the minutes of this committee, it appears that 2661 individual freemen of the borough at this election were systematically bribed, and that no evidence has been tendered before this committee to refute this imputed bribery."

"That it has been proved that at two different periods before 1823 two offices in the customs were bargained for and sold, and that the proceeds of these sales, as they arose, were separately handed over to the committee for the time being of one of the candidates for the representation of Liverpool, under the name of 'a subscription towards defraying the expenses of the contested election' on the part of the said candidate."

"That the bribery and corruption, both at elections of Chief Magistrate and Members of Parliament, were presented by the Grand Jury in the open court in 1827 as a nuisance."

After detailing the various steps taken by the House in reference to the matter, the report concludes as follows:

"Your committee having duly weighed and considered the evidence laid before them in support of the petition, as well as that on the part of the defence, feel themselves in duty called upon to recommend your Honourable House to introduce a bill to restrict the franchises, and to alter the whole system of elections in that borough, as well for members to sit in Parliament as for the municipal officers; and that you will adopt such measures as under the circumstances may appear to your Honourable House best suited to obtain the desired purity of election."

Recommendation.

"Your committee cannot conclude this report without directing the attention of your Honourable House to the conduct of freemen in a better class of life, and in good circumstances, who have shown fully as much readiness to take bribes as the poorest and most destitute of their fellow-burgesses."

1833. Mr. Nichol.

During this inquiry, Mr. John Nichol, M.P., who was nominated by the House of Commons to conduct the defence, had distinguished himself by zealously espousing the cause of the freemen. On August 1 a meeting was held in the large room of the Golden Lion "of the burgesses and other inhabitants desirous of testifying their grateful sense of the services of John Nichol, Esq.. M.P., in defending the rights of the burgesses on the recent inquiry."

Mr. John Moss was called to the chair. The meeting was addressed by Messrs. Thomas Tobin, J. B. Yates, T. B. Horsfall, and Samuel Holme. A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Nichol, and a subscription entered into for the purchase of a piece of plate as a testimonial.

At the end of August Mr. Nichol paid a visit to Liverpool, when he was entertained by the Mayor and Council, and presented with the freedom of the borough.

Disfranchisement Bill.

On July 29, Mr. Benett, M.P. for Wiltshire, acting on the report of the select committee, gave notice of his intention to introduce a bill to disfranchise the Liverpool freemen. This bill was brought in on the following session, and read a second time on February 26, 1834, by a majority of 190 to 39. On March 19 it passed the Commons by a majority of 109 to 52, and was sent up to the Lords. A petition to the Lords against the bill was forwarded from Liverpool with 18,000 signatures. On April 14, a numerous and influential meeting was held in the Sessions House "to consider the best method of forwarding the objects of the petition." The mayor (Mr. John Wright) occupied the chair. The meeting was addressed by Messrs. W. Smith of Fulwood, Adam Lodge, George Grant, Charles Parker, Miles Barton, E. D. Falkner, Cyrus Morrall, and T. B. Horsfall. A deputation was appointed, consisting of the mayor, Mr. John Gladstone, and others, "to wait on Lord Wharncliffe with the petition, and to co-operate in promoting its objects."

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Petition.

Disfranchisement Bill.

On May 1, 1834, in spite of the opposition of Lord Wharncliffe, the Disfranchisement Bill was read a second time in the Lords, and witnesses were ordered to be examined at the Bar of the House. The matter lay over until July 22, when it was ordered by their Lordships, on the motion of the Earl of Radnor, "that it be an instruction to the committee now sitting on the Warwick Borough witnesses' expenses, to consider also the expenses in the Liverpool case, and to report thereon to the House." Parliament was shortly afterwards prorogued, and in

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prospect of the Municipal Reform Bill introduced in the Session of 1835, the subject was allowed to drop.

1834. A.D. 1833. Meeting on Irish distress.

On April 8, 1833, a public meeting was convened by the mayor (Mr. Charles Horsfall) pursuant to a requisition, "to consider the propriety of petitioning Parliament to extend a modified system of Poor-Laws to Ireland." The meeting was addressed by Messrs. Wallace Currie, John Taylor, Jamieson, Aldermen Bourne and Wright, and Mr. Vignoles the engineer, who was at that time constructing the St. Helens and Runcorn Gap Railway. Resolutions were passed to the effect that the extreme distress and suffering of the labouring population of Ireland called for sympathy and aid; that the evils of Ireland and the impoverished state of the peasantry were in a great degree attributable to the want of a legal provision for the poor; and that petitions be presented to both Houses of Parliament praying for legislative interference.

Visit of the Duke of Orleans.

In May 1833 the town was honoured by a visit from the Duke of Orleans, the heir-apparent to the Crown of France. He arrived at the Adelphi Hotel on the afternoon of Thursday, the 23d, with a numerous suite. He then walked out alone and unattended, and rambled about for nearly two hours. On his return he sent to announce his arrival to the mayor, who, accompanied by Mr. Bailiff Aspinall, waited on the duke at his hotel. In the evening he visited the theatre alone and unattended. The next morning, at nine, he entertained the mayor at breakfast, and proceeded to Manchester up the tunnel from Wapping.

Municipal reform.

After the passing of the Parliamentary Reform Bill and the meeting of the reformed Parliament, no time was lost in taking up the question of municipal reform. On February 14, 1833, a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed "to inquire into the state of Municipal Corporations in England, Wales, and Ireland, and to report to the House whether any and what defects existed in their constitutions, and what measures it might be in their opinion most expedient to adopt for remedy thereof." The committee having sat, and called before them corporate officers, and other witnesses from various parts of the kingdom, on June 4 presented a report expressing their decided opinion that a further and searching inquiry should be instituted by a commission appointed for the purpose. On July 11, the House addressed his Majesty, praying that a commission might be issued; and on July 18 a commission under the

Great Seal was issued to commissioners therein named, out of whom Messrs. George Hutton Wilkinson and Thomas Jefferson Hogg were selected to conduct the inquiry in Liverpool.

Inquiry at Liverpool.

The commissioners attended in Liverpool and sat to take evidence twenty-four days, from November 4 to December 7. The evidence taken before them is embodied in a Parliamentary Blue-book, which furnishes a large amount of valuable information relating to the municipality.

Festival.

The triennial Musical Festival was held in the beginning of October. The principal musical attraction was Madame Malibran, but another, and to many a more seductive bait, was held out in the grand fancy ball, which seems to have been on a more gorgeous scale than any which had preceded it. The nett proceeds of the entire festival were about £2900.

Abolition of slavery.

Two very important public measures were carried through Parliament in the session of 1833. One was the Bill for the Abolition of Negro Slavery. This had been so well prepared for by the agitation of the previous year, that no public demonstration was required in Liverpool. The other, which more nearly affected Liverpool in a commercial point of view, was the revision of the East India Company's Charter, by which the trade to China was thrown open to private enterprise from April 22, 1834. The Liverpool merchants were not slow to avail themselves of the new opening. The first ship which sailed from Liverpool for Canton was the "Symmetry," belonging to Messrs. Acraman and Stitt. The first ship from China was the "Georgiana" of London, which arrived in the Mersey on June 12.

Trade to China opened.

The first Liverpool ship which made the home voyage was the "Duchess of Clarence," Captain Evans, belonging to Messrs. John Bibby and Co., which arrived with a cargo of tea on December 7. Her arrival was attended with a very disastrous accident. A strong gale prevailed at the time, in the midst of which Lieutenant Walker, the revenue officer in command of the "Vixen" cutter, boarded the ship in a small boat. After examining the ship's papers, the boat left the ship, Captain Evans, anxious after a long voyage to reach his home, accompanying the officer. The boat was swamped, and all on board perished, the bodies being afterwards washed on shore.

A.D. 1834.

Irish Church debates.

The year 1834 was distinguished by very exciting discussions respecting the Irish Church both in and out of Parliament, in which Liverpool took its full share. Towards the end of

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1833, the Government organs began to put forth feelers as to the abolition of the Irish tithes in the form under which they then existed. "Of this there can be no doubt," said one of the leading Whig Journals; "the only way to afford the Irish Church the least chance of a permanent existence is to abolish tithes entirely, and to cut down her other emoluments very low indeed." The friends of the Established Church took the alarm. A central committee of laymen was formed in London, which stimulated the provinces to take action in the matter.

A.D. 1834.

On January 29, 1834, a meeting, convened by circular from the mayor (Mr. John Wright), was held in the Sessions House, for the purpose, as announced in the circular, "of supporting the Established Church." The attendance was numerous, and comprised many of the most influential inhabitants. The mayor took the chair, and the meeting was addressed by Sir Thomas Brancker, and Messrs. Joseph Walker, Dawson, Edwards, Samuel Holme, A. Lodge, and Ripley. No reference was made in the speeches, except indirectly, to any proposed attack on the Church; but a resolution was carried—"That at the present eventful crisis it is highly desirable that the friends of the Church of England, resident in the town and neighbourhood of Liverpool, should make a public and solemn declaration of their undeviating attachment to the doctrine and discipline of the Episcopal Establishment, which by the blessing of God has been the means of conveying inestimable advantages—religious and moral—to all classes of the community." A committee was appointed "to carry this object" (whatever that might mean) "into effect." A declaration was also adopted of "unshaken adherence to the pure faith and worship, and the apostolic form of government," of the Church.

Irish Church meeting.

The signataries also "avow our firm determination to do all that in us lies in our several stations, to uphold unimpaired in its security and efficiency, that establishment which we have received as the richest legacy of our forefathers, and desire to hand down as the best inheritance of our posterity."

At the opening of the session of 1834, on February 4, the King's speech recommended "a final adjustment of tithes in Ireland." On February 20, Mr. Littleton, the secretary for Ireland, brought forward the Government scheme, which commuted the tithe for a payment from the landowners. The bill with some alterations passed the Commons, but was defeated in the Lords. On March 11, another bill was intro-

Irish tithes.

duced by the Ministry for depriving the Irish Church of a portion of its revenues, and appropriating it to State purposes. The bill passed the Commons by an overwhelming majority. In the Lords it also passed, with the proviso that the application of the surplus revenue should be suspended, and the amount placed in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

Mr. Ward's motion.

On May 27, Mr. Ward, M.P. for St. Albans, brought forward a motion "that the Irish Church Establishment exceeded the spiritual wants of the Protestant population, and ought to be reduced." This led to the resignation of Mr. Stanley (14th Earl of Derby), Sir James Graham, the Earl of Ripon, and the Duke of Richmond. On the king's birthday, the Irish bishops approached the throne with an address from the Irish prelates and clergy, deprecating any parliamentary interference with the Church. This called forth an extraordinary declaration from the king, who, with tears running down his cheeks, assured the clergy "that the Church of England and Ireland should be preserved unimpaired by him; and that if any of the inferior arrangements required amendment, which he greatly doubted, he hoped it would be left to the bishops to correct them without interference on any hand." Mr. Ward's motion was met by the "previous question," and the difficulty was staved off for a time.

The king's declaration.

Meeting to address the king.

On June 23, a public meeting was held in the Sessions House, called by the mayor, in accordance with a requisition signed by 150 of the leading inhabitants, "being anxious to express to his Majesty our grateful acknowledgments for the sentiments contained in his reply to the address of congratulation recently presented to his Majesty by the archbishops and bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland."

The meeting was addressed by the Rev. Rector Brooks, Rev. Dr. Ralph, minister of the Scotch Church, Sir Thomas Brancker, Mr. T. B. Horsfall, and Alderman Robinson. Resolutions were passed of "regret and alarm at the present hostile movement against the Church of England, endangering its existence as a national Church not only by acts of direct aggression, but by measures of a less obvious, but not less fatal tendency."

"That this meeting hails with heartfelt satisfaction his Majesty's late emphatic avowal of his fixed resolution to preserve inviolate the bond of union between the Church and State, and hastens to lay at his Majesty's feet the homage of its allegiance

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and the assurance of its support;" with other resolutions of a similar tenor.

Receipt stamps.

On Wednesday, April 23, a public meeting was held in the Sessions House, convened by the mayor upon a requisition, "for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of petitioning the Legislature to abolish the stamp duty on receipts." Sir Thomas Brancker, in the absence of the mayor, occupied the chair. Mr. George Crosfield introduced the subject in a pithy and telling speech. The other speakers were Messrs. A. Hodgson, Godfrey Barnsley, and P. Hope. Resolutions were passed expressive of the evils of the existing law, and a petition was adopted praying for its repeal. It does not appear that any idea whatever had occurred to the speakers of the simple plan of the uniform penny stamp, the proposal of which originated in Liverpool, and which has gone far to solve the problem of raising a revenue with the smallest possible inconvenience.

Town-clerk Foster.

At the inquiry before the Corporation Commissioners in November 1833, Mr. Thomas Foster, the town-clerk, won the admiration of all parties by the able manner in which he conducted the case on the part of the corporation. In testimony of this feeling, a subscription was entered into, which raised the sum of £354 : 14s., with which a handsome silver candelabrum was purchased, and presented to Mr. Foster in September 1834. The plate bore the following inscription:

Presented
To
Thomas Foster, Esquire,
Town-clerk of Liverpool,
By the burgesses and other inhabitants of the town
Assembled in public meeting,
On Saturday 24th December,
1833,
To record their admiration
Of the firm, manly, temperate, and dignified manner
In which he performed his official duties,
In vindicating the integrity of the corporate administration,
And in defending the rights of the freemen,
Before his Majesty's municipal commissioners,
During a most minute and protracted investigation
Of twenty-four days.

On Friday, October 17, a lamentable occurrence took place.

Mr. William Southgate, Customs Surveyor of Warehouses in Liverpool, had reported the misconduct of one of his sub-officers, Norman Welch, owing to which he was reduced in his position. As Mr. Southgate was crossing the custom-house yard, Welch went close to him, drew a horse-pistol from underneath his coat, and deliberately shot him. The result was fatal. After lingering in extreme suffering, Mr. Southgate died two days afterwards. The murderer made no attempt to escape. He admitted the deed and expressed his satisfaction that he had got his revenge. He was tried and convicted, and was executed at Lancaster on March 23, 1835.

Murder of Southgate.

On July 9, 1834, Earl Grey retired from office. The Whig Ministry was reconstructed, and maintained a halting existence until November, when, on the decease of Earl Spencer, by which Lord Althorpe, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, became a peer of the realm, and necessarily vacated his office, the king eagerly availed himself of the pretext to dismiss the Ministry, and to send for the Duke of Wellington.

Earl Grey retires.

Dismissal of ministers.

This event occasioned a prodigious sensation both at home and abroad. It was considered to be a defiance of the parliamentary system of government by a majority, and resented by the Whigs accordingly. The Liverpool reformers lost no time in moving. On November 20, a meeting of the leading Whigs, hastily convened by circular, was held at the Clarendon Rooms, to "take into consideration the measures proper to be adopted in consequence of the dismissal of the late Ministry, and the accession of the Duke of Wellington to office." Mr. James Brancker was called to the chair, a resolution was passed to call a public meeting at an early day, and a committee appointed to carry it out. Whilst these proceedings were going forward another meeting was being held in an adjoining room, called together by an anonymous placard of ambiguous phraseology, which led to a somewhat angry and tumultuous collision between the two political parties. Mr. T. B. Horsfall was called to the chair. The meeting for the most part did not seem to understand why they were called together, each party recriminating the other, and at length the assembly broke up in confusion.

Meetings.

The Whig public meeting was held in Clayton Square, on Monday, November 24, Lord Molyneux in the chair. Strong and decided speeches were delivered by the noble chairman, Colonel Williams, M.P., Mr. William Ewart, M.P., Messrs. Richard Sheil, Thomas Blackburn, and W. Wallace Currie. A

Public meeting.

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resolution was passed—"That this meeting cannot contemplate without the deepest alarm the recall to his Majesty's councils of that party who have been constantly opposed to improvement and reform."

An address to the king was also adopted, in which occurs the following passage: "Under these circumstances of surprise and regret, we are impelled to the conviction that your Majesty has forgotten for a moment, under the influence of evil advice, the great constitutional truth, that a Government becomes strong and efficient in the approbation and support of a whole people, while on the other hand an administration will be unstable and insecure, if it possesses not because it deserves not the confidence of the nation." A requisition was signed to the mayor to call a public meeting on behalf of Church and King, but there is no record of any such meeting having taken place.

Orange meeting.

On November 21 a public meeting was held in the amphitheatre to receive a deputation from the Orange societies in Ireland, Lord Kenyon in the chair. The political crisis naturally formed the staple of the speeches. The following *morceau* is from the address of the Rev. M. O'Sullivan, formerly a Roman Catholic priest: "The ministers became men hurried on in their reckless course, driven from the society of honourable men, till, like Gulliver in the arms of the Brobdignag ape (immense cheers at this hit at O'Connell), tormented at one moment by the fondness of the nasty brute, choked the next moment by the filthy morsels which issued from his filthy mouth, quivering, trembling, and yet not daring to move a muscle, seeing the tremendous precipice to which his filthy conductor was conveying him, and yet without the power of rescuing himself from his revolting grasp. Now, we have to thank God for a deliverance; and who is now present who would not raise his voice in acclamations of thanksgiving to the constitutional monarch who has delivered us!" (The cheering and waving of hats and handkerchiefs continued for some minutes.)

Hugh M'Neile.

This meeting was further memorable as the first platform appearance in Liverpool of the Rev. Hugh M'Neile (since Dr. M'Neile, Dean of Ripon). He lamented that the king's prerogative had been limited in such a manner that his Majesty could not now do what he would. "It was said that ministers of religion should not mingle in politics; but God, when he made the minister, did not unmake the citizen." He manifested on this occasion the wonderful dramatic and elocutionary

power which subsequently led to an almost unparalleled influence over his party, and to a considerable extent over the town at large.

Election.

The first act of the new Ministry was of course to dissolve the Parliament and appeal to the country. Both parties in Liverpool began to take active steps before the end of November. The friends of Lord Sandon and Sir Howard Douglas were early in the field. The Whigs, in the first instance, had no intention of bringing out a second candidate, being content if they could secure the seat for Mr. Ewart; but at a meeting held on December 13, it was determined to bring out two candidates, and to invite Mr. Spring Rice, late Secretary for the Colonies, to stand along with Mr. Ewart. That gentleman, however, declined. Sir Francis Baring and Sir Valentine Blake were then mentioned. Ultimately the choice fell upon Mr. James Morris, a London merchant of wealth and position, one of the directors of the Bank of England. Mr. Thomas Thornely, the Whig candidate in 1831 and 1832, had been invited to stand for Wolverhampton, for which borough he was returned.

Candidates.

With the new year the campaign began in good earnest. On the last day of the old year an open air meeting of Mr. Morris's friends was held in Clayton Square, Mr. Lawrence Heyworth in the chair. Mr. William Earle introduced the candidate in a laudatory address. Mr. Morris then addressed the meeting, and was succeeded by Lord Molyneux and Mr. Wallace Currie. The two Reform candidates afterwards went on 'Change, and delivered addresses in the newsroom. The next day Mr. Ewart addressed his friends from the balcony of the Adelphi Hotel, supported by Messrs. David Hodgson, James Brancker, and others. Mr. Morris, being present, was also called upon to speak.

Election meetings.

On Thursday, January 1, Lord Sandon's friends held a meeting in the large room of the Golden Lion, Alderman Charles Lawrence in the chair, supported by Messrs. Charles Horsfall, James Heyworth, John Moss, and others. Lord Sandon was not present. The same day, Sir Howard's supporters met at the King's Arms, Alderman Robinson in the chair, and were addressed by Messrs. Richard Leyland, John Wright, T. B. Horsfall and others. On Monday, Sir Howard Douglas, and on Tuesday, Lord Sandon, visited the Exchange, and were both very cordially received.

CHAP. V. 1835. Nomination.

Monday, January 5, 1835, was the day for nomination. The friends of all the candidates mustered in strong force; party colours and banners not having yet been prohibited were displayed in great profusion. Mr. Ewart was proposed by Mr. James Brancker, seconded by Mr. Wallace Currie. Lord Sandon was proposed by Alderman Charles Lawrence, seconded by Mr. John Moss. Alderman Wright nominated Sir Howard Douglas, seconded by Alderman Leyland. Mr. William Earle proposed Mr. Morris, seconded by Mr. Lawrence Heyworth. Each of the candidates addressed the assembly, but owing to the uproar were very indistinctly heard.

Poll.

The first day's poll showed the two Whig candidates in a minority. At the final close on the second day the numbers stood: Sandon, 4407; Ewart, 4075; Douglas, 3869; Morris, 3627. 8187 persons polled, out of 11,340 votes on the register. It was clear that a reaction had set in against the Whigs, whatever the cause might be. With a constituency about the same, Mr. Ewart polled 856 votes less, and Lord Sandon 147 votes more, than at the last election.

Dinner.

On January 14, the Whigs celebrated the election of Mr. Ewart by a public dinner at the Theatre Royal, Mr. James Brancker in the chair. The meeting was addressed by Messrs. Ewart and Morris, Mr. G. W. Wood, M.P., Thomas Thornely, M.P., Rushton, and others.

The days of squibs, poetry, and satire, had passed away. Elections had not been deprived of their bitterness, but they had lost the fun and frolic which took away in some degree the edge of the bitter feeling. Everything was now as dull and prosaic as the most ardent reformer could desire. The "cakes and ale" had not altogether departed, even if the community had become "more virtuous." The reaction in Liverpool was not seconded in the country generally. After struggling with difficulties for two months, on April 8, the Duke of Wellington in the Lords, and Sir Robert Peel in the Commons, announced the resignation of the Ministry, which was succeeded by that of Lord Melbourne.

Proposals for police.

During the session a local bill of importance was brought into Parliament. The unsatisfactory state of the town with regard to the provision for preserving the peace had attracted attention. A nightly watch existed, which had latterly been brought into something like discipline; but during the day there was absolutely no constabulary force to keep order and

repress the unruly. A bill was propounded to make provision for such a force. The mayor and the churchwardens were to be commissioners for the purpose, and to have the force under their control. The expense was to be defrayed by the corporation paying one-third and the ratepayers two-thirds. Coupled with this there was another series of clauses, making obligatory certain allowances to the rectors and clergy, which had hitherto depended on the annual vote of the parishioners. Considerable difference of opinion existed in regard to this measure. The Easter Vestry declared in its favour; the Commissioners of the Watch petitioned against it; the Grand Jury made a presentment in its behalf; the Watch Commissioners then withdrew their opposition. Finally, however, the bill was withdrawn; but the objects at which it aimed have been secured by subsequent legislation.

Municipal reform.

The next important measure which engaged the attention of the Liverpool public was the Municipal Reform Bill. At a meeting of the Reform Association on June 4 a resolution was passed—"That at the present important period it is the duty of all reformers to support ministers in carrying to a successful issue a full and efficient reform of the abuses in the Irish Church, and a comprehensive reform in all corporations; and that this meeting cordially approves of the resolution of his Majesty's ministers to limit their attention during the present session to these great objects.

Agitation.

Immediately on their accession to office the Whig Ministry appointed a new commission to inquire and report further on the existing state of the municipal corporations. As the matter was pretty nearly a foregone conclusion, the commissioners lost no time in reporting. On June 5 the bill was introduced in the Commons by Lord John Russell. A large amount of agitation naturally resulted throughout the country. In Liverpool meetings were called of the freemen actual and in prospect, and of persons interested in corporation leases, whose rights were supposed to be affected. On August 10 a public meeting was held in Clayton Square—"To take into consideration and adopt such measures as may seem best calculated to accelerate and secure the passing into a law of the bill now before the House of Lords for the reform of the corporations of England and Wales, and which the recent proceedings in the House of Lords are calculated to obstruct and endanger."

Reform meeting.

The chair was taken by Colonel Williams. The meeting

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was addressed by Messrs. Lawrence Heyworth, John Rosson, Henry Booth, William Rathbone, Thomas Blackburn, Thomas Bolton, Richard Sheil, and others. Strong resolutions were passed, amongst which were the following:

"That this meeting, strongly impressed with the value and importance of the Municipal Reform Bill, feel imperatively called upon to express their deep regret at the course pursued by the House of Lords, in requiring evidence respecting the existence of abuses which are notorious to the rest of the community, a proceeding calculated to obstruct and impede unnecessarily the progress of this great measure, if not altogether to prevent its passing into a law.

"That this meeting considers that any attempt to seek a separate bill for this town is an insidious effort to deprive the borough of the benefit of corporation reform, originating in exclusive and selfish views, and opposed to the wishes and the best interests of the great body of the people of Liverpool."

This last resolution was in reply to an attempt which had been made under corporation influence to procure the exemption of Liverpool from the general Act and the passing of a modified local Act, on the ground of risk to the corporate estate and alarm to the bondholders. Some such feeling as this seems to have prevailed, or to have been stimulated by some members of the council.

Corporation bankers.

The banking account of the corporation up to this time had been kept with the banking-house of Messrs. Leyland and Bullins. At a meeting of the Finance Committee, held on June 19, Alderman Leyland announced that he would make no further advances to the corporation, the account then standing to their debit in the sum of £12,800. Some rather high words ensued. Alderman Sandbach, Conservative though he might be, was jealous for the honour of the corporation, and immediately signed a cheque on his bankers, Messrs. Heywood and Co., for the amount. The day following the account of the corporation was transferred from Leyland and Co. to Messrs. Heywood, where it has ever since remained.

Town-clerk examined.

On August 6 Mr. Thomas Foster, the town-clerk, was examined at the bar of the House of Lords on several matters connected with the commissioners' report on the Liverpool Corporation. The bill was finally passed, with some of the amendments inserted by the Lords on September 7, and on the 9th it received the Royal assent.

Pending the passing of the Municipal Reform Act, some transactions took place in Liverpool which led to considerable litigation. Under the Act by which Liverpool was constituted a separate parish (10 and 11 Will. III, c. 36) the corporation were the patrons of the benefice, and consequently had the appointment to the incumbencies of the churches subsequently erected, subject to certain special acts applying to those more recently built. A large proportion of the stipends of these incumbents was derived from the corporate funds, about £10,000 per annum having been devoted to this purpose. The Municipal Reform Bill in its intended provisions interfered with this arrangement. The bill for charging on the parish an obligatory payment to the clergy had been withdrawn, and an attempt to introduce a clause into the Municipal Reform Bill legalising these payments by the corporation had been defeated. The town-council were very desirous before they were superseded to make some permanent provision for the clergy. At a meeting on November 13, a report on the endowment question was brought up, which recommended that the sum of £105,000 should be raised by mortgage, and invested with the Grand Junction Railway Company, at 4 per cent, to form a fund for the payment of the clerical stipends. A protest against the scheme was presented, signed by 125 burgesses of respectability. On a division the report was carried by 20 to 8.

Liverpool churches.

Endowment.

The day following, in the Rolls court, Mr. Bickersteth (afterwards Lord Langdale) applied for an injunction to restrain the corporation from carrying into effect the proposed loan and investment. The injunction was granted; but on December 5 the case was again argued, when the injunction was dissolved, the Master of the Rolls considering that it was better to leave it to the incoming council to dispute the legality of the proceeding if they saw fit. In order not to return to the subject again, it may be here stated that the question was disputed by the reformed council; and, after a protracted litigation, it was set at rest by an Act of Parliament (1 and 2 Vic., c. 98), under which the money was repaid, and certain stipends to the clergy were made obligatory payments from the borough fund. By the same Act the rectory of the parish, which had previously been held in two medieties, was in future to be united at the decease of either of the then incumbents. The settlement was considered at the time as a great triumph of the Reform party; but the results of thirty years' experience have rather tended to

Endowment of churches.

CHAP. V. 1835. Endowment of churches.

the opposite conclusion. The regular payments are about £2500 per annum; but when to this is added the expense of repairing and renovating the buildings, which would have been got rid of by the endowment scheme, it will be found that the churches cost the burgesses as much as or more than the interest of the £105,000 originally appropriated, whilst the irritating effect of this ecclesiastical burden on the borough fund is perpetuated.

This general view of the municipal corporation reform has a little interfered with the chronological order of our narrative. I must turn back a little to notice a few of the most memorable events of the year 1835.

Incendiary fires.

I have mentioned in previous pages several destructive fires in 1824 and 1825, which were proved to have been the work of incendiaries. During the year 1835 two very serious instances of the same kind occurred. In the winter of 1834-5 several attempts were made to set fire to the extensive premises of Messrs. Foster and Stewart, builders, in Lawton Street. Some of these were discovered in time to prevent destruction; but on the night of December 19, 1834, the premises, of great extent, with a large stock of timber, were totally destroyed.[1] This was followed, in less than a month, by the destruction of the establishment of Messrs. Foster and Griffin, ironfounders, Beckwith Street. A reward of £500 was offered in each case for the discovery of the incendiary, but without success.

Orange and green riots.

On July 12 a repetition took place, with more than usual virulence, of the disgraceful scenes called "Orange riots," in which two Irish factions dispute the palm for distinction in ferocity and brutality. The anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne occurred on Sunday. It was expected that a grand demonstration would be made by the Orangemen; but if such was intended, it was prevented by the occurrences which took place. Collections of the lower classes of Irish assembled in the streets at the north end of the town; and about ten at night a *fracas* took place in Ben Jonson Street, which led to the capture of one of the ringleaders by the police. This was the signal for a general row. The mob set upon the watchmen, rescued the prisoner, and assaulted the officers so hotly that

[1] A fatality seemed to attend these premises. After having been rebuilt in full working order, they were again destroyed by fire on January 5, 1843. The site is now occupied by the railway station of the Cheshire lines.

Riots.

they were driven from the street. Another commotion arose in Great Crosshall Street; and the two mobs uniting, being fifty to one as compared with the officers, the latter were compelled to take flight and seek refuge in the Lock-up in Vauxhall Road. This the rioters proceeded to break open with axes and staves, with loud cheers and outcries from an assembled crowd. Those inside barricaded the inner doors and retreated to the loft, where they rang the alarm fire-bell. Mr. Whitty, the head of the night police, hearing the bell, drove at once to the station, where he was attacked with the utmost violence. Being a powerful man, he contended boldly with his assailants; but it might have gone hard with him had it not been for two young men amongst the rioters who gallantly espoused his cause, and assisted him to dash through the door which had just been broken open. The rioters then paused as if uncertain what to do next; and assistance having in the meantime arrived, the mob were gradually forced back, and in their turn compelled to fly.

On Monday morning the riots were renewed. A large crowd assembled in Park Lane. Mr. Parlour, the chief constable, endeavoured to persuade them to disperse, with the assurance that no Orange procession would be permitted; but the multitude increasing, the dock police were sent for, and a detachment of the 80th Regiment was called out to clear the streets.

The mob, driven from Park Lane, proceeded to Vauxhall Road, where they joined another body already assembled. The nightly watch were again called out, and a hundred special constables sworn in and despatched to the scene. Although there was great excitement during the day, no further *émeute* took place. Many of the rioters were taken into custody, on whom were found pistols, with powder and ball, and other deadly weapons. The most active of them were tried and punished.

Mechanics' Institute.

On July 20 the first stone of the Mechanics' Institution, Mount Street (now the Liverpool Institute and High School), was laid by Lord Brougham, who delivered an address to a vast assemblage. In the evening he was entertained at a public dinner in the Amphitheatre, Mr. James Brancker in the chair. About 600 sat down at table. The boxes were appropriated to ladies, and the pupils of the Institution occupied the galleries.

Dinner to Lord Brougham.

The speech delivered by the noble ex-Chancellor was long and elaborate. It is included in his published works, but very

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much abridged, and in some respects altered; the history of his proceedings in Scotland, just preceding the fall of the Ministry, which he went into at some length, being entirely cut out. The omitted portions contain the raciest part of the speech.

Lord Brougham's speech.

The following passage is rather incisive: "Gentlemen, it has been kindly and judiciously said in some of the public prints opposed to us that it was all very well for the poor dupes of Liverpool to invite me to a public dinner, for they were only part of the people, and Liverpool was the only town that would give me such an invitation. I know not why this should be said, gentlemen, for I never *bribed* in Liverpool, I never *treated* in Liverpool; no man in Liverpool was ever the better for me, excepting as other subjects of the realm may have been benefited by my endeavours to promote the common good. . . . It is, perhaps, not worth so much notice; but having defended Mr. Pitt, Mr. Canning, Mr. Huskisson, and Lord Eldon from a charge common to us all,[1] I should have been the most ungrateful of men if I had not also defended you against the charge which has been brought against you."

The following quotation is rather long, but as it is very powerful and in the great orator's most characteristic style, I will venture to give it, particularly as it differs materially from the published version, to which I think it is much superior:

"If it were not too late to fall to moralising, I might say that he who relinquishes place, misnamed "power" in this country, does not surrender any very enviable prerogative, or any very sweet enjoyment. To be responsible for measures which others control—perhaps contrive; to be answerable for leaving things undone which he ought to have done, and which he had all the desire in the world to do, but was prevented by others from doing; to be compelled to trust some of the most untrustworthy of their race, and to repose confidence on great occasions where the serious interests of millions are deeply involved, in certain quarters which he knows to be utterly unworthy of confidence; to place implicit trust in persons in whom common prudence forbids him to place even common confidence; to have the most profound and difficult views of policy judged of and decided upon by the most frivolous and ignorant of the human kind; or the most generous aspirations after the happiness of

[1] He here alludes to the severe comments of the Tory papers on the demonstrations he had made during his tour in Scotland. He had previously stated that the statesmen named had done the same thing.

mankind which can warm the human breast chilled by the frowns of the selfish and the sordid—these are a few of the unenviable privileges which place confers upon its possessor. And yet I protest I know not if there are not others which are still less to be envied. It is no pleasing thing for a man who loves his fellow-creatures, and is fain to do them good, to be raised to an eminence from whence he can look down into the human heart—a sight which one of our poets once described to be so horrible that the Deity had reserved it for his own eye alone—a naked human heart—to be placed on that eminence from which one cannot choose but see it, because it is our duty to become acquainted with the ways of men who confound the attitude of climbing, which they call ambition, with that of creeping and crawling, to which it is nearly allied—advancing themselves by every base art and every tortuous method, to some petty and trivial distinction; and to find after doing all we can to serve an individual, and failed, that that individual becomes one's inveterate enemy; or after happily succeeding in serving another, to find that he forsooth requites the obligation, and cancels, or thinks to cancel it by picking a quarrel with his benefactor, and in conformity with that most unamiable characteristic of the British people, that preposterous pride which seeks to get rid of a sense of obligation, though it can only be done by means evincing the blackest ingratitude: all this, he who governs this country, and dispenses its patronage, must experience oftentimes in the course of one little month of his reign; from all this *he* escapes who surrenders his official seals; and yet I believe that even all this I might have been disposed to endure, urged on by ambition, by the love of excitement belonging to power—by the love of glory if you will, which statesmen feel as well as conquerors, though a more innocent glory than theirs—all this I might have undergone; but there was another thing of which I felt most impatient, and glad to be relieved—I mean the fetters, the trammels, the death-cold ceremony which he undergoes, who enters the House appointed for all living ministers. Judge, then, of the exultation which shook and made to quiver every fibre of my frame when I could burst forth from the cerements of that living tomb; when I could start into new and unofficial life, and once more take my place in the van of my honest, enlightened, and free countrymen; taking my natural position with them, helping them forward in this vast and rapid and resistless course which we are making daily and hourly in

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Lord Brougham's speech.

improvement; showing a strength, a might, and a force which sweeps away and prostrates in the dust all those puny obstacles raised against its progress by the intrigues of courts and their tyranny—by the persecution of bigots and their intolerance—by the sordid and base interests of the privileged few, be they monopolising companies, or overgrown and bloated establishments; or be they monopolising, corrupt, and irresponsible municipal corporations. From all these trammels I am now free; I am firm in the position in which I am now placed, and it must be a strong government, and an honest government, and a government that promises much—much—much for the people, and is able to accomplish much for the people, that can ever tempt me to give up my present position of independence in the van of my countrymen, and enlist with any ministry whatever."

Assizes in Liverpool.

The long-desired adjournment to Liverpool of the assizes for South Lancashire was now at length conceded by the Government. The first assizes in Liverpool were opened by Chief Baron Abinger and Chief Justice Tindall on August 16, in the Sessions House, Chapel Street. The corporation undertook to provide the necessary accommodation for the judges' lodgings. For this purpose they rented a commodious mansion in St. Anne Street, belonging to Alderman Sandbach, and then recently occupied by Alderman Porter.[1]

Meeting in aid of the Irish clergy.

On December 8 a public meeting was held in the Music Hall, "to consider the propriety of raising a subscription for the relief of the clergy belonging to the Irish Church," many of whom were stated to be reduced to a state of utter destitution by the refusal to pay tithes. The Rev. Rector Brooks took the chair. A sum of about £2000 was raised in aid of the fund for their relief.

Election of reform council.

The Municipal Reform Act having come into operation, December 26 was appointed for the election of the new council. As might naturally have been expected, considerable excitement prevailed. Conservative as Liverpool usually has shown itself, there was yet a strong feeling against the exclusiveness of the old corporation, and a natural desire that the party which had contributed to the victory should, in the first instance, enjoy the fruits. General and ward meetings were held by both parties, and all the bustle and effervescence of a general election were manifested. The result was a general discomfiture of the

[1] In 1868 the judges' lodgings were removed to Newsham House, Newsham Park.

Tory party, only five councillors out of forty-eight belonging to them. Two only of the old council succeeded in gaining seats in the new one, Messrs. Charles Horsfall and John Shaw Leigh.

On Wednesday, December 30, the reformed council met to appoint sixteen aldermen. Out of those so appointed only one belonged to the Conservative side.

New council.

The constitution of the new council stood as follows: Whig councillors 43, Tories 5; aldermen, 15 Whigs, 1 Tory. With this enormous majority it might have been thought practicable to maintain the ascendancy at the town-hall for an indefinite period; but, either through the mismanagement of the Whigs or the adroitness of their opponents, only five short years elapsed before the rout of the Whigs was so thorough and complete that all attempts at rehabilitation have ever since resulted in utter failure.

A.D. 1836. New police force.

One of the first acts of the new council was the consolidation of the day, night, and dock police on the system originally introduced by Sir Robert Peel into the Metropolitan police. This measure had become absolutely necessary for the protection of life and property as well as of the peace of the town, which had frequently been endangered for want of prompt assistance at the commencement of a threatened *émeute*. The town police body was organised on February 29, 1836, and consisted of 290 men, under 24 inspectors and 4 superintendents, besides 40 fire-policemen, and the necessary staff of bridewell keepers and indoor officers. Mr. Michael James Whitty, previously superintendent of the nightly watch, was appointed head constable. About twelve months subsequently the dock police force was amalgamated with that of the town. In the first instance considerable jealousy and soreness existed as to the new force, and many complaints—most of them unfounded—were made of the brutality of their conduct; but the usefulness of the new system became continually more and more apparent. On July 5 the Grand Jury at the quarter sessions made a presentment, intimating to the court "their high approbation of the new police, as eminently calculated as well for the prevention as the discovery of crime, and they express a hope that every well-wisher to virtue and good order will aid and encourage the body in the due discharge of their duty." Any asperities of feeling gradually softened down, and it has been long acknowledged that the police force is one of the institutions essential to good order and safety in a large and mixed community.

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Stipendiary magistrate.

A necessary corollary to the establishment of the police force was the appointment of a stipendiary magistrate. To this office Mr. Thomas James Hall, a practising barrister on the northern circuit, was recommended by the town-council, and appointed by Lord John Russell, the Home Secretary. Mr. Hall continued in the office until May 1839, when he was transferred to a similar office in the metropolis, and Mr. Edward Rushton, who has often been mentioned in the preceding pages, was appointed in his stead.

Another question of considerable importance engaged the attention of the new council. The officers of the old corporation, under the provisions of the Municipal Act, were either to be retained or compensated for the loss of their offices. The principal

Town-clerk pensioned.

of these officers was the town-clerk (Mr. Thomas Foster). The council did not see fit to retain his services, and he sent in accordingly his claim for compensation, from which it appeared that his fees of office on the average of the four preceding years amounted to £7401 per annum, for the loss of which he claimed the sum of £77,108. This claim was ultimately commuted into an annuity of £2500 for his life. This was settled on July 11: and on Saturday, September 10, Mr. Foster, who had gone abroad for his health, died at Calais. His brother Mr. John

Architect pensioned.

Foster, who had filled the office of architect and surveyor to the corporation, was superannuated at £500 per annum. The remainder of the corporate officers were retained in their places.

There is a proverb that "New brooms sweep clean," and this the newly-installed council proceeded to exemplify by introducing reform into every department; but there is another wise saw to which it would have been prudent to take heed—at least for a time—that it is sometimes "best to let a sleeping dog lie."

Corporation schools.

The two elementary schools established by the old corporation had been conducted on the principles of the Established Church. This subject attracted the early attention of the new council. An education committee was appointed, which recommended that the school system should be changed, and the mixed education adopted according to the Irish national system. This report was confirmed by the council, little foreseeing what the consequences would be. The appropriation of the public educational fund to the purposes of one particular church was no doubt wrong in principle, and called for interference, but the mode in which it was treated was rash and unadvised. The question might have been dealt with by the erection of other

Corporation schools.

unsectarian schools; at all events, time might have been given for public opinion to form itself. A time-honoured institution was ruthlessly uprooted, and strong religious prejudices needlessly excited. If there is one question more than another on which the English mind is subject to loose its balance and rush into a sort of intellectual stampede, it is at the cry of "No Popery." This was the war-cry raised on the occasion in question. The withdrawal of the Bible as an ordinary school-book, and the substitution of the Irish national lessons, was held forth as the expulsion of the Bible—which was not true. The public mind was not prepared for the sudden change. Nothing could have happened more opportunely for the Tory party. It furnished them with a lever of wondrous power to uproot their rivals from their seat. This was just the opportunity for the display of the peculiar talent of the Rev. Hugh M'Neile, and he was not backward in availing himself of it. He might have exclaimed with Cromwell before the battle of Dunbar, when General Leslie changed his front, "The Lord hath delivered them into our hands." Every available means were put into operation to enlighten (or prejudice) the public mind; pamphlets, speeches, public meetings, letters in the newspapers, editorial articles, all ringing the changes on the one theme—"Protestantism in danger! No Popery!" But the great engine of power was the

> Pulpit drum ecclesiastic,
> Beat with fist instead of a stick.

Hugh M'Neile.

Here Hugh M'Neile might have imitators, but no rival. His power of declamation against what he considered a wrong; his withering scorn of his opponents; his adroitness in identifying the Tory cause with that of religion and duty; and, above all, his dramatic talent and splendid elocution—all these combined gave him the force of a catapult in hurling defiance against the opposite party.

Church schools.

A movement—a most excellent and proper one—was made in June, on the part of the clergy of the Established Church, for the erection of new schools, "independently of the corporation, in which the *whole Bible* shall be taught." "This," says the paragraph, "is the true policy; if the council will leave their schools without the Scriptures, let them also be left without scholars."[1]

[1] *Liverpool Courier*, June 22, 1836.

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The clergy were really in earnest. On July 18 two schools were opened in temporary premises at the north end of the town as substitutes for the North Corporation Schools. On July 13 a crowded public meeting was held in the Amphitheatre, the Rev. Rector Brooks in the chair, in which the corporation system was denounced. Here Hugh M'Neile was thoroughly in his element, and raised the enthusiasm of his audience to the highest pitch. Like Cato of old, with his "Delenda est Carthago," he had one leading note: "Down with the Radical council."

Corporation schools.

The zeal manifested in defence of the Protestant cause by denunciation in the higher quarters, displayed itself in a more substantial form amongst those of a lower grade. The children attending the corporation schools were waylaid and maltreated in the streets. Mr. Wilderspin, the celebrated founder of infant schools, who was employed to arrange and put in order those belonging to the corporation, made a complaint before the magistrates of annoyance and injury from persons entering the school premises and using bad language, with violence.

Discussions in council.

In the midst of all this there were not wanting sagacious persons who foresaw the goal to which all this was tending, and who raised their warning voice. At the first annual meeting of the new council, on November 9, 1836, Mr. Charles Birch, one of the Liberal members for Castle Street ward, moved that the schools should be discontinued and the property sold. This was seconded by Mr. John Cropper. The motion was adjourned for a fortnight, when a very animated discussion took place.

Corporation schools.

It was argued on behalf of the system adopted by the council that it had not had time for a fair trial; that the opposition to it had originated and was still carried on from party and political motives; that in a very short time Protestant scruples would disappear before the signal advantages of the Irish system; and that the outcry raised against the council had been swelled by the shouts of many who really knew very little of the merits of the question at issue. It was further asserted that a great majority of the Protestant Dissenters cordially approved of the system; and as to the Roman Catholics, no inconsiderable portion of the population, they were with the council, as one man. The noise that a party made was no evidence of its numbers—no certain proof of its strength; on the contrary, violence and vehemence were pretty plain indications of conscious weakness.

The agitation on the school question was failing, and would rapidly die away.

On the other hand, it was urged that the council were the representatives of the whole community, and were bound to concede everything to the feelings of the public when their feelings had been decidedly expressed. They had been decidedly expressed by the result of the late elections, in which seven Liberals had been displaced by seven Tories; that the tide of popular opinion was strongly set against any system of education which was not grounded on religious instruction, but that the present system of religious instruction introduced into the schools had been fairly tried and signally failed; that the advocates of the system ought not to forget that when they charged their opponents with religious prejudices, the very same observations might with equal justice be applied to themselves. It was no more reasonable for an advocate of the system to say that time would reconcile the Protestants to it, than it would have been for the clergy under the old system to say that time would reconcile the Catholics to the indiscriminate use of the Bible. It was in vain to disguise the fact, that the objection in both cases was fixed and settled; it was founded in the principles of their respective religions, and no power could overcome it.

The motion for selling the schools was withdrawn, and another substituted: "That it is just and proper that the benefits of religious instruction should be open to the children of the poor of every denomination, and that, in order effectually to promote this object, it is expedient to erect additional schools, to be conducted on the plan formerly pursued in the corporate schools of this borough." On a division this motion was lost by 45 votes to 10.

Conservative reaction.

The Conservative reaction in Liverpool was aggravated by several concurrent circumstances. The introduction of the Appropriation Clause into the Irish Tithe Commutation Bill, although it was thrown out by the Lords on July 22, excited considerable alarm amongst the friends of the Established Church in England, and added point to the bitter attacks on the Reform party. In the beginning of the year Mr. O'Connell had been invited by the Reformers of Liverpool to a public dinner, which took place at the Corn Exchange, on Wednesday, January 27, Mr. William Rathbone in the chair. In the course of his speech the great Irish champion enumerated the demands which Ireland would insist upon from the English Parliament,

O'Connell.

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and amongst them stood conspicuous the disestablishment of the Irish Church, or the despoiling it of a large share of its revenues.

Meeting for O'Connell.

On June 6 a public meeting was held in the large room of the York Hotel under the auspices of the Reform Association, "to mark the respect and gratitude of the Reformers of Liverpool to Mr. O'Connell for the eminent services which he has rendered to the cause of civil and religious liberty, and to adopt measures for raising a fund towards defraying the political expenses to which Mr. O'Connell has been subjected in defence of his seat for Dublin." Mr. James Braucker occupied the chair. The meeting was addressed by Messrs. William Rathbone, Godfrey Barnsley, James Mulleneux, James Muspratt, T. Coglan, and Egerton Smith. Resolutions were passed highly eulogising Mr. O'Connell, and a subscription was entered into which raised a considerable sum.

The Tories were not behindhand with their demonstrations. Up to this time public meetings had not been the *forte* of the Conservatives; they rather preferred exercising their influence in a more quiet way. But about this period an important change took place, and they boldly met their opponents on ground which had hitherto been monopolised by them. The clerical element, which now came prominently forward, especially as embodied in the person of Mr. M'Neile, had a great deal to do with this; but several of the laity, such as Mr. T. B. Horsfall, Mr. Samuel Holme, and others, began to distinguish themselves on the platform, and to wipe away the reproach which had attached to their party.

Conservative Association.

On Tuesday, October 18, a public dinner of the Tradesmen's Conservative Association was held at the Amphitheatre, Mr. Samuel Holme in the chair. This was of course intended as a political demonstration of an important character in the then critical state of local politics, and just on the eve of a municipal election. Many distinguished guests were present—Lord Sandon, M.P., Hon. C. J. Canning, M.P. (afterwards Lord Canning, Governor of India), Hon. B. Wilbraham, M.P. (afterwards Lord Skelmersdale), and Hon. J. S. Wortley. Amongst them we find also recorded the name of William Ewart Gladstone, M.P. This was three years previous to the publication of his celebrated essay on "Church and State."

Protestant Association.

On Tuesday, November 8, also at the Amphitheatre, the first anniversary of the Protestant Association was held, Mr. C. S.

Parker in the chair. The speakers were exclusively clerical. Nearly the whole time was occupied by two orators, the Rev. Mortimer O'Sullivan, who spoke for three hours, and the Rev. Hugh M'Neile, who spoke for two hours.

In the midst of the strong and exciting political feeling which pervaded the community during this year, there was not very much of a general nature worthy of record.

Lime Street tunnel.

On August 15, the tunnel from Edgehill to Lime Street having been completed, the railway station in Lime Street was opened.

Musical festival.

Death of Malibran.

During the first week in October, the Musical Festival was held. A deep feeling of regret and sympathy was called forth by the unexpected and premature death of Madame Malibran, who had been engaged to sing at Liverpool after the conclusion of the Festival at Manchester. After singing in the concert at that town in the evening of the 15th when she was encored, and taxed her powers far beyond her physical strength, she was taken to her hotel in an alarming state of illness, and died on the following day. Her remains were interred in the Manchester Cathedral. Madame Caradori Allan was engaged at short notice to supply her place in Liverpool. The amount of about £2500 remained for the charities after paying all expenses.

Some exception had been taken for some time to holding the oratorios of the Festival meetings in consecrated churches, St. Peter's and St. Luke's having been hitherto used for the purpose. Mr. M'Neile and several others of the clergy on the present occasion denounced the whole proceeding, and held services in their churches at the times advertised for the oratorios. It was felt that a want existed, and immediately after the Festival was over an effort was made to supply it. A meeting was held attended by many of the leading inhabitants, at which it was resolved to raise a suitable hall for musical performances and other public purposes by shares, and a subscription was entered into for the purpose, which realised above £23,000.

Proposal for music hall.

An application was made to the council for about 4000 square yards of land on the site of the old Infirmary, which had remained unappropriated since the removal of the building. This came before the council on February 13, 1837, and was agreed to with certain conditions attached. Powers were obtained in an Act passed in the following session (1 Vic. c. 115) for this appropriation. The succeeding steps will be narrated in the account of the building in a future chapter.

A.D. 1837.

On March 6, 1837, died at the age of eighty-one, John

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Death of John Bolton.

Bolton, one of the most eminent of the long line of Liverpool merchants, the friend of Canning and Huskisson, who for many years had played a distinguished part in Liverpool affairs. His remains were carried from his house in Duke Street to the rural churchyard of Bowness on the banks of Lake Windermere. As far as Kirkdale, on the north road, they were attended by a large gathering of all classes; the children of the Bluecoat Hospital, sixty gentlemen on horseback, two hundred and fifty on foot, nearly forty private carriages, etc.

Church-rates.

Meetings.

During the year 1837, the question of the abolition of church-rates was agitated both in and out of Parliament. On January 12, a public meeting was held in the Music Hall, Mr. Samuel Hope in the chair, "to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning Parliament for the immediate and total abolition of church-rates." The principal speakers were Messrs. Thomas Thornely, M.P., Thomas Blackburn, and William Rathbone. Resolutions were passed and a petition adopted. On March 3, a Bill was introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for defraying the expense of the repairs of parish churches out of church property under an improved system of management, and by the application of the proceeds of pew-rents. The friends of the Church took the alarm, and on March 9, a public meeting convened by requisition was held in the Music Hall for the purpose of petitioning Parliament against the bill. Sir Thomas Brancker was called to the chair. In his opening observations, he said: "It appeared to him that if the bill introduced into the House of Commons were carried into effect, it would practically dissever the union between the Church and the State; and that it was neither more nor less than a direct attack on church property." The meeting was addressed by Mr. T. B. Horsfall, the Rev. Rector Brooks, the Rev. Hugh M'Neile, and Mr. Samuel Holme. Resolutions were passed to the effect—"That the integrity of church property should be religiously preserved, and that any increase of its funds should be applied to the erection of new churches and the maintenance of additional ministers." A petition to Parliament against the measure was also adopted.

On May 2, another public meeting was held in the same place, "to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning Parliament in favour of the plan for the abolition of church-rates, introduced by his Majesty's Ministers." The chair was taken by Mr. Samuel Hope. The wording of the placard

summoning the meeting being somewhat vague, the Tory party put in an appearance, called together by circular, and a somewhat hostile collision took place. Mr. M'Neile presented himself, supported by a large number of his friends, and wished to take a part in the meeting, justifying himself on the ground that the placard called together a meeting of "the inhabitants." After considerable uproar, and some sparring between Mr. M'Neile and the chairman as to the wording of the placard, the leaders of the church party withdrew. The meeting was then addressed by the chairman, Messrs. Blackburn, Rathbone, and Sheil, and the Revs. Burnett (of London), Kelly, and Carruthers. A petition was adopted in favour of the Ministerial measure.

Church-rates. Meetings.

On January 19, a public dinner was given in the Amphitheatre, by the Tradesmen's Reform Association, in honour of Mr. William Ewart, M.P., Mr. (afterwards Sir Joshua) Walmsley in the chair. The numbers who sat down at table were upwards of 1000. There was a considerable attendance of M.P.'s and political notabilities. Mr. Ewart was of course the lion of the evening. The meeting was also addressed by Mr. Thomas Gisborne, M.P. for Derbyshire, Mr. T. Thornely, M.P. for Wolverhampton, Mr. Brotherton, M.P. for Salford, and Mr. Rigby Wason, M.P. for Ipswich.

Dinner to Ewart.

In the spring of 1837, one of the severest of the periodical crises to which the commercial world is subject passed over the country. The usual symptoms of an inflated paper currency, over-trading and speculation, reckless joint-stock schemes, resulting in collapse and ruin, had manifested themselves. A panic set in and commercial affairs were at a dead lock. The principal defalcation was in the transactions with the United States.

Commercial crisis.

On April 6, a meeting of merchants, brokers, and others, was held at the town-hall, at which it was unanimously determined to apply to Government "for assistance in the present unparalleled depression of trade and suspension of credit. Messrs. Joseph Sandars, William Rotheram, and John Cropper, were appointed as a deputation to proceed to London, with a memorial to the Chancellor of the Exchequer praying for aid. Assistance was ultimately obtained through the Bank of England, and the difficulties were tided over, though not without serious disaster and failure in many quarters.

Application to Government.

On June 20, in this year, King William IV., after a reign

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1837. Death of William IV.

of seven years at a most momentous crisis in our history, was gathered to his fathers in the seventy-second year of his age.

On June 22, Queen Victoria was proclaimed Sovereign in front of the town-hall, in the presence of the mayor and council, and between two and three thousand persons, who made the air ring with their acclamations.

CHAPTER VI.

NINETEENTH CENTURY.—REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

I HAVE now brought my historical narrative to a period within the memory of a large proportion of persons still living. The reign of Queen Victoria, as it will ever stand one of the most glorious in the annals of our country, has been the most prosperous and progressive in the history of Liverpool. To dwell with minuteness on events familiar to the majority of my readers would be tedious, if not tiresome; as honest Dogberry observes, "to babble and talk is tolerable and not to be endured." I propose, therefore, to give a brief summary of the leading occurrences in Liverpool during the reign of her present Most Gracious Majesty, leaving it to some future chronicler to expand and develop them at greater length when they have become less familiar to some future generation.

Population and trade.

The first point which naturally attracts attention is the progress of population and trade. The increase under both these heads has been much greater during the present reign than within any equal period in the history of the town.

Population.

The population of the parliamentary borough at the accession of Queen Victoria, in 1837, was, as near as can be ascertained in the interval between the censuses of 1831 and 1841, 246,000. According to the census of 1871 it amounted to 488,845, within a fraction of double the former period. This, however, by no means gives the true state of the case. If we limit our view to the parliamentary borough, we leave out of sight a large proportion of those who are actively engaged in the industrial occupations of the port. In 1837 the out-townships included within the borough were sparsely inhabited, and the population had very slightly overstepped their limits. The intervening thirty-five years had filled up these open spaces; and the enormously increased facilities of leaving the town by omnibus, rail, and steamboat had transferred large numbers to "fresh fields

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1837-71. Population.

and pastures new" on both sides of the Mersey, whilst two junior sister boroughs had grown up by our side. The proportion of the increase presents some curious features. The original borough, conterminous with the parish, owing to pulling down houses for public improvements, for commercial buildings, for railway and other purposes, had decreased during the last decade by 28,857 inhabitants. Every other portion had increased, some of them to a very surprising extent. Everton, which in 1831 returned a population of 4511, in 1871 contained 90,222; Kirkdale, in 1831 2562, in 1871 32,549 inhabitants. West Derby had increased from 9613 in 1831, to 50,681 in 1871. Toxteth Park in 1831 contained 24,067; in 1871 79,980.

To present a true picture of the population we must enlarge our circle of observation. Those who depend on the trade of the port for a livelihood, who conduct their business within its limits, and partake of its benefits, are to all intents and purposes people of Liverpool, though their local habitation may be beyond its legal boundaries. A vast population has grown up on the Cheshire side of the Mersey, who are as much part and parcel of Liverpool as Southwark and Lambeth are portions of London. The borough of Bootle also, which has risen in forty years from a population of 1133 to 16,185, is simply a continuous portion of Liverpool, without any break or visible boundary. Taking these facts into account, and eliminating the aboriginal inhabitants of the outlying portions, as not dependent on Liverpool, we have—on the Lancashire side, 505,030; on the Cheshire side, 100,681; total, 605,711. But even this by no means exhausts the numbers. Thousands every day, after spending their active hours amidst the busy haunts of the town, are whirled away by rail and omnibus to Waterloo, Crosby, Aintree, Huyton, Woolton, Wavertree, Aigburth, and even as far as Southport and Chester. Making a very moderate allowance for these localities, we have a present total of population connected with and deriving a subsistence from the trade of the port of at least 650,000 souls. Even leaving out of view the outlying inhabitants, we have an increase during the reign of Queen Victoria of 137½ per cent, or nearly twice and two-fifths the numbers at the commencement of her reign.

The rate of increase has varied considerably, as follows: During the decade from 1831 to 1841, the increase was 43·47 per cent; from 1841 to 1851, 37·5 per cent; from 1851 to 1861, 20·77 per cent; from 1861 to 1871, 21·25 per cent.

Let us now look at the progress of commerce during the same period of time.

The following table presents the figures at several successive stages :

	Ships.	Tonnage.	Dock-dues.
1837 .	15,038	1,958,894	£173,853 10 0
1841 .	16,108	2,425,461	175,506 8 5
1851 .	21,071	3,737,666	235,527 6 2
1861 .	21,095	4,977,272	444,417 16 2
1871 .	20,121	6,131,745	562,953 9 10
1874 .	19,186	6,205,191	725,152 4 8

Several very interesting deductions may be drawn from these figures. It will be seen that the trade of the port has increased much faster than the population. Whilst the inhabitants have increased, between 1837 and 1841, at the rate of 13$\frac{7}{2}$ per cent, the tonnage of shipping has increased by 213 per cent, and the dock-dues by 223 per cent. Another remarkable fact is the greatly increased size of the ships (both steam and sail) frequenting the port. Whilst the number of ships has only increased by one-third, the tonnage and dock-dues have considerably more than trebled their amounts.

Population and trade.

Another somewhat curious corollary may be drawn. The population and the amount of trade must always bear a certain relative proportion to each other; but it is evident that the better appliances there are for trade, and the more economically it can be carried on, the less will be the proportion of the population to the commerce of the port as represented by its tonnage.

In 1821 the proportion was one inhabitant to 6 tons.

1831	,,	,,	,,	7·6 ,,
1841	,,	,,	,,	8 ,,
1851	,,	,,	,,	9 ,,
1861	,,	,,	,,	9·96 ,,
1871	,,	,,	,,	9·45 ,,

The greater economy and facility thus shown is no doubt principally caused by the gradual substitution of steam for sailing ships.

To judge by the experience of the last ten years, the proportion of the population to the trade of the port seems to have arrived at an equilibrium; so that it may be taken, in round numbers, that to divide the amount of tonnage in any given year by ten will ascertain the number of the population.

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Let us now glance at the area and general aspect of the town as modified and extended during the present reign. The excellent maps of Gage and Bennison, published in 1836, present a very clear idea of the extent of the town and suburbs at that date.

Docks.

At that time the Clarence was the most northerly of the docks, and an empty space intervened, now occupied by the Trafalgar and Victoria Docks. At the south end the Brunswick Dock formed the termination of the system, which then contained 91 acres, 2337 yards of water-space, including floating docks and open tidal basins. At the date of 1874 the water area had increased to 255 acres, 2774 yards; and a new system of docks and floating harbour has arisen at Birkenhead, containing 185 acres, 3565 yards, making the whole dock accommodation of the port 441 acres, 1499 yards, being four and a half times the quantity in 1837.

Buildings.

At that date building extended *pari passu* with the docks, terminating northward with the Clarence Dock, and extending in an irregular line to Scotland Road and the boundary of Everton. Eastward the town reached a little to the east of Moss Street, with detached portions beyond, in the direction of Low Hill and Edgehill. Southward, the portion of Mosslake Fields south of Falkner Street and east of Grove Street was open land, with incipient buildings here and there. In Toxteth Park the buildings had not, except in detached portions, passed Northumberland Street southwardly, or St. James's Place and Windsor Street eastwardly. Everton preserved much of its rurality, and Kirkdale was still an outlying village. In 1874 the buildings extend in a continuous line from Rimrose Bridge to Dingle Lane, a distance of $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles from north to south. Bootle has grown up from an insignificant hamlet into a municipal borough of 16,000 inhabitants. Kirkdale is a busy commercial depôt. Everton is a densely-peopled town, with a population of 90,000; and the municipal portions of West Derby and Toxteth have increased in like manner.

Within this vastly-extended area great changes have taken place in the last thirty-seven years, principally, it must be admitted, for the better. To say nothing of the operations of a purely sanitary nature, such as better sewering, paving, flagging, and more copious supplies of water, the town has been opened out, breathing-spaces provided, and fresh air admitted into many of the densest parts. The leading thoroughfares of Church

Buildings.

Street and Whitechapel have been widened, and an entire quarter, of the most squalid and crowded dwellings in the town, lying between Dale Street and Whitechapel, has been swept away. A new leading street (Victoria Street) has been opened from Castle Street to St. John's Lane. The whole of the houses in Shaw's Brow, on both sides, and in the Old Haymarket, have been removed, and the site of the street changed. The line of St. Anne Street has been carried northward over the site of St. Anne's Church to Scotland Road. At the south end, Grafton Street has been extended to join Park Lane near the railway station. In the suburban parts also many similar improvements have been carried out. West Derby Road, Kirkdale Road, Commercial and Stanley Roads, with many others, have been constructed or improved, giving much greater facilities for travelling in every direction.

Public buildings.

Within the reign of Victoria it cannot but be admitted that the style of our architecture and the general aspect of our buildings have kept pace with the progress of the town. St. George's Hall stands as a design at the head of our public buildings, and is worthy to take rank with those of the purest age of Grecian art. The Philharmonic Hall, for its peculiar purpose, has no existing rival. The new Exchange, whatever comparisons may be made with the predecessor which it has supplanted, is a noble work, admirably suited for its purpose. The Municipal Offices, as a suitable *habitat* for the business of a great corporation, are not inferior to any of a similar class elsewhere.

The railway stations in various parts of the town, all of which have come into existence within the period under consideration, have given new features in construction and imparted a novel character to their respective quarters. The open esplanade round St. George's Hall, combining the Hall, the Free Library, the Railway Hotel, the Alexandra Theatre, the Wellington Monument, and the Royal Statues, with the wide open view over the town below, displaying the various towers and spires rising above the lower buildings, gives a perspective which any town might be proud of.

Commercial buildings.

The commercial buildings erected of late years have much of a palatial character, and are certainly not below those of Genoa, Turin, or Venice; and the recent shop architecture of Lord Street and Church Street is of a very superior class. To the honour of the town, the vile "compo," or cement, has been

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altogether discarded, and solid stone or ornamental brick is now the vehicle of architectural design.

Houses.

The architecture of private houses has also much improved. The villas of Prince's Park, Mosley Hill, Aigburth, and West Derby, present many specimens of the English gentleman's house worthy of all commendation. Two or three recently erected in the neighbourhood of Allerton, in extent, convenience, design, and taste, are worthy of the modern Tyre, "the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth."

If we turn to the dwellings of the artisan class we find the same spirit of improvement. The ancient style of courts and cellars are no longer erected. Two-storey cottages fronting the street have taken their place, of which many miles may be seen rising rank above rank on the steep slopes of Everton.

Parks.

Whilst such has been the progress within the borough, provision has not been neglected for the recreation of the people. Parks and gardens have been provided round the outskirts at detached distances, where the poorest may enjoy equally with the wealthy the beauty of grass and trees and flowers, to roam at will, and commune with nature. Prince's Park was the first, constructed by private benevolence. Since then, at public expense, there have been formed Stanley Park, with its ninety-five acres, at the north; Newsham Park, and Shiel Park, with their 250 acres, on the north-east; Wavertree Park, and the Botanic Gardens, containing about thirty-eight acres, on the east; and Sefton Park, on the south-east, with its 400 acres.

This series of open spaces, in addition to their primary object of affording recreation and cultivating the taste, will offer a barrier against the invasion of bricks and mortar, to whatever extent the town may ultimately reach.

Further particulars of these parks will be given in the chapters on the several localities.

Improvements.

The expenditure on public improvements within the town during the present reign up to 1871 amounts, after giving credit for the sale of public lands, to the sum of £1,137,411; and the amount expended on the parks to £515,356.

Politics.

Let us now look at the political and general history of the town during the same period. Very few days after the announce-

A.D. 1837.

ment of the king's death preparations were rife for the coming election. Party spirit, stimulated to a considerable extent by the clerical agitation, had begun to prevail with a bitterness

foreign to the general spirit of Liverpool politics as latterly manifested. On June 13 a meeting was held in the Music-Hall, called together by a placard headed "Justice for Ireland," and rather ambiguously worded, *e.g.*, "Is it just that while England enjoys both civil and religious liberty, she should be contented to have admitted Ireland to a share in the former, which is the least important; while the latter, which is the greatest blessing of the two, and without which civil liberty can never thrive, is withheld by an interested priesthood from so large a portion of the Irish people?" The meeting was really held on behalf of the "Tuam Diocesan Education Society," and was conducted exclusively by clergymen, the Rev. J. H. Stewart, incumbent of St. Bride's, in the chair. There was a considerable gathering of Irish Roman Catholics. Two Irish clergymen who took part in the meeting having made statements which gave offence to this portion of the audience, a tremendous uproar took place, and the meeting broke up in confusion. Public meetings.

On July 3 an indignation meeting was held by the Catholics, "to take into consideration the propriety of establishing an association to repel the slanders and calumnies so often cast upon them in this town, both from the platform and the pulpit." The meeting was addressed by Mr. J. G. Vandenhoff (the tragedian), Mr. John Yates jun., and others. Referring to the obnoxious placard, the latter gentleman said, "that if on any future occasion their adversaries put forth a placard about 'Justice to Ireland,' the association would put forth another, letting the public know what 'Justice to Ireland' really was, and also what was *injustice* to Ireland." Catholic meeting.

On July 11 the anniversary meeting of the Church of England Schools took place at the Amphitheatre, Rev. Rector Brooks in the chair, when addresses were delivered by the Revs. Hugh M'Neile, R. P. Buddicom, and others, all bearing on the then present aspect of affairs. Protestant meeting.

Amidst these exciting scenes the note of preparation was duly sounded for the coming election. The Tories brought forward, in addition to Lord Sandon, Mr. Cresswell Cresswell, the leading barrister on the Northern Circuit. The Reformers put forward Mr. Howard Elphinstone, along with Mr. W. Ewart. Energetic efforts were made by both sides to sway the popular mind by large gatherings at the Amphitheatre, ward meetings in various parts of the town, the presence of the candidates on 'Change, and canvassing from house to house. Election.

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Nomination.

The nomination took place on Monday, July 24, with not more interruptions and disorder than usual on such occasions. On the following day, when the polling took place, serious rioting occurred, several of the polling-booths having been attacked by the mob but unsuccessfully. At the north end the Irish Catholics maintained the ascendancy, while at the south end the ship carpenters and Orangemen took the lead. The election terminated in the utter defeat of the Reformers, the numbers

Poll.

standing at the close: Sandon, 4786; Cresswell, 4652; Ewart, 4381; Elphinstone, 4206.

It was sufficiently clear that a reaction had taken place, and that the town had lapsed into its normal condition of Conservatism.

Tory dinner.

The Tories celebrated their triumph by a public dinner at the Amphitheatre, Mr. Samuel Holme in the chair; and the Reformers consoled themselves at a meeting, without a dinner, at the Music Hall, Mr. (afterwards Sir Joshua) Walmsley presiding.

Protestant Association.

The agitation and attacks upon the school system adopted by the town council were continued with a vehemence and pertinacity which began to tell with wonderful effect on the public mind. The annual meeting of the Liverpool Protestant Association was held in the Amphitheatre on October 7, Mr. C. S. Parker in the chair. The meeting was addressed by the Rev. William Dalton, Rev. R. J. M'Ghee and others; but the champion of the day was the Rev. Hugh M'Neile, who came out in full force with all the power of sarcasm, elocution, and denunciation hurled at the delinquent council.

British Association.

In September 1837, the British Association for the Advancement of Science held its meeting in Liverpool for the first time, under the presidency of the Earl of Burlington. The whole proceedings passed off very satisfactorily. This meeting is celebrated for the dictum so positively pronounced by Dr.

Dr. Lardner.

Dionysius Lardner, in the course of a paper on steam navigation, "that to talk of steam navigation to America! they might as well talk of navigation to the moon!" This was very sharply taken up by many scientific men present, and was signally falsified by the successful solution of the problem in the course of a few months afterwards.

Steam to America.

On March 27, 1838, the steam-ship "Sirius" sailed from Liverpool to New York; and on July 5 the "Royal William" sailed also for New York, being the first Liverpool steamer

which made the voyage across the Atlantic, accomplishing the outward passage in 19 days, and the homeward in 14½ days.

During the same year a large steamer was built for Sir John Tobin, called the "Liverpool" (afterwards the "Great Liverpool"), 1150 tons burthen, for the purpose of trading between Liverpool and New York. She sailed on October 20, but had to put back when about a third of the passage was completed. She was subsequently employed as a mail-boat in the Mediterranean, and was ultimately lost off Cape Finisterre on February 4, 1846.

Coronation.

The coronation of her most gracious Majesty Queen Victoria was celebrated (June 28) with great splendour. All political and party spirit was for the time set aside, and one universal feeling of loyalty and affection for the lovely and gentle lady, called at so early an age to preside over the destinies of a mighty empire, pervaded the community. The dawn broke out in a glorious burst of sunlight, and though the sky was somewhat chequered during the day, the heavens were propitious to the last. At six o'clock the proceedings were ushered in by royal salutes from the guns at the forts, and several extemporised batteries, which were repeated at intervals during the day. A new royal standard floated from the town-hall, and every street —almost every house—contributed its quota of bunting waving in the breeze. The ships in the docks and harbour were of course decked out with the variegated flags of their different nationalities. The bells rang merrily, interrupted by the perpetual reports of pistols, guns, and crackers. A grand procession was organised, including the municipal authorities, the clergy, the freemasons, the friendly societies, the various trades, with their insignia, flags, banners, and bands of music. The foundation-stone of St. George's Hall was laid by the mayor (Mr. William Rathbone).

Illumination.

A general illumination was intended, but was prevented by the interference of the mayor, who considered it might lead to invidious feelings against parties who might not be disposed to comply. There was, however, a considerable extent of illumination displayed, with devices and transparencies, at some of the public buildings and large establishments. The evening was wound up by displays of fireworks at several places in the outskirts. A regatta was attempted during the day, but proved a failure owing to the crowded state of the river. On the whole, the celebration of the coronation-day was a worthy expression of

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the historical loyalty of "the good old town," and was conducted in a manner which gave general satisfaction.

1838. Marshal Soult.

On July 1 Liverpool was honoured by a visit from the veteran Marshal Soult, the great rival of Wellington, whose guest he had been in the metropolis. He took a rapid and military survey of the various objects of interest, and departed on the following day.

Distress.

The winter of 1838-9 proved unusually severe, and the poor suffered greatly. Earnest efforts were made for their relief, about £7500 being subscribed for the purpose. On the night

A.D. 1839. Hurricane.

of Sunday, January 6, 1839, there burst on the town the most terrific storm ever experienced in its annals. The wind during the day had blown strongly from the south-east, and the barometer had fallen considerably; but many vessels had put out to sea, the symptoms not appearing particularly threatening. About midnight the wind chopped suddenly round to the south-west, and rapidly increased to a perfect hurricane, continuing with the same violence for many hours. Chimney stacks were blown down by hundreds; houses unroofed, and the slates scattered like chaff before the wind; large trees were torn up by the roots and snapped in pieces; the best built houses rocked and shook to the terror of their inmates, who were in momentary alarm of destruction within, whilst to venture out amidst the falling and flying *débris* was almost certain death. Inquests were held on seven persons killed by the fall of walls and chimney-stacks.

The country round suffered considerably. In the woods round Hale Hall upwards of three hundred trees were torn up. Stacks of hay and corn were lifted and scattered as if by a whirlwind. The salt spray from the sea was carried inwards more than twelve miles, and coated the glass of the windows and the thorn hedges with an incrustation like hoar-frost.

The damage at sea was of course great, but not more than has frequently occurred from gales of less intensity. Three large ships, the "St. Andrew," the "Pennsylvania," and the "Lockwoods," were wrecked on the Cheshire shore, with considerable loss of life.

A.D. 1840. Queen's marriage.

The marriage of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, on February 10, 1840, awakened everywhere amongst her Majesty's subjects the liveliest feelings of sympathy and joy. Nowhere was this feeling more warmly brought out than in Liverpool. There was no gorgeous procession, as had been the case on the

coronation-day, but there was displayed a general feeling of liberality in contributing to enable the poor to participate in the feasting and festivity. The inmates of the workhouse and gaol were regaled, dinners and balls were given on every hand. The mediæval spirit of joviality and good cheer seemed for a time to have revived.

Weddings.

One of the contemporary newspapers records as follows: "Not the least interesting feature of the day was the avidity with which loving couples, following the august and honourable example of our youthful Queen and her royal consort, thronged to the several churches as simultaneous votaries of Hymen. The general feeling was, in sympathy with royalty, to renounce single blessedness for connubial felicity. Many a long-married couple resolved to have a sort of second wedding; and many a prolonged courtship, that might not otherwise have terminated for years to come, was brought to an amicable compromise, to the infinite satisfaction and delight of hundreds of before disconsolate spinsters, youthful and aged. The doors of the parish churches were about ten o'clock thronged with spectators to witness the entrance or exit of the numerous couples who flocked to the altar in holiday attire."[1]

Ball.

The mayor (Mr. Joshua Walmsley) gave a grand ball at the town-hall to upwards of 1000 guests.

Address.

A congratulatory address from the council was subsequently presented to the Queen and Prince Consort, on which occasion the mayor received the honour of knighthood.

Collegiate Institution.

After the establishment of the High School at the Liverpool Institute (originally the Mechanics' Institution), in which secular instruction alone was given, it was considered desirable that a similar institution should be formed, which should be conducted on the principles of the Church of England. Funds were subscribed for the purpose, and land purchased on the east side of Shaw Street. I shall describe the building in connection with the locality. The first stone was laid on October 22, 1840, by the Right Hon. Lord Stanley (fourteenth Earl of Derby). The proceedings of the day commenced by a service at St. Peter's Church, where a sermon was preached by the Bishop of Chester. A procession was then formed of the Blue Coat School, accompanied by the mayor, a number of the nobility, clergy, and respectable inhabitants, to the intended site.

After laying the stone an address was delivered by Lord

[1] *Liverpool Standard*, February 11, 1840.

CHAP. VI. 1840.

Lord Stanley's speech.

Stanley in the style of fluent eloquence for which he was distinguished. In the course of his observations he said: "What had brought the population of this vast town swarming into the street, and surrounding the space on which they were now standing, to witness the ceremony in which they were engaged? Was it any of the ordinary temptations of commercial, of political, or of social life? Was it any gratification to be derived by those attending in such multitudes? Was there any political struggle—any keen contest for any civil privileges or political distinctions? Thank God, there was nothing of the kind to mingle with the sentiments which had brought them there that day. No private, no party, no personal consideration mingled with the work in which they were engaged. Their single motive was one of enlightened benevolence to man, and a humble hope that they were faithfully discharging a religious duty towards God. What did they see in this town? Commerce thriving, riches increasing, luxury spreading in every direction, science advancing with steps compared with which all former steps were only those of a pigmy compared with a giant. Science had advanced universally amongst the population; that which not many years ago was considered a monopoly of the rich, the high, the learned, and the powerful, was now spread in every direction, in connection with commerce, with wealth, with honest exertions crowned with deserved success; and those who had it not, were now convinced that science was power, influence, weight; that it was an object of legitimate ambition for its own sake, and for the advantages which it brought along with it. Did they seek to quench this holy thirst, if so he might almost call it? No, they sought to encourage, to promote it; they desired to open the portals wide, and invited all to come in and share in the universally acknowledged blessing of scientific education. But was this all? If it were, their object would be one of doubtful utility, and even of possible danger. They sought to give instruction, to furnish to the middle, working, and trading population of this great town instruction in all that might be useful to them in their future life; but they sought also to teach them the great moral and religious lesson that human science was of no avail unless tempered, leavened, and refined with an infusion of religious knowledge." . . . . "They warred in the first instance with ignorance and infidelity; their first field of action was against those, the most dangerous foes; and perhaps an earlier activity—a proceeding adopted

years ago similar to that now contemplated, by the spread of education in this great town, would have mitigated if not done away with that other—that minor but not unimportant evil which they sought to meet—the prevalence of dissent from the Established Church. They sought to coerce none, but they sought to persuade and lead all; they desired that all who professed the Christian faith should hold it in the unity of faith, and in the bond of peace and righteousness of life; they desired to bring all within the fold and the pale of the Established Church; and with that desire they would have neglected their duty if, looking to the nature and the circumstances of the population of this great town, they had hesitated to ground their system of education, not only on the principles of revealed religion, but on the principles of the Established Church."

Lord Stanley's speech.

In the evening a public dinner was given to about 700 guests in the Amphitheatre, Lord Francis Egerton (Earl of Ellesmere) in the chair; when Lord Stanley again delivered an address of considerable length, in which he unfolded with more distinctness his views of the relation of the Government to national education. As these views so embodied are only to be found by searching the newspaper files of the day, it may not be without interest to place on more permanent record the sentiments on this subject of so eminent a statesman. He said:

Dinner.

"The opinion has, I think, been hastily taken up, that it is the duty of the Government to provide for the education of all the people. I do not subscribe to that doctrine, because I think that a Government provision for the education of the people involves a Government control over the education of the people, which is at variance with that freedom of conscience which, if we claim it for ourselves we freely give and concede to all others. A Government superintending and conducting the education of the people must conduct the education of all classes, and that, in a country where religious differences unhappily prevail, according to one single principle; and so conducting the education of the whole community, they deviate from the duty of a Government, and commence a persecution which would be quite intolerable in a free country. Various questions may arise—nice and difficult and complicated questions—which are not to be hastily decided upon, but upon which much may be said on both sides as to the degree in which a State is bound to enforce on a people its own views with regard to education: and when I use the word education, I need not tell you that I

Lord Stanley's speech.

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comprise and include the diffusion of religious knowledge also. There may be few and doubtful circumstances in which it might be—I do not say that there are any—in which it might be the duty of the State, as a State, to promote by its assistance even the diffusion of a religion erroneous, professed by a large portion of the community. On this subject there must be many opinions, and I hesitate not to state my own opinions frankly and fairly."

Lord Stanley's speech.

It must be remembered that Lord Stanley (then Mr. Stanley) had been the organ of the Ministry in the introduction and carrying through the House of Commons the Irish National Education Scheme, which professed to unite in the same school instruction Catholics and Protestants alike.

A.D. 1841. "President" steamer.

Very painful feelings were excited in the spring of 1841 by the fate of the "President" steamer, which set sail from New York for Liverpool in February, with 136 persons on board, and was never afterwards heard of. The deferred hope "which maketh the heart sick," gradually settling down into despair, is perhaps of all emotions the hardest to endure. Cheering paragraphs occasionally appeared in the newspapers, such as this: "There is no fear for the 'President;' no doubt something has happened to the rudder or engines, but I will stake my reputation on the stability of the ship." After a while this "hoping against hope" finally gave way, and the circumstances of the fate of the gallant ship will remain a dread secret until "the sea shall give up her dead."

Sir Charles Napier.

On April 14, 1841, Commodore (afterwards Admiral) Sir Charles Napier, after his gallant exploits in the East, arrived in the Mersey by the "Oriental" steamer. The opportunity was embraced of doing honour to so distinguished a guest. After remaining in quarantine five days, he landed on Monday morning, April 19, and was received with every demonstration of honour. At the town-hall an address was presented by the mayor (Mr. Thomas Bolton) and the corporation. In the evening the Commodore was entertained at a public dinner in the Amphitheatre, the mayor in the chair. Sir William Napier, the historian of the Peninsular war; Sir Jamsetjee Cursetjee, of Bombay, and many other eminent strangers were present. Sir Charles delivered a very characteristic speech, frank and sailor-like, and the whole proceedings passed off with *éclat*.

Anti-corn-law agitation.

The anti-corn-law agitation was now beginning to assume very formidable dimensions, and to agitate the kingdom from

side to side. On May 24, 1841, a crowded and enthusiastic meeting of the League was held at the Amphitheatre, Sir Joshua Walmsley in the chair. Mr. Cobden (at that time Mr. Alderman Cobden of Manchester), then rising into the position in which he afterwards so much distinguished himself as the great apostle of Free Trade, delivered one of his keen, logical, convincing speeches.

Decline of Whigs.

At this period the tide was turning against the Whig ministry in Parliament. The Government, duly appreciating the effects of the agitation for Free Trade throughout the country, on May 7 proposed through Lord John Russell to the House of Commons a resolution, "that it is practicable to supply the present inadequacy of the revenue by a judicious alteration of the protective and differential duties, without any increase of the public burdens, and at the same time to promote the interests of trade, and afford relief to the industrious classes of the country; and the House considers such a course as best calculated for the maintenance of the public faith, and to support the general welfare of the country." Under the sanction of this resolution he stated his intention of proposing to abolish the sliding scale, and to impose a fixed duty on corn of eight shillings a quarter; to abolish also the prohibition on the importation of slave-grown sugar, and to substitute a differential duty.

Lord J. Russell.

Lord Sandon.

To these propositions Lord Sandon, M.P. for Liverpool, proposed an amendment: "That, considering the efforts and sacrifices which Parliament and the country have made for the abolition of the slave trade and slavery, with the earnest hope that their exertions and example might lead to the mitigation and final extinction of those evils in other countries, this House is not prepared, especially with the present prospects of the supply of sugar from British possessions, to adopt the measure proposed by her Majesty's Government for the reduction of the duty on foreign sugar."

Defeat of ministers.

After a debate of eight nights, the proposition of Ministers was negatived on May 18 by a majority of 36, in a House of 598 members. On Thursday, May 27, Sir Robert Peel brought forward a motion of want of confidence in Ministers, which, after a discussion of five nights, was carried in a House of 623 by a majority of one! There was nothing left for the Ministry but either to resign or appeal to the country, and they chose the latter alternative.

CHAP. VI. 1841. Election.

The Liverpool election took place at the end of June, the 25th being the day of nomination. Not much time had been given to either party for preparation. The Tories brought out the two sitting members. The Whigs were not in very good heart. Sir Joshua Walmsley, who had acquired considerable popularity during his mayoralty the previous year, was ambitious of the honour of representing his native town, and obtained a numerously-signed requisition. It was determined to unite with him the name of Lord Palmerston, though it does not appear that he had given any encouragement to the nomination. The names were not very attractive. Sir Joshua was looked upon rather coldly by the aristocratic Whigs as somewhat of a *parvenu* both in society and in politics; and the use of Lord Palmerston's name without his authority was too suggestive of the phantom candidates in 1816 and 1820. The result showed the increasing strength of the Tories in Liverpool. At the close the numbers stood: Sandon, 5979; Cresswell, 5792; Walmsley, 4647; Palmerston, 4431; but the consummation of the Whig defeat in Liverpool was reserved for the municipal elections on November 1, 1841. The clerical agitation respecting the corporation schools had been conducted for nearly five years with a bitterness, a resolution, a perseverance and skill, which now met with their reward. To this had been added during the latter portion of the time a hostile feeling amongst the owners and proprietors of warehouse property, owing to the determination of a party in the council and dock committee, headed by Mr. Alderman Eyre Evans, to erect warehouses round the dock quays. I shall have occasion to revert to this subject in treating of the dock estate. From these, and probably from other causes, the reformed council had become very unpopular. The Whigs have always been proverbial for building up walls to run their own heads against, and the present case was an apt illustration of their capacity in this respect. They were utterly unable to discern the signs of the times, and perished with the calm conviction that they were martyrs in the best of causes.

Poll.

Municipal elections.

Radical council dismissed.

After an unparalleled majority of fifty-nine out of sixty-four members at the first election in 1835, every succeeding year had seen it diminish until the *coup de grâce* came in November 1841, when, out of sixteen wards thirteen returned Tory candidates. The retirement of eight of the aldermen on November 9, gave the majority to the Tories, who of course have improved

Town council.

it on every occasion by electing, with one or two exceptions, exclusively Tory aldermen. This condition of things is not likely to undergo any change for a long time to come. There is no doubt a slight majority, taking the town throughout, of Conservative electors; and were the election of councillors entirely popular, occasionally a reverse might take place, but with a dead weight of sixteen aldermen exclusively, or nearly so, of one party, nothing but a convulsion in the political atmosphere of long continuance, such as a religious question alone could supply, would be available to turn the tables. It may therefore be taken as an accepted fact that it is a law of nature in Liverpool that the town-council must always be in the hands of the Tories. It naturally follows that such honours as the municipality can confer, will, unless in very exceptional cases, be bestowed on members of the Tory party. At first sight it seems a very unreasonable arrangement that national politics should have anything to do with municipal affairs. Gas, water, paving, and sewerage are in themselves non-political, and it is equally the interest of the Whigs and Tories to keep down rates and administer the affairs of the town economically. It appears a hard case, no doubt, that whatever talent a man may devote to the service of his fellow-townsmen, and however earnestly he may labour in their cause, he must look for no recognition unless he belongs to the dominant party.

Constitution.

All this is no doubt true and deserving of consideration, but it must be a bad cause indeed on behalf of which there can be no argument pleaded. The great principle of the British Constitution under which we have flourished and upon which all our institutions are founded, is that—saving the rights of conscience—the majority must govern. This being so, it is not easy to assign a limit to the controlling power of the majority. It has been sung by the poet—

Council.

> Who rules o'er freemen must himself be free,

which in the Liverpool version is rendered—

> Who rules o'er Tories must a Tory be.

I imagine if the council were to pass a standing order that no man should be elected mayor who could write and speak the Queen's English correctly, or that no one should be eligible for alderman weighing under twenty stone, there is no law to prevent it. The constituencies have a right to please themselves

CHAP. VI. 1841.

as to the representatives they elect. It is probably true that under the present system, "not many wise, not many noble, not many learned are called," but in some rough way it answers its purpose, and the world slides along pretty smoothly.

A.D. 1842. Election

In January 1842, Mr. Cresswell was raised to the judicial bench as one of the justices of the Common Pleas, by which his seat was vacated. A successor was found in Sir Howard Douglas, the defeated candidate in 1832 and 1835, who was now returned without opposition.

Distress and riots.

In the summer of 1842, in consequence of the depression of trade in the manufacturing districts, the people were goaded to desperation, and broke out in many towns into tumult and riot, attacking the mills and destroying property; 124 persons were taken into custody and committed for trial. Out of this number it is a noticeable fact that 113 either could not read or write at all, or could only do so very imperfectly. The prisoners were brought to Liverpool for trial in order to be withdrawn from the disturbed districts, and a special commission, consisting of Baron Abinger, Baron Alderson, and Justice Cresswell, was sent down to hold an assize. Various sentences were inflicted on those convicted, from seven years transportation downwards.

Collegiate Institution opened.

On January 6, 1843, the Collegiate Institution, the first stone of which had been laid by Lord Stanley as above recorded, was opened with great *éclat*. There were present the mayor (Mr. Robertson Gladstone), the Bishop of Chester, the Right Honourable William Ewart Gladstone, M.P., brother to the mayor, and many other members of Parliament and eminent persons. The principal *rôle* was enacted by Mr. W. E. Gladstone, who delivered the speech of the day. It was brilliant and eloquent, and will well repay perusal as a good specimen of Mr. Gladstone's oratorical power. I can only here introduce one or two detached extracts.

Mr. Gladstone's speech.

After alluding in complimentary terms to Lord Stanley, and regretting his absence, he proceeds: "I freely acknowledge that there are grounds upon which it may be, and upon which it must be, a matter of the highest satisfaction to me to discharge any public duty in connection with the town of Liverpool. I have never forgotten—I never shall forget—that I am a native of this town, distinguished as is the town by everything that can ennoble a commercial community—ay and by everything that can ennoble a Christian community; and I do trust that I may be allowed to feel a sentiment, apart from any feelings of per-

sonal vanity—a sentiment of satisfaction, in reflecting that I have a favourable introduction to your notice in the name of my father. (Applause.) I feel that in opening an institution intended mainly for the benefit of the middle classes of society —I, who am myself sprung from that middle class—I, who with my family, still claim to belong to that middle class—I feel that we may be expected and presumed to entertain some sympathy with the principal objects of this benevolent institution, that we may desire to open the way and to smooth the way for those who may be inclined to enter on the path of honourable advancement; and that upon this account, if not upon personal qualifications, I may with sincerity and earnestness address you on the question which has assembled you together." . . . .

"What is it that we are now assembled to celebrate? It is not the beauty of the architecture, to which my reverend friend has paid a deserved compliment. It is not even the high authority under which we meet; but it is the deep conviction in the mind of every one of us that the existence of this institution is a living and permanent testimony to a great indestructible principle—namely, to the principle that education, if it is to be valuable, if it is to deserve its name, must be a religious education, and that in order to deserve the name of a religious education it must be founded, not upon those vague generalities which are supposed to be common to all men, or at least to all men who assume the name of Christians, but upon the definite revelation which it has pleased God to give, and by which each man amongst us must hope to stand or fall."

After enlarging on the nature and objects of religious education, he continues:

"We believe that if you could erect a system which should present to mankind all branches of knowledge save the one that is essential, you would only be building up a tower of Babel, which when you had completed it, would be the more signal in its fall, and which would bury those who had raised it in its ruins. We believe that if you can take a human being in his youth, and if you can make him an accomplished man in natural philosophy, in mathematics, or in the knowledge necessary for the profession of a merchant, a lawyer, or a physician; that if in any or all of these endowments you could form his mind—yes, if you could endow him with the science and power of a Newton, and so send him forth; and if you had concealed from

CHAP. VI. 1843.

him, or rather, if you had not given him a knowledge and love of the Christian faith—he would go forth into the world, able indeed with reference to those purposes of science, successful with the accumulation of wealth for the multiplication of more, but "poor and miserable, and blind, and naked," with reference to everything that constitutes the true and sovereign purposes of our existence—nay worse, worse—with respect to that sovereign purpose than if he had still remained in the ignorance which we all commiserate, and which it is the object of this Institution to assist in removing.

Mr. Gladstone's speech.

"We trust that many a youthful mind will here be awakened to the love and pursuit of knowledge. We trust that here youthful faculties will be invigorated by healthful and salutary exercise; that they will not be cramped by being confined simply to those purposes which have exclusive connection with our material existence; but that the imagination and taste of men, that the heart and the affections of men, will here find food in the knowledge that is to be communicated, and that many of those who are to be trained within these walls—having here learned to pursue such knowledge, and having here learned to taste of its sweetness—will be excited to honourable exertions—will be moved to become, in the various branches of British enterprise, benefactors to their country, and will leave behind them, when called away, a name that will be honourable among succeeding generations."

Birkenhead docks.

In November 1843 the first steps were taken towards the construction of docks at Birkenhead by the purchase of land on the margin of Wallasey Pool from the corporation of Liverpool. This subject will be found more fully treated of in the chapter on the Liverpool Dock Estate.

A.D. 1844.

The year 1844 was notable for the number of distinguished strangers who visited the town. On April 11 the first stone of the Presbyterian Free Church in Myrtle Street was laid by

Fox Maule.

the Right Honourable Fox Maule (afterwards Earl of Dalhousie).

King of Saxony.

On July 14 the King of Saxony visited the town. The visits of royal personages have been so few and far between in this remote corner, that they deserve being recorded. He arrived on Sunday evening, and, after an inspection of everything interesting in the locality and neighbourhood, under the auspices of the mayor (Mr. Thomas Sands), he left on Wednesday *en route* for Scotland.

1844.

On September 25 the hero of Jellalabad, Sir Robert Sale, and his lady, spent a few days in the town on a visit to Mr. A. W. Brown of Everton. They were received with all due honour by the civic authorities and by the East India Association, and were entertained at a banquet in the town-hall by the mayor. Sir Robert Sale.

On December 17 Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart., G.C.B., on his return from China, was entertained at a public dinner in the town-hall by the mayor (Mr. James Lawrence). Lord Stanley (14th Earl of Derby) was present, and delivered an eloquent address. Addresses were presented to Sir Henry by several of the mercantile associations. Sir Henry Pottinger.

A.D. 1845. Bursting of tank.

On Christmas day, 1845, a frightful calamity occurred by the bursting of a huge iron tank erected by the Liverpool and Harrington Waterworks Company in Sussex Street, Toxteth Park. The tank was 75 feet long, 35 feet wide, and 19 feet deep, containing 300,000 gallons. The tank had only been completed a few days and was in course of being filled; when about two-thirds full it gave way with a tremendous crash, the waters in their sudden burst carrying away all the neighbouring buildings and rushing like a torrent along the streets. Five lives were lost and many persons severely injured. After a rigid investigation at the coroner's inquest, a verdict was returned by a majority of the jurors, of manslaughter against the foreman at the establishment where the tank was manufactured.

Irish famine.

The political atmosphere at this time was charged with a moral electricity of a portentous character. The failure of the potato crop in Ireland, and the consequent famine, appealed to the sympathies of Great Britain, a call which was promptly answered. It soon became evident that under these circumstances the restrictive laws on the importation of food had become untenable, and that their repeal was a mere question of time. The Anti-Corn-Law League had assumed gigantic dimensions, and spoke in accents which commanded attention. For the purpose of a final effort, meetings were held in all the leading towns, the immediate object of which was to raise a fund of £100,000, to carry on the ensuing campaign with a vigour commensurate with the occasion. In Liverpool an enthusiastic meeting was held at the Amphitheatre on January 9, 1846, at which the sum of £16,858 : 11s. was subscribed. A few days after this, an announcement was made in the *Times* which fell like a clap of thunder upon the country—that the Ministry had yielded to pressure from without, and that the Corn Laws were

Anti-Corn-Law League.

A.D. 1846. Meeting.

CHAP. VI. 1846.

Repeal of Corn Laws.

to be repealed. This was at first vehemently contradicted, and denounced as an atrocious falsehood; but the speech from the throne in opening Parliament, on January 22, set the matter at rest by recommending to the earnest consideration of the House of Commons the propriety of "further reductions and remissions on the importation of the produce of other countries."

Ibrahim Pasha.

On June 19 Liverpool received a visit from the Viceroy of Egypt, Ibrahim Pasha, who had become very popular in England from his sagacious appreciation of the advantages of English commerce, even when for a time engaged in a conflict with this country. He was received with all due honour, and under the familiar appellation of "Abraham Parker," received many a cordial cheer from the assembled crowds.

Prince Albert's visit

At the end of July, on the occasion of laying the first stone of the Sailors' Home, and of opening the Albert Dock, Albert, the Prince Consort, accepted an invitation to come down to perform the ceremonies. It was felt as a royal compliment on the part of the Queen, and the municipality prepared to receive the Prince with all possible honour. The town was crowded by an influx of visitors from the country round, and all parties united in giving the royal visitor a warm and cordial reception.

On Thursday, July 30, the Prince arrived at the Lime Street Station, where he was welcomed by the mayor (Mr. David Hodgson) and others of the municipal authorities. Thence he proceeded to the judges' lodgings in St. Anne Street, which had been prepared for his reception, and after a short interval to the town-hall, where an address was presented by the town-council through the mayor. He then embarked on the river, the two royal yachts, the "Victoria and Albert," and the "Fairy," having been brought round to the Mersey for the purpose; and after a cruise down to the Rock point, again ascended the estuary, and about half-past two slowly steamed into the Albert Dock on the quarter-deck of the "Fairy." The sight here was of a character to be long remembered. The quays round the dock and the warehouses above were lined with people in gay attire, whilst from every window, roof, and point where they could be displayed, there floated to the wind banners, flags, and streamers, of every colour and device. At three o'clock the Prince landed and was entertained at a *déjeûner* laid out in one of the large rooms of the Albert warehouses for about 1000 guests. The Prince was taken in procession through the principal streets, and returned to his quarters in St. Anne Street.

In the evening a grand banquet was given by the mayor at the town-hall to the Prince and a number of distinguished guests. On occasions of this kind it is no doubt difficult so to arrange the invitations that all parties shall be satisfied and none offended. On this occasion a little *contretemps* ensued. A committee was appointed to select the invitees. The mayor naturally wished to invite several eminent clergymen of the Church of England resident in the town, but when a proposition was made to include the Roman Catholic bishop he demurred, and declined under any circumstances to forward the invitation. This difference resulted in a compromise by which the clerical invitations on both sides were withdrawn, the only clergymen present being the Dean of Chester and Rector Brooks.

Prince Albert's visit.

At night a splendid display of fireworks was provided at public expense at the Zoological Gardens.

The Prince slept at the house in St. Anne Street, and on the following day laid the foundation-stone of the Sailors' Home, amidst general rejoicings, after which he took his departure from Lime Street Station.

In December 1846 the Highway Board, commonly called the "Watch, Lamps, and Scavengers," which was constituted by the Act 21 George II. c. 24, was merged into the council, and represented by the Health Committee of the Municipal body. It has sometimes been doubted whether the change has been a judicious one; whether a board elected directly by the ratepayers would not have been preferable to a mere committee of a body elected for other purposes, and frequently under auspices having no reference to the questions therein involved. I will not presume to decide this difficult point. The death-rate of Liverpool, compared with that of other towns, certainly does not lead strangers to form a very favourable impression of the sanitary affairs of the municipality.

Highway Board dissolved.

On July 21, 1847, there departed this life a Liverpool man of very remarkable character and attainments, the Rev. William Shepherd, LL.D., of Gateacre, near Liverpool. He was born in Liverpool on October 11, 1768, of humble parentage, his father being a shoemaker, in Thomas Street, belonging to the Unitarian Chapel in Benns Garden, of which Dr. Enfield was at that time the minister. Dr. Enfield afterwards removed to Warrington, to take charge of the celebrated Warrington Academy, where, I believe, Dr. Shepherd was educated. At the age of twenty-three he was elected, in 1791, minister of the

Death of Dr. Shepherd.

CHAP. VI. 1847. Dr. Shepherd.

Old Puritan Chapel, Gateacre, which had become Unitarian, and here he officiated for fifty-six years, during a considerable part of which period he also kept a school. He was a man of large attainments, an excellent classical scholar, and possessed of great natural powers, both as a writer and speaker. Of sarcasm and repartee combined with genuine wit he was a perfect master. Being a freeman of Liverpool by birth, he took a warm interest in all the town's affairs for nearly sixty years, and was always prominent on the side of the Whigs in every election and public question. Some of the smartest and most biting of the election squibs in 1806 and 1812 were from his pen. Although an ardent politician he was by no means a rancorous or bigoted one, and on more than one occasion candidly opposed his own party when he considered them in the wrong. For many years he lived on terms of familiar friendship with Roscoe, Currie, Rathbone, and the elder Rushton. The election of 1812 brought him into contact with Lord (then Mr.) Brougham, which led to an intimacy ceasing only with his life. In 1802, encouraged by the success of his friend Roscoe's *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, he published the *Life of Poggio Bracciolini*, a work which is highly valued, and which has gone through several editions.

In 1829 he published a volume of poems, from which I quote the following specimen:

To William Roscoe, Esq.

Friend of my youth! Thou whose approving smile,
Cheer'd me whilst toiling up the steep ascent
Of knowledge—from whose breast I caught the glow
Of mental independence, and whose hand
Led me through virtue's peaceful path—to thee
I consecrate these tributary lays.
What though thy setting sun, bedimm'd with clouds,
Nears the horizon, and the hour draws on
When it must sink beneath the western wave?
Yet, in high musings, faithful memory dwells
With transport on the time when erst it shone
In noon-day lustre; and in steadfast faith
In Him who died on Calvary, we await
The advent of that morning, when its beams
Shall be relumed; and, never more obscured,
In ever-growing splendour shall advance,
Nearer and nearer to th' empyreal light
That blazes, ceaseless, from the throne of God.

He was a companion of rare excellence. After the Assizes were removed to Liverpool her Majesty's judges were not unfrequently accustomed to visit the venerable man at his quiet parsonage at Gateacre, to enjoy an hour or two of racy conversation. Dr. Shepherd.

He was interred, on July 26, 1847, at the chapel of Gateacre, where a mural tablet is erected to his memory, bearing the following inscription from the pen of Lord Brougham: Funeral.

Monument.

Sacred to the memory of
WILLIAM SHEPHERD, LL.D.,
For fifty-six years minister of this chapel,
A man of undeviating integrity in all the relations of life,
An accomplished scholar and classical writer,
Conversant with ancient and modern languages,
Well versed in the literature of both.
Eminent for his wit, which was original and racy,
Of remarkable sagacity in judging of men and things,
A staunch supporter of constitutional freedom,
The undaunted enemy of oppression and abuse,
A formidable adversary when his principles were assailed,
A warm and steadfast friend at all times,
Towards deserving objects generous beyond his means,
Devoting his life to the useful and honourable office of teaching,
And the sacred duties of his pastoral calling.
Revered by his flock,
Beloved by his friends,
Respected by all.
Born October 11, 1768. Died July 21, 1847.

The Parliament elected in 1841 came to an end by effluxion of time in 1847. The effect of the free-trade measures was to give a temporary popularity to the Whig party in Liverpool, which was further increased by the injudicious selection of candidates made by the Tories. The two old members did not again come forward; Lord Sandon, expecting to be called to the Upper House on the decease of his father, the Earl of Harrowby; and Sir Howard Douglas having accepted the office of Chief Commissioner of the Ionian Islands. One party of the Tories brought forward Sir Digby Mackworth, Bart., who was a zealous exponent of the evangelical Protestant party. Another portion induced Lord John Manners, the mouthpiece of the Young England school of politics, to offer himself. The Peelites

Election.

Mackworth and Manners.

CHAP. VI.

1847. Cardwell and Birch.

fixed upon Mr. Edward Cardwell, and the Whigs proper brought forward Sir Thomas Bernard Birch, Bart., the son of Sir Joseph Birch, who contested the borough in 1802.

The Roman Catholics took strong action, and published their intention to do their utmost to throw out Sir Digby by voting for whichever two candidates might be the highest, excluding him. The Nonconformists were also divided, one party objecting to Sir Thomas Birch's views on national education.

Nomination.

On Wednesday, July 28, the nomination took place, being the first ever conducted in the town without the accompaniment of processions, bands of music, and party banners. Sir Thomas Birch was proposed by Mr. William Earle, seconded by Mr. Hugh Hornby. Mr. T. B. Horsfall proposed, and Mr. Samuel Holme seconded, Sir Digby Mackworth. Lord John Manners was proposed by Mr. Richard Naylor, seconded by Mr. William Potter. Mr. Cardwell was proposed by Sir Thomas Brancker, seconded by Mr. John Bramley Moore. The result was as follows: Cardwell, 5581; Birch, 4882; Mackworth, 4089; Manners, 2413.

Poll.

Sir Robert Peel.

On October 15, 1847, the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel again paid a visit to Liverpool, as the guest of Mr. Charles Lawrence, Mosley Hill. He was received with considerable *éclat;* and after inspecting the various improvements made since his previous visit, he was present at the unveiling the bronze statue of Huskisson in front of the Custom House; Gibson, the artist, being himself in attendance. In the evening Sir Robert was entertained at dinner in the Town-hall by the mayor (Mr. G. H. Lawrence). In his after-dinner address he referred in feeling terms to his last visit, on the occasion of the opening of the railway, and paid a graceful tribute to the memory of Huskisson, and an appropriate compliment to the artist, who was present.

A.D. 1848. French Revolution.

In the spring of 1848 the revolution in France was the cause of considerable excitement on this side the Channel. In the metropolis much apprehension was manifested concerning the proceedings of the republican sympathisers with France. In preparation for the celebrated meeting on Kennington Common, special constables were sworn in to keep the peace, in the ranks of which amateur force some of the most eminent men in the land rushed to enrol themselves, amongst others the Duke of Norfolk, Mr. Stanley, M.P. (15th Earl of Derby), the Right

Hon. W. E. Gladstone, and, last but not least, Prince Louis Napoleon, whose chequered career subsequently landed him again as ex-Emperor near the scene of his former exploits.

Precautions against riots.

Liverpool partook of the agitation. The Irish repealers were strong in numbers, and, it was supposed, well organised. St. Patrick's day (March 17) was looked forward to with considerable apprehension. The mayor (Mr. T. B. Horsfall), in connection with his brother magistrates, made every preparation against a possible breach of the peace. A large number of special constables were sworn in. On the morning of the eventful day the mayor and magistrates met at seven o'clock in the Sessions House, where all the "specials" had been summoned to attend, and were present in large numbers, filling the two courts, the grand jury room, the lobbies, and the whole of the cellars. Each captain marshalled his own troop, and all were supplied with truncheons. Mr. Charles Turner, the commander-in-chief, with his lieutenant, Mr. M. J. Whitty, communicated the instructions of the magistrates. They were to the effect that all should repair to their respective homes, and hold themselves in readiness for action when called on. The regular police force was also mustered at the different stations; a troop of the 11th Hussars was at Lucas's Repository; the 52d Regiment, sent from Preston, was stationed at the North Corporation School; companies of the 60th Rifles were distributed at different posts in the town and neighbourhood. The county police force was mustered at the Old Swan; the out-pensioners at the Main Bridewell and the Borough Gaol. If any outbreak took place during the night the alarm was to be given by ringing the bells of St. Peter's, St. Nicholas's, and St. Martins-in-the-Fields.

Special Constables.

Repeal meetings.

With such an overwhelming defensive force the rioters, if any such existed, would have had but a sorry chance. A feeble attempt was made by the Irish Repeal party. They had advertised a meeting for the 17th, at a room in Hood Street, which would probably contain about 300 people; but it was prevented being held by magisterial authority. St. Patrick's day passed off remarkably quiet. Most well-disposed persons kept at home, and the town seemed in a hushed state of apprehension. On the evening of the 19th the Repealers held a meeting in the Brunswick Hall, Hunter Street, where they were addressed by Mr. Doheny, a delegate from the Irish Confederation.

An address of thanks to the mayor for his earnest efforts in

CHAP. VI.

1848.

Thanks to mayor.

the preservation of order, and for the completeness of his arrangements, was very numerously signed, and was presented on the 22d by the Rev. Rector Campbell, as the spokesman of an influential deputation.

In July of the same year some fear was entertained that the associations of the 12th, being the anniversary of the battle of the Boyne, might rususcitate party differences amongst the Irish population, and precautions were taken accordingly. Happily, however, they proved unnecessary; nothing occurring to disturb the public peace.

Loss of "Ocean Monarch."

On August 24, 1848, a melancholy casualty occurred in the destruction of the "Ocean Monarch," a fine American liner of 1300 tons burden, by fire, on her outward passage, about five miles to seaward of the Great Ormeshead. Providentially the accident occurred in the daytime, and help was at hand. The yacht "Queen of the Ocean," belonging to Mr. T. Littledale, who was on board, returning from the Beaumaris Regatta, was the first to come to the rescue. The scene was a most harrowing one, the flames bursting out from the centre and stern of the ship, the passengers, above 300 in number, crowding the fore part, the women and children rending the air with their shrieks, many in their terror jumping overboard. The new Brazilian steam-frigate Affonsa, which was out on a trial trip, next came up, and cast anchor to windward, as near the burning ship as safety would permit. A rope was made fast between the vessels, by the aid of which boats were enabled to pass readily backwards and forwards, and by this means many were rescued. Some who had jumped overboard were saved by the forethought of the captain in throwing out everything movable, and then jumping himself into the water. Out of the whole crew and passengers, 360 in number, about 100 were lost. More might have been saved but for the inhumanity and cowardice of the mate and some of the crew, who, as soon as the alarm was given, secured the two ship's boats and made off towards Liverpool, leaving the rest to their fate.

At the close of the mayoralty of Mr. T. B. Horsfall, the tribute of a silver cradle was presented to his lady, she having given birth to a daughter during her husband's year of office.

Although tradition testifies to this custom having been handed down from remote antiquity, this is the first instance of the kind recorded in our annals.

The cradle was a beautiful piece of plate in the form of a nautilus shell, and bore the following legend:

"Gif Leverpoole's good maior sº everre bee
Made fatherre in hys yere off maioraltee,
Thenne sal be giften bye yᵉ towneneme free
Ane silverre cradle to hys faire ladye."[1]

Local politics began at this time to be greatly embittered by the contest respecting the proposed scheme for bringing water from Rivington for the supply of the town. I have referred to this agitation in the previous pages of this work, and need not further allude to it here. For a time it had the effect of dissolving party political alliances, and establishing a new platform of union in municipal affairs; but after the excitement was over, "natural selection" soon restored order out of chaos; political attraction was too powerful for any abnormal influence to overcome. Each party returned to their allegiance, which has never since been disturbed. Rivington water scheme.

Mr. John Bramley Moore was elected mayor in November 1848, and during his term of office he did much to enliven the ordinary routine of municipal hospitality. On February 6, 1849, he gave a grand *soirée* in the Town-hall to 1400 invited guests. A variety of attractions were provided, but, greatly to the disappointment of the juvenile portion of the guests, dancing was tabooed, though cards were permitted. Bramley Moore, mayor. Soirée.

The mayor also originated the idea of a grand fancy fair for the benefit of the hospitals, in Prince's Park then recently completed. This took place on the 8th, 9th, and 10th of August, and was one of the most successful demonstrations of the kind ever held. Almost every practicable attraction was provided. Exhibitions of all kinds, flower shows, sports and games, balloons, concerts of music, fantoccini, conjuring, miniature yacht races on the lake, etc. Amongst the objects exhibited was a silver kettle and stand presented to Jenny Lind, the unrivalled songstress, who had generously given a concert in the month of January previous on behalf of the Southern Hospital, by which Fancy fair. A.D. 1849. Jenny Lind.

[1] The custom was not confined to Liverpool, but has prevailed in York and other municipalities. It is supposed to have some reference to the Babe in Bethlehem, and the gifts of the wise men from the east. The presentation was repeated in the years 1852, 1857, and 1865, which will be found noticed under the respective dates.

CHAP. VI. 1849. Jenny Lind.

a considerable sum had been realised. The piece of plate bore the following inscription:

To
MADLLE. JENNY LIND,
In grateful testimony of
The munificent services rendered to the
Southern and Toxteth Hospital
Of Liverpool
By the exercise of her unrivalled powers of song.
Presented by her admiring friends,
And the friends of the Institution,
VI. JANUARY MDCCCXLIX.

The following lines, the composition of Mr. J. B. Yates, were also presented with the kettle:

Amphion's strains the builder's task performed;
Turrets uprose responsive to his lyre;
By Orpheus' dulcet music rocks were warmed,
And crouching tigers quench'd their savage fire.
In the fair *Swede* the powers of both conjoined,
Build—and to Mercy dedicate—the pile;
Unlock each gushing sympathy of mind,
Smooth each sick bed, each hour of pain beguile.
While heavenward from her lips the strains ascend,
Admiring crowds their worldly cares postpone;
And from the spheres e'en listening seraphs bend,
To claim a harmony so like their own.

Fancy fair.

There is no enjoyment, however, without its drawback, no sweet without its bitter. The two first days of the fair were all that could be desired in point of weather, bright, calm, and settled. The third day dawned with equal brilliancy, and the assembled thousands displayed every variety of bright array in the ladies' costumes and the various decorations. Towards the close of the afternoon, a little cloud like a man's hand rose up in the horizon, very soon the heavens were covered with blackness, and on a sudden there fell one of the most terrific thunderstorms, accompanied with a deluge of rain, which ever occurred in Liverpool. To disperse was out of the question. The feeble shelter of the frail tents and booths was very soon converted into so many shower baths. A few cabs and omnibuses there might be, but what were they among so many? There was nothing for it but patient quiet endurance under the

soaking, or a weary plodding homewards in a condition not very unlike that of drowned rats. With this little *contretemps*, which was only a subject for after merriment, the fancy fair was a complete success, giving *éclat* to the mayoralty of Mr. Bramley Moore, and realising £9593 for the benefit of the charities, which was divided in equal proportions between the Infirmary and the Northern and Southern Hospitals. CHAP. VI. 1849.

On September 18, 1849, the Duke of Cambridge, the Queen's cousin, paid a visit to Liverpool on the invitation of Mr. T. B. Horsfall, the ex-mayor. When on 'Change he was received with great enthusiasm. and three cheers were given for the Queen and the Royal Family. Duke of Cambridge.

The autumn of this year is memorable for a visitation of the cholera, the last serious attack of the disease which Liverpool has sustained. A good deal of controversy took place in the newspapers as to the different modes of medical treatment. A day of humiliation and prayer was appointed October 9. The total number of deaths recorded from the disease in Liverpool was 5231. November 15 was held as a day of thanksgiving for the disappearance of the epidemic. Cholera.

The year 1851 will ever be remembered as a bright era in the annals of the loyal town of Liverpool, from the circumstance of the visit of her most gracious Majesty Queen Victoria with the Prince Consort and their family. It has not often fallen to the lot of Liverpool to be encouraged by the presence of royalty. It is reasonably to be inferred that King John had seen Liverpool before he created it a port and borough. William III. is supposed to have passed through the town on his way to Hoylake to embark his troops in 1690, but there is no authentic record of this. Edward II. is the only previous monarch who can be proved to have set foot in the place. He dates from the Castle of Liverpool some of his letters patent. Great, then, was the rejoicing when it was known that Victoria, the queen of the affection, as well as of the allegiance of her subjects, was about to grace the town by her presence. There was but one feeling amongst all classes and parties—that of giving her a hearty welcome. For some days previous to October 9, the day of her visit, nothing was to be observed but the note of preparation in constructing scaffolding, stages, and devices and decorations of all sorts in the line of the streets through which the *cortége* was to pass. The carriage-ways were barricaded along the whole length to prevent pressure. There was no A.D. 1851. Visit of Queen Victoria.

CHAP. VI. 1851.

fear of any disturbance except it might arise from an exuberance of loyalty. Crowds of people poured in from all the neighbouring country as far as from distant parts of North Wales and from the Isle of Man, anxious to see the Duchess of Lancaster in her own county Palatine.

Queen's Arrival.

Her Majesty, the Prince, and suite, arrived at the Rainhill Station about four on Wednesday, October 9, where she was received by the Earl of Sefton, the Lord-Lieutenant of the county, and from thence drove to Croxteth Hall. A small and select party were invited to meet her at dinner.

Progress.

The weather now became a subject of anxiety, having been very unsettled for some days, blowing almost a gale of wind. Wednesday afternoon turned out fine, and great expectations were entertained for the morrow, but here her Majesty's usual good fortune proved a total failure. Such a day of thorough, drenching, unmitigated downpour has seldom been witnessed even in the humid district of South Lancashire. Even to this day, those who remember it "*horrescunt referentes.*" Nevertheless, the loyalty of the good old town rose superior to the elements, and displayed itself in the most exuberant form. All along the route from Croxteth Hall, by West Derby Road, past Newsham House and the then existing Zoological Gardens, and so along the entire route, stands and platforms were erected, and flags and banners, with all sorts of devices, struggled to expand their damp folds to the breeze. The royal route lay down Brunswick Road, along Moss Street, Brownlow Street, Mount Pleasant, Hope Street, Hardman Street, Leece Street, Bold Street, Lord Street, Castle Street, Brunswick Street to the

Addresses.

landing stage. Here two addresses were presented to her Majesty; one from the Dock Board by Messrs. C. Turner and F. Shand, the other from the Chamber of Commerce, by Messrs. T. B. Horsfall and John Aikin. The Royal party then embarked on board the "Fairy" yacht, and after a cruise up and down the river again disembarked at the landing stage, and proceeded to the Town-hall by a rather circuitous route, so as to give to as large a number as possible a sight of the unusual presence of royalty. The Town-hall rooms were crowded principally by ladies who had obtained the privilege of the *entrée*.

Reception.

The council and officials were ranged in order in the large ball-room, where a temporary throne was erected on a raised daïs under a crimson canopy.

1851. Reception.

The question had been mooted in the council as to the appropriate costume in which to receive her Majesty. Liverpool, unlike most corporate towns, has not for many generations indulged in the paraphernalia of gowns for the aldermen and councillors, though references are found in the old records of the custom once prevailing. The fashion of the mayor's gown is one something resembling that of the verger of a parish church. Great was therefore the discussion as to what sort of a distinction should be made between the councillors and the *οἱ πολλοί* who might be permitted to be present. It was ultimately determined to adopt a badge to be worn upon the left breast, consisting of a dark-blue ribbon, fringed with gold, on which the Liverpool Arms were emblazoned in green, silver, and gold tinsel work, with a bullion fringe. Previous to the announcement of the Queen, the master of the ceremonies entering the chamber called out, "Gentlemen, take off your gloves," much to the astonishment of many who had invested in the most unexceptionable kids, white or canary colour. Her Majesty having taken her seat, the Recorder in full-bottomed wig and gown, read the loyal and dutiful address, which was graciously responded to by the Queen in clear and distinct tones. The mayor, Mr. John Bent, was then beckoned forward, and knelt on one knee, whilst the Queen, receiving a sword from an equerry, gave the accolade, and his worship rose up Sir John Bent, Knight. The address was enclosed in a cylindrical case of silver and gold scroll work with enriched ends.

After this ceremony was over, the Queen and the Prince Consort stepped out into a balcony overlooking the Exchange area, which in spite of the pitiless pelting rain was crowded with well-dressed spectators anxious to catch a sight of their monarch. When her Majesty was seen at full length on the balcony, the cheering was of the most hearty, even vociferous description, at which evidently well pleased she bowed her gracious acknowledgments. After partaking of luncheon, the Queen and Prince returned to St. George's Hall, the outside of which they had already passed, and entered the interior, at that time in an unfinished state. Temporary provision was made for the inspection of the various parts of the building. After this visit, the Royal train took their departure from the Lime Street Station for Manchester, where the next day proved as bright and glorious as the one in Liverpool had been gloomy and dispiriting, giving the Mancunians great cause for rejoicing that its usually

St. George's Hall.

Queen's departure.

CHAP. VI.

murky atmosphere had for once dissolved in smiles in honour of the Queen.

1851. Ball.

After the departure of her Majesty, a grand ball was given in the Town-hall, to which 2500 tickets were issued. Thus closed a visit which, in spite of the drawbacks of the weather, will ever remain a bright spot in the annals of the town. The attachment of Liverpool to the House of Hanover has always been ardent and sincere, and a visit of this kind tends much to keep alive the flame of loyalty in the breasts of the inhabitants.

Law Courts opened.

On December 8, 1851, the law courts in St. George's Hall were opened for public business at the winter assizes, by Mr. Baron Parke and Mr. Justice Erle. Considerable ceremony was used on the occasion, all concerned, both on the part of the law authorities and the council, being in full official costume. The mayor (Mr. T. Littledale), at the head of the council, received the judges, who, after the charge to the grand jury had been delivered, were entertained at a splendid luncheon. The courts thus inaugurated with so much *éclat* have proved a serious failure. They are too small in dimensions, the acoustics are very defective, and the general arrangements, though repeatedly altered, are still very far from satisfactory.

Some days before the 12th August 1852, it was announced that the Orange Lodges in Liverpool intended to celebrate the anniversary of the battle of Aughrim by a procession with party badges. This was brought before the magistrates by the head constable, Major Greig. The police interfered to prevent the procession, when some disturbances took place which were suppressed, and the ringleaders committed for trial, but discharged on promising not to repeat the offence. This led to a resolution of the justices to prevent all future party processions within the town, which has ever since been strictly acted on.

A.D. 1852. Election. Cardwell.

In July 1852 a general election took place. Mr. Cardwell, who had excited considerable alarm in the minds of many who had previously supported him, by his Free Trade proclivities, and his abandonment of the principle of restriction in the navigation laws and differential duties, was again brought forward by the Liberal party. Sir Thomas Birch was dropped, and in

Ewart.

his place Mr. Jos. Chris. Ewart, the brother of the former member, was adopted. The Conservatives brought out Mr.

Turner. Mackenzie.

Chas. Turner, a Liverpool merchant, chairman of the Dock Board; and Mr. Forbes Mackenzie, whose name is well known as attached to the Act for restricting Sunday trading in Scotland.

Previous to the election, the usual party demonstrations were held, each candidate addressing crowded meetings of his partisans. The nomination took place on Tuesday, July 6. Each side accompanied its candidates to the hustings with a procession comprising party flags and colours, and bands of music. Mr. Cardwell was proposed by Mr. G. H. Lawrence, seconded by Mr. Hugh Hornby; Mr. Hardman Earle proposed, and Mr. William Rathbone seconded Mr. J. C. Ewart; Mr. T. E. Moss proposed, and Mr. F. Shand seconded Mr. Forbes Mackenzie; Mr. Turner was proposed by Mr. Edmund Molyneux, seconded by Mr. J. A. Tobin. After the nomination, the Free Traders held an open air meeting in Clayton Square, where the assembly was addressed by their candidates. Mr. Turner addressed his followers from the Adelphi Hotel. Mr. Mackenzie was not present. Nomination.

At the close of the poll, the numbers stood: Turner, 6693; Mackenzie, 6367; Cardwell, 5247; Ewart, 4910. Poll.

In the ensuing session, a petition against the return of Messrs. Turner and Mackenzie on the plea of bribery by their agents was presented, and after parliamentary inquiry, the election was declared null and void. A new writ was accordingly issued, and the election was held in July 1853. The Conservatives brought forward Mr. T. B. Horsfall (mayor in 1847-8), and the Hon. H. T. Liddell, eldest son of Lord Ravensworth. The Liberals brought out Sir Erskine Perry, a retired Indian judge, son of Mr. Perry, the well-remembered proprietor and editor of the *Morning Chronicle*. A fourth candidate presented himself in the person of Mr. John Bramley Moore (mayor in 1848-9), who had hitherto been an active member of the Tory party. Members unseated. A.D. 1853. Election.

The nomination took place on July 7, Mr. T. E. Moss proposed the Hon. H. T. Liddell, seconded by Mr. F. Shand. Mr. Horsfall was proposed by Mr. Edmund Molyneux, seconded by Mr. J. A. Tobin. Sir Erskine Perry was proposed by Mr. Eyre Evans, seconded by Mr. George Holt; and Mr. Bramley Moore by Mr. John Lockett, seconded by Mr. James Logan. Mr. Moore was received by the Tory party with a storm of disapprobation, the epithets of "Judas," "traitor," and similar complimentary phrases being freely showered upon him.

The poll was taken on the following day, and at the close the numbers were: Horsfall, 6034; Liddell, 5543; Perry, 4673; Moore, 1274.

CHAP. VI. 1853.

On the 4th October this year a silver cradle was presented to Mrs. Thomas Littledale, the mayoress of the preceding year, who had given birth to a child during her husband's year of office.

A.D. 1854. Cemeteries closed.

The state of the churchyards and cemeteries in Liverpool had for some years attracted public attention from their crowded and unwholesome condition. Partial efforts had been made to remedy the evil by the opening of the Necropolis in 1825, and of St. James' Cemetery in 1829; but it was evident that a complete remedy could not be provided as long as the old graveyards continued open for the reception of remains. On April 1, 1854, an order in council was issued, prohibiting any further interments in the churchyards within the town. This led to the construction of the Anfield Cemetery at Walton, and the Toxteth Park Cemetery in Smithdown Lane, both of which are described elsewhere in the present work, and have proved of great service to the community.

Anfield Cemetery.

Church rate abolished.

At the annual vestry held on April 18, 1854, it was determined that the Church Rate which had up to that time been compulsory should in future be collected as a voluntary rate. A poll was demanded and kept open for some days, when the compulsory rate was rejected by a considerable majority, and never again revived.

King of Portugal.

In June 1854, Liverpool was honoured by a visit from Don Pedro V., the youthful King of Portugal. He arrived on the 28th, travelling in a quiet unostentatious manner, accompanied by his brother the Duke of Oporto and a small suite. The royal party inspected the usual sights of the town and port. The young king, only seventeen years of age, impressed all who came in contact with him with the highest opinion of his intelligence and ability. His knowledge of English literature and of the various scientific subjects which came under his notice was extraordinary. Not long after his return to his own country he was prematurely cut off under circumstances which led to considerable suspicion of foul play. His early decease was a great loss to his country.

St. George's Hall opened.

On Monday, September 18, 1854, St. George's Hall, the first stone of which had been laid on the Queen's coronation-day, in 1838, was formally opened. The ceremony took place, by a curious coincidence, exactly a century from the opening of the Town-hall. The festivities on that occasion were on no ordinary scale, displaying the confidence of the inhabitants in the future prosperity of the town; and now,

after the lapse of another hundred years, a similar festivity was celebrated, leading thoughtful minds to contemplate the vast series of events involving the unexampled progress of the nation during this period, to which the town of Liverpool had contributed its full proportion.

The hall was formally opened by the mayor (Mr. John Buck Lloyd), in the presence of the council, the magistrates, and an immense array of visitors. The two statues of Sir Robert Peel and George Stephenson were unveiled at the same time. The Bishop of Chester offered a prayer, and afterwards the oratorio of the "Messiah" was performed, Dr. Wesley presiding at the organ, Sir Henry R. Bishop, conductor. In the evening there was a miscellaneous concert. On Tuesday Mendelssohn's "Elijah," and on Wednesday Haydn's "Creation" were performed, with concerts each evening.

The town presented a gay and animated appearance, and all the concerts were attended by crowded audiences.

Sir James Graham.

An amusing little incident occurred a day or two before the opening. Sir James Graham, at that time First Lord of the Admiralty, happened to be passing through the town, and went, unaccompanied, to get a sight of St. George's Hall. The whole precincts were one scene of bustle in preparation for the opening, and a sturdy old fellow was placed at the gate, with strict orders to admit no one "except on business," instructions which he rigidly carried out to the letter. On the Right Hon. Baronet presenting himself he was "interviewed" through the wicket, and curtly told that as he had no "business" to transact he could not be admitted. "I am Sir James Graham, the First Lord of the Admiralty," said the Baronet. "There's many o' that name," replied the janitor; "but whoever ye be, I can't let ye in again' my orders." The discomfited cabinet minister had to seek admission through another channel; and on passing the old gatekeeper he good-naturedly patted him on the back and complimented him on doing his duty so faithfully.

British Association meeting.

Immediately after the inauguration of the Hall the meeting of the British Association for the advancement of Science commenced its sittings there, under the presidency of the Earl of Harrowby (Lord Sandon), formerly M.P. for the borough. The inaugural address of the president was given at the Philharmonic Hall, Hope Street, and was very highly commended. The Earl of Derby succeeded, and in the course of a very fluent and eloquent speech he gave utterance to the *mot* which has been so often

CHAP. VI. 1854.

Lord Derby's speech.

quoted, of having been born in the "pre-scientific period." The circumstances were these:—Lord Derby said: "Of the merits of my noble friend's address there are few persons in this room less competent to judge than I am. I, unfortunately, belong to that earlier period, in which science was little cultivated as a matter of education; and in scientific matters I must confess myself entirely deficient." The President: "Pre-scientific." (Laughter). Lord Derby: "As my noble friend says, we must use some learned words. We talk about the pre-Adamite period, and we also talk about the pre-Raphaelite style; but I belong to the pre-scientific period of education." (Cheers and laughter.)

Dr. Scoresby.

The meeting on the whole was very successful. The Rev. Dr. Scoresby, an old Liverpool sea captain, read a very remarkable paper on the loss of the ship "Tayleure," and the changes in the action of the compasses in iron ships, which led to a general measure being passed for the proper scientific adjustment of the compasses in iron vessels.

Crimean war.

The Crimean war with Russia had now broken out, and public attention was rivetted on the state of our army at Balaclava and before Sebastopol. On October 27, 1854, a public meeting (the first ever held in the building) took place in St. George's Hall, the mayor (Mr. J. B. Lloyd) in the chair, to raise a fund for the widows and orphans of soldiers and sailors who fell during the siege. A subscription was set on foot, and a considerable sum was raised.

A.D. 1855.

On January 15, 1855, the first instalment of the wounded soldiers from the seat of war arrived in the Cunard steamer "Cambria," consisting of ten officers and 213 rank and file. Some of the most urgent cases were taken to the Infirmary, and provision was made in the wards of the Workhouse for the reception of the remainder, preparatory to their removal to Chatham. The care and attention bestowed on these poor fellows called forth the warm thanks both of the military and naval authorities. Two of the soldiers died in Liverpool from the effects of their wounds. Their remains were interred in St. James's Cemetery, with military honours, attended by an immense gathering of the inhabitants.

Earl of Elgin.

On January 9, 1855, the Earl of Elgin, who had retired from the Governor-Generalship of Canada, arrived by the steamer "Pacific." He was received with great enthusiasm for his services whilst in office, especially in negotiating the reciprocity treaty between Canada and the United States. He was pre-

sented with addresses from the American and English Chambers of Commerce, to which he made a suitable and feeling reply.

Distress.

Circumstances occurred on February 19, in this year, which demonstrate how easily, even under the best police regulations, riot and disorder may attain the upper hand. The winter of 1854-5 was one of hardship for the poor. Trade was bad and work was scanty, from 15,000 to 20,000 of the labouring classes being out of employment. Strenuous efforts were made to meet the difficulty by private charity, in addition to the public funds. Meetings were held in the various wards, and considerable sums were raised.

Riots.

On Monday morning, February 19, crowds of persons of the lowest class began to assemble in Scotland Road and Vauxhall Road between eight and nine o'clock, amongst whom were mixed up a number of thieves and "roughs." At a preconcerted signal a simultaneous attack was made upon the baker's shops in the neighbourhood. Some of the shops had the windows smashed in and the property seriously injured. From thence detached parties roved about the town, plundering where they had the opportunity. As soon as the police authorities received information, the force was mustered in strong bodies, and perambulated the town until order was restored. A detachment of the Militia then in the town was also called out.

Fast.

March 21 was appointed by Royal proclamation as a general fast and day of humiliation on account of the war.

Election.

An election was held in March to supply the vacancy caused by the succession to the peerage of Mr. H. T. Liddell. The Liberals brought out Mr. Joseph Christopher Ewart, one of the unsuccessful candidates in 1852. The Conservatives hit upon a most unfortunate candidate in Sir Samuel George Bonham, who had been Governor in the Eastern Seas, and was therefore supposed to know something of commerce. There were the usual meetings and demonstrations on both sides.

Nomination.

The nomination took place on March 27. Mr. Thomas Littledale proposed, and Mr. F. Shand seconded Sir S. G. Bonham. Mr. George Maxwell proposed Mr. J. C. Ewart, seconded by Mr. Robertson Gladstone.

Bonham.

The public displays of the Conservative candidate provoked such an amount of ridicule, that his supporters fell off and left the field to his opponent, who was elected by a majority of 1456, the numbers being: Ewart, 5718; Bonham, 4262.[1]

[1] Sir S. G. Bonham died in 1863, and was interred in Kensal Green

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1855. Duke of Cambridge.

In October 1855, the town received another visit from the Duke of Cambridge, after his return from the Crimea. He was the guest of the Earl of Derby, at Knowsley. The inhabitants welcomed him with the greatest enthusiasm. He was presented with an address by the mayor (Mr. J. A. Tobin) and corporation, enclosed in a case of ebony and silver. On Tuesday, October 9, he passed through the principal streets, which were crowded to excess and gaily decorated, and visited the various objects of interest. A large portion of the town and most of the public buildings were illuminated at night. On Wednesday he embarked on the river, and after a cruise visited the Birkenhead Docks.

The proceedings terminated by a grand concert at St. George's Hall on Wednesday evening.

A.D. 1856. Meeting for Sunday protection.

In the Parliamentary session of 1855-6 a bill was introduced into the House of Commons by Sir Joshua Walmsley, then member for Leicester, to throw open the British Museum and other public institutions on Sundays. This was rejected by 235 votes to 48. Sir John Shelley subsequently gave notice to introduce a similar bill in the ensuing session. For the purpose of petitioning against this bill, a public meeting was held in St. George's Hall on January 22, 1856, Mr. T. B. Horsfall, one of the borough members, in the chair. The large hall was so crowded in every part, that an additional meeting was held in the Concert room, Lord Nelson Street. The large meeting was addressed by the Rev. Dr. M'Neile, Mr. John Cropper, and the Revs. A. Knox, F. A. West,—Bardsley, and Verner M. White. Strong resolutions were passed, and a petition to Parliament against the proposed measure was agreed to. When the bill came before the House of Commons it was rejected by a majority of 376 to 48.

Pacific steamer.

On January 23 the steamship "Pacific," commanded by Captain Eldridge, one of the Collins line between Liverpool and New York, sailed from the Mersey, and was never again heard of.

On February 22 a very large and influential meeting was

Cemetery, where a handsome monument is erected to his memory, bearing the following inscription :—

Sir Samuel George Bonham, K.C.B., Governor of
Penang, Singapore, and Malacca, many years afterwards
of Hong Kong, and H.M. Plenipotentiary in China.
Born September 5, 1803.
Died October 8, 1863.

held in St. George's Hall, the mayor (Mr. J. Stewart) in the chair, to protest against the attack on the Liverpool town dues supported by the Government. I have given the details of these transactions in the chapter relating to the Liverpool Docks. Although some injustice might be committed, all parties could not but rejoice to obtain a termination of an impost which was a constant source of irritation and discontent.

1856. Meeting about town dues.

On April 27, 1856, peace was signed with Russia. May 29 was adopted as a day of rejoicing on the occasion, being the "Royal Oak" day, and also the day appointed for the celebration of her Majesty's birthday. The weather turned out everything which could have been desired. There was a magnificent display of bunting. All the public institutions were thrown open, and free organ performances were given in St. George's Hall. The most interesting of all the sights was the assembly of the public school children, numbering 33,000, in Wavertree Park, after passing through the principal streets in procession. A dinner was given by the mayor to the Crimean pensioners.

Peace with Russia.

On November 7, 1856, Lord and Lady Palmerston visited the town. They only remained a single day; but an address was presented by the mayor and council, and his lordship addressed a considerable assembly in St. George's Hall.

Lord Palmerston.

In March 1857 a general election took place. Some difference of opinion existed amongst the Conservative party as to the propriety of bringing forward a second candidate; ultimately it was determined to support Mr. Charles Turner, in addition to Mr. Horsfall. The nomination day was March 27.

A.D. 1857. Election.

Whilst the town-clerk was reading the writ, that portion of the temporary hustings appropriated to the Liberal party suddenly gave way and came down with a crash. Happily, beyond a few bruises no one was hurt. After the confusion was a little allayed, the mayor adjourned the proceedings for two hours, to repair the damage. On their reassembling, Mr. William Potter proposed Mr. Horsfall, seconded by Mr. J. A. Tobin; Mr. Ewart was nominated by Mr. John Pemberton Heywood, seconded by Mr. James Aikin. Mr. James Tyrer nominated Mr. Turner, seconded by Mr. James Holme.

Accident.

The result of the poll showed the want of unanimity amongst the Conservative party. The numbers stood: Horsfall, 7566; Ewart, 7121; Turner, 6316.

On April 15 the first stone of the new building for the Free

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Library and Museum was laid, the particulars of which are detailed in another part of this work.

1857.

Free library and museum.

On June 22, 1857, the steam-ship "Niagara" sailed from Liverpool with one-half of the first Atlantic cable.

On September 1 the Prince's Landing-stage was opened to the public.

Indian mutiny.

The news of the Indian Mutiny struck upon the public ear like a thunderclap in the summer of 1857. The most intense sympathy was excited, and every post was eagerly looked for, as bringing tidings of the varying events in the course of the struggle. In Liverpool a public meeting was held to give expression to the feeling of sympathy, and to raise a fund for the relief of the sufferers. The mayor (Mr. F. Shand) occupied the chair. The meeting was addressed by Mr. William Brown, M.P., Mr. T. M. Mackay, Rev. Dr. M'Neile, Archdeacon Jones, and Mr. J. J. Stitt.

Trial of Captain Rogers.

At the Autumn Assizes, August 1857, there was tried a very painful case of murder on the high seas. Captain Henry Rogers, of the "Martha and Jane," was indicted, along with his two mates, for the murder of a seaman named Andrew Rose, under circumstances, as detailed in the evidence of the crew, of horrible cruelty. The Crown, as stated by the counsel, had undertaken the prosecution in order to show that British subjects were never beyond the reach of British justice, and that seamen were to be protected from such cruelties. The prisoners were found guilty, with a recommendation to mercy from the jury, on account of previous good character. The passions of the multitude had been excited by the revolting disclosures of the crew, and the verdict was received with vociferous cheering by the throngs which crowded the avenues to the court. It is stated that the verdict took all the professional men engaged in the trial by surprise, and it was supposed that upon the recommendation of the jury the sentence would have been commuted. This was done in the case of the two mates, but the captain was left to the extreme sentence of the law, and was executed at Kirkdale on September 12. Whilst in custody his manner and conduct were such as to interest all the gaol officials in his behalf. He persisted to the last in maintaining his innocence, and wished it to be publicly known that "he did not consider he had been guilty of a single act which had caused the death of Rose. The treatment described was not that which had been received by the deceased. It was much overdrawn."

When public indignation had time to cool it could not but be felt that the grounds for conviction were of a very ambiguous character. The crew had been almost in a state of mutiny, and bore a violent prejudice against the captain. The fact of the two mates being indicted along with the captain deprived him of all means of giving rebutting evidence. In such a case a conspiracy to exaggerate, if not to falsify, evidence was not a difficult matter. External circumstances had a good deal to do with the result. There had been a great number of atrocious acts of cruelty perpetrated at sea, especially on board American vessels. A remonstrance made by the English to the American Government on this subject was met by the curt rejoinder of Mr. Secretary Marcy, "that we might look at home." Our Government then would have been placed in a most awkward position, if, in the very first instance in which a capital conviction had been obtained, the royal prerogative had been exercised to screen the culprit. There can be little doubt that poor Rogers was executed to allay the popular thirst for vengeance, and to vindicate the consistency of our Government. A subscription was set on foot for his widow, which realised the sum of £670.

Trial of Rogers.

Wednesday, October 27, 1857, was set apart by royal proclamation as a day of fasting and humiliation on account of the Indian Mutiny. The day was very solemnly kept, services being held in all the churches, both established and Nonconformist, a feeling of deep sympathy and sorrow pervading the public mind.

Fast day.

On Monday, October 12, Dr. Livingstone, the great African traveller, arrived in Liverpool, and on the following day he addressed a public meeting at the Cotton Salesroom, the mayor (Mr. F. Shand) in the chair. A complimentary resolution of encouragement was carried with acclamation. On March 10 following Dr. Livingstone sailed from the Mersey in the "Pearl" screw steamer, accredited as her Majesty's Consul in South-eastern Africa, to pursue that course of enterprise and adventure which has crowned his memory with imperishable renown.

Dr. Livingstone.

On November 4, 1857, the Queen's College, in the Liverpool Institute, Mount Street, was inaugurated by Lord Brougham, who occupied the chair and gave the opening address. It was interesting to listen to the venerable man at the age of eighty, after a life of stormy political warfare, devoting his remaining energies to the cause of education and progress. His eloquence had lost much of its torrent-like rush of words and its cumula-

Queen's College.

Lord Brougham.

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tive piling up of epithets, but retained much of its clear illustrative power.

1857. Siamese Ambassadors.

On December 20, 1857, the Siamese Ambassadors, Phya Montri Suriwonse and Chan Mun Sarbedth Bhacty, visited the town, and were entertained by the mayor (Mr. James Holme).

A.D. 1858.

The marriage of the Princess Royal with the Crown Prince of Prussia took place on January 25, 1858. There was no public demonstration in Liverpool on the occasion, but a banquet was given by the mayor in the Town-hall to a large number of invited guests.

Silver cradle.

On February 8 a silver cradle was presented to the lady of the mayor of the preceding year (Mr. F. Shand), a daughter having been born during his mayoralty.

Rajah Brooke.

In September 1858 a visit was paid to Liverpool by Sir James Brooke, K.C.B., Rajah of Sarawak. He was the guest of the Rev. Rector Campbell. On Monday, September 27, he was entertained at a *déjeûner* at the Town-hall by the mayor, on which occasion he gave a most interesting account of his proceedings for fifteen years in the Eastern Archipelago. He closed his address with the following affecting, almost mournful, words: "My personal interest, if by personal interest be meant the acquisition of money, is small; if it be understood of higher and nobler feelings, it is large indeed. To gain the protection of my native country for Sarawak, to place her in a state of prosperous security, has been the passion of my life. A few, a very few months more, will decide the future of Sarawak, and bind or break the ties which so long have connected her with this country. This decision will give me joy or sorrow for but a short time. The pulse of pleasure or the pang of anguish may thrill or throb for a short time, but duty will then resume its sway. My years have fallen into the sere and yellow leaf; I am at peace with all men—forgiving, and, I trust, forgiven—for any hasty word or deed in the heat of political conflict. I crave no honours, I court no distinction; I would escape from the burden of proud responsibilities, and the more crushing weight of prolonged suspense; but whatever the future may bring, my duty must be done: Sarawak must be placed in security, and then my life's task will have ended."

Social Science Congress.

In October 1858 the Social Science Congress was held in Liverpool, under the presidency of the Right Hon. Lord John Russell. Many distinguished persons were present and took part in the proceedings; amongst others, Lord Brougham,

the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Earl of Carlisle, Sir James Stephen, etc.

1858.

Lord Brougham's address.

The president gave the opening address, at St. George's Hall, on Monday, October 11, when the large hall was completely crammed. On Tuesday Lord Brougham gave an address on the objects of the association, of which he had been himself the founder and first president. It was read from a written paper, and was a plain and simple exposition of his views on the subject of popular education. The following passage contains a slight flavour of his old style: "A person gains some information, it may be only a little. Say the objectors, he is superficial. Would he be more profound if he knew nothing? The twilight is unsafe for his steps. Would he be more secure from slipping in the dark? But he may be self-sufficient, may think he knows much, and look down upon others as knowing little. Is this very likely to happen, if the knowledge he has acquired is within reach of all, and by the greater number possessed? The distinction is the ground of the supposed influence upon his demeanour towards others; when that difference no longer exists the risk of his manners being spoiled is at an end. The most trifling instruction which can be given is sure, to the vast majority of those who receive it, to give the lesson of their own deficiency, and to inspire the wish for further knowledge. But suppose, as must happen in many cases, that no great progress shall be afterwards made, at least it is certain that the proportion is most inconsiderable of those who are not the better for what they have learned; and of those who are the worse for it, the number cannot really be said to have any existence at all."

On Friday the 15th a grand banquet was held at St. George's Hall, Lord Brougham in the chair. On Saturday the proceedings terminated.

A.D. 1859. Election.

In April 1859 the Administration of Lord Derby appealed to the country for a new Parliament. Neither party in Liverpool seemed disposed to try the chances of a contest; the old members, Messrs. Horsfall and Ewart, were therefore allowed to walk over the course. An uncontested general election has not occurred in any other instance since 1774, when Sir William Meredith and Mr. Richard Pennant (afterwards Lord Penrhyn) were returned.

Volunteer movement.

Early in 1859 the Volunteer movement began to take hold of the public mind; and Liverpool was not slow to give in her adhesion. From the earliest period of the history of the town,

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1859.

a military tendency has always displayed itself amongst the inhabitants.

Volunteer movement.

During the civil war in the seventeenth century and subsequently at the time of the rebellions in 1715 and 1745, and in the old Volunteer organisations of 1794 and 1804, the people of Liverpool always responded loyally to the call for military service. On more than one occasion the town has raised a regiment of regular troops for foreign service at its own expense.

The modern Volunteer movement may be fairly said to have originated in Liverpool. In 1853 a number of young men formed themselves into a club for the purpose of military drill and manual exercise, under the presidency of Mr. Nathaniel (subsequently Lieutenant-Colonel) Bousfield, M.P. for Bath. Several attempts were made to obtain Government sanction to the enrolment of this force, as the nucleus of a volunteer regiment, but for a long time without success. In 1859 the war between France and Austria called public attention to the defenceless state of Great Britain in the presence of the enormous Continental armies, and a simultaneous feeling was expressed in favour of raising a volunteer force. On May 20, 1859, a public meeting was held in the Sessions House, the mayor (Mr. William Preston) in the chair, to take into consideration a communication from the Government "relative to the formation of volunteer rifle corps and artillery corps and companies in maritime towns in which there were forts and batteries; and for the purpose of adopting such measures as might be thought advisable in reference to the formation of volunteer rifle and artillery corps in this borough."

The meeting was addressed by Mr. William (afterwards Sir William) Brown, Mr. J. C. Ewart, M.P. for the borough, Sir Frederick Williams the hero of Kars, and others. Resolutions were passed in favour of establishing the force. Very soon after, Mr. Bousfield's club was adopted by the War Office, and organised as the 1st Lancashire Rifle Corps.

Public meeting.

On November 22 the first public demonstration took place, in St. George's Hall, under the presidency of the mayor (Mr. T. D. Anderson), when the 1st Corps of Artillery, under the command of Major James Bourne, were sworn in. The meeting was popular and enthusiastic. Addresses were delivered by the Rev. Rector Campbell, Colonel Smyth, Captain Mends, R.N., and others.

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On Wednesday, October 26, the west coast was visited by a heavy gale amounting to a hurricane. Public feeling was greatly excited by the loss of the "Royal Charter" screw steamer from Melbourne, which went ashore in Moelfra Bay, Anglesea, about six miles from Beaumaris. She was a large iron-built ship, belonging to Messrs. Gibbs, Bright, and Company, of 3000 tons burden, and had made a prosperous passage from Melbourne, with 494 souls on board, in fifty-eight days to Queenstown. She carried a large amount of property, about £300,000 in gold, many of the passengers being on their return home after realising ample means at the diggings.[1]

Gale. Loss of "Royal Charter."

Out of nearly 500 souls, only 35 were saved. Many of the scenes as described by the survivors were most heartrending, and made a deep and painful impression on the public mind. One singular coincidence is worthy of record. A young man named Lewis had emigrated to Australia from a cottage at Moelfra Bay, not a stone's throw from the spot where the ship was lost. As it was open day when the wreck occurred, the young man's father, amongst others, came down to the beach to render assistance. The son on the wreck and the father on shore recognised each other, and hailed one another in agonising terms; but, alas! no help was possible, and in sight of his native cottage, after a voyage half round the globe, the poor young fellow was whelmed in the seething gulf of destruction.

Two of the crew, who had distinguished themselves by efforts in saving several lives, received public recognition. Joseph Rodgers, seaman, was presented on November 16, at the Sailor's Home, with a gold medal, and £5 by the National Life Boat Institution, and with a silver medal and £10 by the Board of Trade. George Suicar, the boatswain, was also presented with a silver medal for similar services.

Lord Derby's appeal to the country proved unsuccessful, and his administration had to retire. On October 29, 1859, his Lordship was entertained at a grand banquet in the Philharmonic Hall, Mr. F. Shand in the chair. Five hundred and fifty-eight gentlemen sat down to dinner, but the applications for tickets were so numerous that many had to be disappointed. Many of the most distinguished of the Conservative party were present, amongst them Mr. Disraeli, one of the rare occasions on which he has honoured Liverpool with his presence. The meeting was very enthusiastic. Lord Derby made an oration

Dinner to Lord Derby.

[1] A large proportion of this was afterwards recovered from the wreck.

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in his very best style, and was succeeded by the Earl of Malmsbury, Lord Chelmsford, the Earl of Eglinton, Lord Stanley, Sir John Pakington, and Mr. Disraeli. Such a galaxy of Conservative leaders has seldom been gathered together; certainly never in Liverpool.

Death of Captain Harrison.

On January 27, 1860, the mortal remains of Captain Harrison, of the "Great Eastern," were committed to their last resting place in St. James's Cemetery, in the presence of a vast assemblage of sympathising spectators. Captain Harrison was a man of great ability in his profession, and had won general approbation by his conduct while in command of the Leviathan of the seas —the "Great Eastern." He was cut off in the flower of his age (46) by the accidental upsetting of a boat in the harbour of Southampton.

Prince of Orange.

On February 23 the Prince of Orange, heir-apparent to the crown of Holland, paid a visit to the town; and on May 5 the Prince de Joinville passed through the town, and sailed in the Cunard steamer "Europa" for Boston.

African missions.

On May 24 a meeting was held in the Philharmonic Hall, to further the objects of the mission to Africa, originated by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, principally in support of Dr. Livingstone. Lord Brougham, accompanied by the Bishop of Oxford, took part in the proceedings.

On September 4 the wealthy Parsee baronet, Sir Cursetjee Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, of Bombay, passed through the town attended by a gorgeous suite.

Free library opened.

On October 18 the Free Public Library and Museum, William Brown Street, was formally opened to the public, in the presence of many distinguished persons, including Lord Brougham, Sir Robert Peel, Lord Stanley, Mr. William Ewart, M.P., and others. I have elsewhere in this work described the principal features of this festival, to which I will not here further allude.

Social Science meeting.

On October 19 the inaugural meeting of the Liverpool Association for the Advancement of Social Science was held in the Lecture Hall of the College, Shaw Street, Lord Brougham in the chair. The Bishop of Chester, Sir J. K. Shuttleworth, Sir John Bowring, and others, also took part in the proceedings. This was the last visit paid to Liverpool by the venerable chairman. Since the election of 1812, Lord Brougham had always manifested a kindly feeling towards Liverpool, where he had some intimate and cordially attached friends, and where

he was always ready to lend a helping hand to every object of an educational or progressive character. His name will ever be honourably connected with the history of the town and its institutions.

"Great Eastern."

On June 4, 1861, the "Great Eastern" paid her first visit to the Mersey. She steamed up the river to her moorings at the Sloyne amidst the admiring gaze of thousands afloat and ashore. She sailed on the 27th with troops for Canada, returned in August, and in September sailed again for New York.

Indian famine.

On April 5 a public meeting was held at the Town-hall, the mayor (Mr. S. R. Graves) in the chair, for the purpose of raising subscriptions for the relief of the sufferers by the famine then raging in the north-west provinces of India. A considerable sum was realised for the purpose.

A.D. 1862. American civil war. Distress.

The year 1862 was an eventful one both for the country in general and Liverpool in particular. The American civil war, by cutting off the supply of cotton from the United States, produced an altogether abnormal state of things in the commercial and manufacturing world. The restricted supply threw thousands of hands out of employment in the manufacturing districts, and caused great distress, towards remedying which noble efforts were made in all parts of the country. On August 1 a public meeting was held in the council chamber to aid in raising a fund for relief of the distress, the mayor (Mr. Robert Hutchison) in the chair. £15,645 was subscribed in the room; and before the subscription had finally closed there was raised in the town the sum of £96,312 : 10 : 2.

Commercial excitement.

Another effect of the war was the unnatural stimulus given to speculative trading, especially in cotton. When prices were raised to nearly treble the normal value of the article, and the fluctuations from day to day were sufficient to make the fortune of a lucky speculator by a single *coup*, human nature was scarcely strong enough to resist the temptation. The clerk of yesterday became the millionaire of to-day. All kinds of property partook of the factitious value. Land and business premises in the neighbourhood of the Exchange acquired almost fabulous prices, and rents went up to nearly any amount which conscience would permit to be asked. Blockade running became a favourite species of adventure. Some lucky hits were made by fast sailing steamers running into Charleston and bringing out cargoes of cotton, realising cent per cent, but on the whole it was a losing trade. Many of the clippers which escaped capture lay for

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years rotting in the Birkenhead float, without any use to which they could be applied.

The most wholesome and legitimate result of the American war was the stimulus given to the growth of cotton in British India, which has acquired an extent and success surviving the temporary cause; but even this was disfigured and injured by the same spirit of reckless speculation.

"Florida."

In April 1862, a gunboat, built on the Mersey, sailed for a neutral port, and afterwards entered the Confederate service as an armed cruiser under the name of the "Florida."

"Alabama."

On July 29, the too-celebrated "Alabama" made her escape from the Mersey under the title of "No. 290." It is not for the writer to assess or distribute the amount of culpability, but that there was serious neglect, or something worse, in some quarter is now generally admitted.

On the 28th the town was visited by the Japanese Ambassadors and their suite. They were entertained by the mayor, and visited the usual sights. Both the ambassadors and their subordinates appeared very inquisitive and intelligent. One of them acted as scribe and historiographer; and with dictionary and note-book in hand, took down copious records of everything which passed under review.

Pasha of Egypt.

In July, Mohammed Said, Pasha of Egypt, passed through Liverpool, where he remained three days. He was presented with addresses by the commercial bodies, and was entertained at a banquet by the mayor.

A.D. 1863. Marriage of the Prince of Wales.

The marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales on March 10, 1863, was celebrated in Liverpool with all the ardour of its accustomed loyalty. The streets were gaily decorated, and the inhabitants turned out with joyful alacrity to hail what was everywhere looked upon as a happy omen for the future of the Royal Family and of the country. The volunteers mustered in great force, and marched through the principal streets with their bands of music. The naval reserve also made a demonstration. A novel feature of the display was a procession of omnibuses, seventy-five in number, all bearing flags and banners, with white favours, and in many instances the Prince of Wales's feathers decorating the horses' heads. A regatta was held on the river. H.M.'s ship "Majestic," Captain Inglefield, stationed in the port, manned her yards, displayed all her bunting, and fired a royal salute. The mayor (Mr. R. C. Gardner) gave a banquet at the Town-hall, and in the evening he

Rejoicings.

also gave a grand ball to about 2500 guests. In addition to the accommodation afforded by the Town-hall, a temporary connection was made across the Exchange area to the Newsroom, which was used as a supper-room. Most of the public buildings were illuminated at night, and pyrotechnic displays were provided in the suburbs north, east, and south. On the whole, it may be said that no *fête* in Liverpool was ever enjoyed more heartily or passed off with more satisfaction to all concerned.

Channel fleet.

In September 1863 the port was enlivened by a visit of the Channel Fleet, under the command of Admiral Dacres. Great public interest was excited; the fleets visiting the Mersey being ordinarily of a peaceful character, much curiosity was manifested to see the magnificent iron-clads which have superseded the old "wooden walls." On September 14 St. Nicholas's Churchyard, all the piers, and every point whence a view could be obtained, including the tower of the church, the roofs of the dock sheds and warehouses, and the yards and rigging of the shipping, were crowded with spectators. About one o'clock the flagship "Edgar" rounded the Rock Point, saluted by the North Battery, to which she replied.

The fleet came up in two divisions, the first consisting of the "Edgar," "Emerald," "Liverpool," and "Resistance;" the second of the "Black Prince," "Warrior," "Royal Oak," and "Defence." The ships keeping about half-a-mile from each other, the whole formed a line of about four miles, and slowly steamed up to their mooring-ground at the Sloyne.

The few days during which the fleet remained in the port were a gala time for the town, which was also crowded with visitors from the country. Dinners, balls, and parties were the order of the day at the Town-hall, Wellington Rooms, Philharmonic Hall, and in private circles. One thousand two hundred of the seamen were entertained at dinner in St. George's Hall, at the expense of the Royal Mersey Yacht Club. Upwards of 55,000 persons visited the fleet by permission during its stay.

Explosion of the "Lotty Sleigh."

On January 15, 1864, a circumstance took place which shows the vast importance of the caution which has always been exercised with reference to the storing of gunpowder in the port. A barque called the "Lotty Sleigh," bound for Africa, was anchored in the river in charge of a pilot preparatory to proceeding on her voyage. She had on board, for trading purposes, 940 quarter kegs of gunpowder, weighing about 11½ tons. Soon after six in the evening, whilst the steward was filling a

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1864. "Lotty Sleigh."

lamp with paraffin oil, by some accident it ignited. The man, in his fright, threw down the can, when a stream of fire ran along the floor, igniting everything in its course. Attempts were made to get the fire under, but all in vain. One of the ferry steamers was hailed and took off the crew. About twenty minutes past seven, the vessel blew up with an awful report, the vibratory effects of which were felt for many miles round. Fragments of the wreck were hurled on shore to a distance of several miles. The effects on land on both sides of the river were very noteworthy. Plate-glass windows were smashed in, gas lamps broken, shutters blown in and gas blown out, both in Birkenhead and Liverpool, to a distance of between three and four miles from the scene of the disaster. A question arose as to the liability of insurance companies to make good the damage, which was promptly set at rest by the action of the Royal Insurance Company, which voluntarily came forward and adopted the liability to its insurers; the other companies, of course, followed the example.

A.D. 1865.

The year 1865 was one to be remembered in the commercial history of Liverpool.

Commercial collapse.

The American civil war came to an end by the surrender of the last remains of the Confederate army under General Johnstone on April 26. With that surrender also collapsed the factitious inflation of the Liverpool cotton trade which had imparted such a buoyancy to transactions on the Liverpool Exchange during the previous three years. The fall in the prices of cotton within three months was on the average about a shilling a pound, amounting in money value, as stated at the time, to the astounding sum of £12,461,113. Liverpool, of course, did not stand alone. Black Friday in London will long be remembered, when commercial houses of high standing, from Overend, Gurney and Co. downwards, tottered and fell like a house of cards. Liverpool suffered grievously. Two banks, the Royal, and Barned and Co., went by the board. Dire was the consternation at the discoveries which came to light. Men whose reputation was of the highest class, and who were looked up to as models of the "merchant prince" for courtesy, liberality, integrity and honour, were found to have been keeping up a hollow sham, trading on their reputation, and bankrupt both in character and circumstances. But apart from the fictitious, there is a legitimate buoyancy belonging to the trade of Liverpool. A few months elapsed of gloom and depression; but by

Stoppage of banks.

degrees everything resumed its wonted aspect, and although fortunes were no longer made in a day by a single lucky hit, yet the prodigious impulse given to the export trade by the cessation of the war, and the almost exclusive ascendancy which British shipping had attained on the ocean, increased enormously the trade of the port. In a single year, the increase in the tonnage amounted to 868,766 tons, and the dock dues increased by £96,400.

1865. Revival.

In July 1865, a new Parliament was called, the old one having expired by effluxion of time. The Conservatives, not satisfied with the division of parties which had been acquiesced in at the previous election, brought forward Mr. S. R. Graves (mayor in 1860-1), along with their former member, Mr. T. B. Horsfall.

Election.

The nomination took place on the 13th. Mr. Horsfall was proposed by Mr. F. Shand, seconded by Mr. John Torr, Mr. Ewart was nominated by Mr. T. Brocklebank, seconded by Mr. James Aikin, Mr. Graves was proposed by Mr. J. A. Tobin, seconded by Mr. Robert Hutchison. The result showed that the confidence of the Tories was well grounded, the numbers at the close of the poll being: Horsfall, 7866; Graves, 7500; Ewart, 7160.

On August 31, 1865, Liverpool was honoured with a visit by the Prince and Princess of Wales, who were the guests of the Earl of Derby at Knowsley Hall. Nothing was wanting in the reception to manifest to their Royal Highnesses the warm loyalty of the people of Liverpool to the Crown. In reference to the Princess a much deeper feeling was evident; that of deep affection and personal regard, which her gentle and gracious manner towards all who approached her tended greatly to intensify. It is unnecessary to detail the particulars of the progress, which are much the same in all such cases—decorated streets—holiday crowds—demonstration of the volunteers—banquet at the Town-hall—cruise on the river—visit to St. George's Hall and the few other objects of interest we possess—and return amidst the applause of assembled thousands. This is the usual programme, unless varied by the unfortunate state of the weather or some other untoward circumstance.

Prince and Princess of Wales.

On November 7, one of the presentations which have become so common of late years of a silver cradle, was made to the lady of Mr. Edward Lawrence, the mayor of the year 1864-5, under the usual interesting circumstances.

Silver cradle.

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1866. Duke of Edinburgh.

In June 1866, Liverpool was visited by the Duke of Edinburgh, who came as the guest of Mr. S. R. Graves, M.P., at Wavertree. He was presented with an address from the Mayor and Corporation at the Town-hall. His naval experiences led him more especially to the port and shipping. He went on board the "Conway School" frigate, where he delivered the prizes to the pupils. He afterwards boarded H.M.S. "Donegal," on a visit to Captain Paynter, R.N. In the evening he was entertained at dinner by the mayor (Mr. John Farnworth) at the Town-hall. The following day he attended the regatta of the Royal Mersey Yacht Club.

Atlantic telegraph.

On October 1, 1866, a grand banquet was given by the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce to the Layers of the Atlantic Telegraphs. The entertainment took place at the Law Association Rooms, Cook Street, and was presided over by the Right Honourable Sir Stafford Northcote, President of the Board of Trade. Addresses were delivered by the chairman, by Lord Stanley, Mr. Graves, M.P., Mr. Horsfall, M.P., and others. During the banquet, messages were reciprocated between America and England by means of a telegraphic wire brought into the room.

A.D. 1867.

In 1867, the schemes were matured for the purchase and laying out of Sefton Park at the south, and Stanley Park at the north of the town. As I shall speak more fully of these in describing the localities, I only need allude to them here.

Fenian plot.

At this time the peculiar form of Irish insubordination called Fenianism was rife throughout many parts of the sister kingdom, and had contaminated to some extent the lower class of the Irish population in Lancashire. A daring plot was hatched in secret to seize by a *coup de main* the castle of Chester, where there is a large depôt of arms, with the ulterior view of getting possession of the Holyhead railway and steamers, and so making an armed attack on Dublin. This scheme, audacious and wild as it may appear, had very nearly succeeded, at least so far as the first act was concerned. Detached parties of sturdy Milesians were seen wending their way along the high roads from all quarters concentrating towards Chester. Care was taken that each separate party should not be so numerous as to excite suspicion. When arrived near Chester they were directed to loiter about the suburbs until called upon, and to keep as much concealed as possible. The time fixed for action was Monday, February 11th. The secret was wonderfully-well kept; but there is no Irish

plot on record to which a Nemesis has not been found in the shape of a traitor, and so it was in the present instance.

1867. Fenian plots.

On Sunday, February 10th at 9.15 in the evening, Major Greig, the head constable of Liverpool, received information from an Irish informer, named Corydon, of the whole details of the plot which was to explode on the following day. He immediately sent off Superintendent Ride and Inspector Carlisle to Chester, with full particulars for the information of the mayor. The news was at first received with incredulity, until undeniable proofs were furnished, when prompt measures were taken for defence, which led to the abandonment of the proposed attack.

For this prompt service Major Greig, in the following August, received from the Queen, through Lord Derby, then Prime Minister, the decoration of a "Civil Companionship of the Bath."

In September 1867, two Fenians in Manchester being conveyed to prison in a van, the vehicle was attacked, and Sergeant Brett, one of the officers in charge, was shot dead on the spot. For this crime three men were executed. In several towns in Ireland and in Manchester and Salford, funeral processions (so called) of Fenians paraded the streets in sympathy with the malefactors. An announcement was made that a similar procession would take place in the outskirts of Liverpool, to muster in Sheil Road. The Borough and County Justices met, and took steps to prevent this demonstration, with the aid of Major Greig and the police. A large concourse assembled, but the procession was prevented.

Volunteer review.

On October 5, 1867, a grand review of the local Volunteer force, by H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, Commander-in-Chief, was held in Sefton Park. The day was fine, and the spectacle was in many respects all that could be desired; but owing to some imperfection in the arrangements for keeping the ground, the mob broke in, and although there could be no complaint of boisterous or rude behaviour after the inroad was made, yet the manœuvres were sadly marred and interfered with by the pressure and mingling of the crowd. The mimic battle became a farce when the mob penetrated amongst the troops to the very muzzles of the guns.

A.D. 1868. Prince Christian.

Another visit of the scions of royalty was paid to Liverpool in January 1868, when Prince Christian and the Princess Helena accompanied by Prince Arthur were guests at Knowsley. The usual festivities were carried out on a very extensive scale

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by the mayor (Mr. Edward Whitley). The new reading and commercial room of the New Exchange was utilised and connected with the Town-hall by an extemporised corridor. The royal party won golden opinions by their courteous and affable demeanour.

Election.

In November 1868 the first election under Mr. Disraeli's Household Suffrage Bill took place. The constituency being so enormous (nearly 40,000 voters on the register), any accurate calculation before the result was out of the question. Liverpool having been granted an additional member, and the voting being restricted by the minority clause, neither party could expect to return more than two members. The contest was therefore which should return the two, the third or minority member being safe. Mr. T. B. Horsfall having withdrawn from the representation, Lord Sandon, son of the Earl of Harrowby, who himself as Lord Sandon had sat for the borough, was brought forward by the Conservatives in conjunction with Mr. Graves. The Liberals nominated Mr. William Rathbone, and the Right Hon. W. N. Massey, formerly Finance Minister for India. The nomination took place on the 17th November, Mr. S. R. Graves was proposed by Mr. J. A. Tobin, seconded by Mr. Whitley, Mr. Massey was proposed by Mr. F. A. Clint, seconded by Mr. Thomas Brocklebank, Lord Sandon was nominated by Mr. T. E. Moss, seconded by Mr. Christopher Bushell, and Mr. William Rathbone by Mr. James Aikin and Mr. J. J. Stitt.

With this election passed away the old English custom of the face to face meetings of the candidates and their supporters on the hustings. The theory was just and right, but the practice had degenerated in many cases into a mere saturnalia of uproar and confusion. Whether it is to the credit of modern civilisation and progress that the necessity for its abolition should have become imperative may be a question. The real struggle began on the polling day, the 18th. Both parties felt confident of success. The household suffrage had enfranchised a large number of Roman Catholics of the labouring class, and they were expected to swell the Liberal ranks, whilst this very fact tended to increase the zealous adherence of the English artisans to the Conservative, or what they considered the Protestant cause. Which of these interests might be the most powerful it was impossible beforehand to determine. The Catholics and the Liberal voters came up early to the poll, and up to the hour

of noon the Liberal candidates preserved a majority of nearly 1000. After that the tide began to turn, and after a hard fight the numbers at the close stood: Graves, 16,766; Sandon, 16,222; Rathbone, 15,337; Massey, 15,017. The three first were therefore returned. 1868. Poll.

So far as order and peaceable demeanour were concerned, the household suffrage vote was a decided success. There was much less disturbance and disorder than had usually been the case with the restricted suffrage. It is also very remarkable how little the balance of parties was affected by the enlarged area. The majority of the Conservatives in the election of 1865, when about 15,000 recorded their votes, was 340. In 1868, when the numbers who voted were about 31,500, the majority was 885. Household suffrage.

On the 10th April 1869, Mr. Charles Dickens was entertained at a grand public banquet in St. George's Hall, under the presidency of the Mayor, Mr. Thomas Dover. The meeting was attended by many distinguished persons, and was addressed by Lords Houghton and Dufferin, and several other eminent literati. A.D. 1869. Dinner to Dickens.

On the 28th September in the same year, the statues of the 14th Earl of Derby and of Mr. Joseph Mayer, the donor of the Mayer collection in the Museum, placed by the Corporation in St. George's Hall, were unveiled to public view, when addresses were delivered by the Mayor and Mr. J. A. Picton.

In January 1871, a very useful philanthropic arrangement was adopted by united action amongst all the religious denominations in the town. It was agreed that on a special Sunday simultaneous collections should annually be made in all the churches and chapels in the town and neighbourhood for the benefit of the hospitals, the proceeds to be divided amongst the various charities by a committee appointed for the purpose. The first experiment on January 8, 1871, realised £4740. The second anniversary in January 1872, produced the sum of £8090 : 2 : 5; in 1873, £9943 : 18 : 0; and in 1874, £11,143 6s. 8d. A.D. 1871. Hospital Sunday.

On July 26, 1871, the town received a visit from the Emperor and Empress of Brazil, who had visited many parts of the country, and were *en route* for the meeting of the British Association at Edinburgh. The high intelligence and simple frank demeanour of the Emperor won him great popularity wherever he went. As he crossed the river on his way from Chester, Emperor of Brazil.

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those who waited to receive him scarcely recognised imperialism in the bluff hearty-looking stout gentleman who presented himself portmanteau in one hand and umbrella in the other, and an upper coat thrown over his arm. After a rapid *reconnoissance* of the town and port he took his departure northward.

In November 1870 considerable interest was excited by the formation of a School Board, under Mr. Forster's Act of the session of that year.

A.D. 1870. School Board.

When the precept came down for the election of fifteen members to form the Liverpool Board, the idea of a contest was deprecated by a great number of the friends of education, who were anxious for the co-operation of all classes and denominations, if a common platform could be agreed on. Meetings of the different religious bodies were held, and many friendly conferences took place, and at length it was agreed by deputations supposed to represent the respective bodies that the Board should consist of seven from the Anglican Church, four Roman Catholics, and four Protestant Nonconformists, selected by the different denominations. Earnest representations were successfully made to induce the other candidates to withdraw.

A.D. 1871.

On the 11th September 1871, the foundation stone of the Seamen's Orphan Institution, Newsham Park, was laid by Mr. Ralph Brocklebank with considerable éclat. The assembly was addressed by the Earl of Derby (the 15th) in his usual clear and sensible style.

The Dean of Ripon—Dr. Hugh M'Neile—was also present, and showed by his speech that the vigour and eloquence which had been so triumphant thirty years before in the rout of the Radicals, though perhaps subdued in its tone, was still capable of exercising a powerful sway.

In September the annual exhibition of paintings, which had been suspended for many years, was resumed at the free public library, under the auspices of the Corporation, with considerable success.

In December, a visit was paid to the town by Prince Hassam, son of the Viceroy of Egypt, accompanied by the Duke of Sutherland, the Marquis of Stafford, and Lord Talbot.

A.D. 1872.

In the beginning of 1872, a contested election of a very remarkable kind took place to supply a vacancy at the School Board. Notwithstanding the agreement at the election of November 1870 it was soon found that differences of opinion of necessity sprung up at the Board. The 25th section of the Act,

Differences

empowering the payment of fees in denominational schools for children whose parents are poor, raised the first division, which resulted in the adoption of the clause. Then came the payment for destitute children in the Catholic and Church of England Industrial Schools, a charge which had hitherto been defrayed out of the corporate fund. This was also adopted, after a protest by a minority. The next question was the scheme of education to be laid down for the schools to be provided by the Board: whether they were to be purely secular or on a basis of unsectarian religious instruction. The latter course was unanimously adopted, the Authorised Version of the Scriptures being required to be read. The Catholics made an effort to introduce the Douai Version for the use of their own children, but this was negatived by a large majority.

School Board action.

The views of the Board thus enunciated did not give entire satisfaction. Murmurs not loud but deep were muttered in many quarters, and it was evident that mischief was brewing. The first expression of public opinion occurred in the election of municipal councillors in November 1871. Mr. J. J. Stitt, the retiring member for Exchange Ward—a Nonconformist, and a member of the School Board—had voted against the payment of fees to denominational schools, and also against the introduction of the Douai Bible. This gave umbrage to the Roman Catholics, who happened to be strong in the ward represented by Mr. Stitt, and by a junction of their forces with the Conservatives, Mr. Stitt was rejected, and a Churchman and Tory elected in his place.

Public opinion.

A.D. 1871.

The circumstance of the Catholic clergy canvassing for a Tory and Churchman excited grave suspicions in the minds of the Conservative democracy of the town, who, in the extreme north and south, were very numerous, and their opportunity was not long in arriving. By the decease of a member of the School Board a vacancy occurred, and two candidates were put forward representing the respective views. The Rev. Dr. Verner White, a Presbyterian minister, was vehemently opposed to the payment of denominational fees, and to the grants to the Industrial Schools, but strongly supported Protestant religious education based on the Bible, in the Board schools. The other candidate, Mr. Lawrence Baily, was a Churchman, proposed by the leading Conservatives, who agreed with the action already adopted by the Board. A third candidate was nominated, who advocated as a temporary measure the

Dissensions.

A.D. 1872.

School board election.

CHAP. VI. 1872.

payment of the denominational fees, with secular instruction in the Board schools; but seeing small prospect of success, he withdrew from the contest.

School board election.

All the excitement and paraphernalia of a contested election now were set on foot. Committees were set to work and public meetings night after night addressed by the candidates. Some of them were of a very exciting and disorderly character. At a meeting of Mr. Baily's friends in Sefton Hall, Toxteth Park, the parties very nearly came to blows. The quondam leaders of the Conservative democracy were saluted with groans, and epithets such as "Judas," "Traitor," were freely lavished upon them, and the candidate and his immediate supporters barely escaped personal violence. The Roman Catholics supported Mr. Baily, who was recommended by the bishop and his clergy.

Poll.

The polling came off on January 31, when Dr. White was returned by 10,499 votes to Mr. Baily 9410. It may be mentioned as a curious fact, showing the tendency of nationalities and denominations to cluster in localities, that in Everton Ward, inhabited to a great extent by Welsh Nonconformists, Dr. White had a majority of 1078. In the two Toxteth Wards, the strongholds of the English and Irish Orangemen, his majority was 1393; whilst in Scotland and Vauxhall Wards, the inhabitants of which are to a great extent Irish Catholics, Mr. Baily had a majority of 1955.

I have noticed in a previous part of this work that Liverpool, unlike most other borough towns, has never displayed much leaning towards outward demonstration in its corporate capacity. Whilst the hospitality of the Mansion-house has been on the most liberal scale, the mayor, in his plain black gown, has had, on public occasions, to hide his diminished head in contrast with the somewhat demonstrative decorations of his compeers from other cities and boroughs. In order to prevent the mayor of Liverpool being utterly extinguished by the superior style of his brethren, a subscription was entered into by the councillors to provide a handsome gold chain and badge, which was presented to the mayor (Mr. John Pearson) on the occasion of his attending the thanksgiving service in St. Paul's Cathedral, 27th February 1872, to be worn on public occasions by himself and his successors. The cost was nearly £300.

Mayor's gold chain.

In March 1872 a commencement was made of a work which may ultimately lead to important consequences. The communication between the two shires of the estuary of the Mersey

below Warrington, with the exception of the railway bridge at Runcorn erected in 1868, has hitherto been by water alone. The inconvenience of this has long been felt. The ferry traffic between Liverpool and Birkenhead is enormous and increasing. This is liable to interruption from fogs, and is exposed to serious danger from collision, the actual occurrence of which has been occasionally alarming. Parliamentary powers were obtained in 1869 for the construction of a tunnel to obviate these difficulties, and more especially to connect the railway systems on each side the river. Although commenced at the date above stated, very little progress has been hitherto made (1875). The scheme has not met with sufficient pecuniary support and has been looked on coldly by the railway interest. There can be no doubt that ultimately the work must be done. The evils to be remedied and the advantages to be gained are too serious to be ignored for all time to come.

Mersey tunnel.

The visit of the Queen and Prince Consort in 1851, notwithstanding the unpropitious weather, had left a deep impression on the minds of the people as an event to be proud of; and subsequent visits paid by different members of the royal family had contributed to strengthen these feelings of attachment and loyalty. The serious illness of the Prince of Wales in the early part of 1872 had deeply touched the heart of the nation, which burst forth with one universal cheer of sympathy on the Thanksgiving Day of February 27.

The opening of Sefton Park and the dedication of the new Southern Hospital gave an opportunity to the inhabitants of expressing their loyal sentiments at this particular juncture. His Royal Highness Prince Arthur accepted an invitation to do the honours, and preparations were made on the grandest scale for his due reception. Circumstances were very favourable to this. Trade was good and employment plentiful. The town had made great advances during the twenty years since her Majesty's visit both in population and in appearance, and was determined to do its best to maintain its reputation.

Visit of Prince Arthur.

On Saturday, May 18, the prince arrived at the Broad Green Railway Station, as the guest of Mr. S. R. Graves, M.P., at the Grange, Wavertree. He was escorted in an open carriage by a detachment of the Dragoon Guards. At the entrance of the village of Wavertree, under a triumphal arch, he was presented with an address on the part of the inhabitants, read by Mr. J. A. Picton, the chairman of the Local Board.

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Monday, May 20, dawned bright and fair, when such a demonstration took place as had never been witnessed in the town before. The Prince was received at the Town-hall by the mayor (Mr. John Pearson) and the council, when an address was presented, and a procession then accompanied his Royal Highness to Sefton Park. Along the six miles of the route into and out of the town, dense masses of people lined the streets, all bent on giving the prince the most enthusiastic welcome. A fancy fair had been organised at the park in aid of the fund for building the Southern Hospital. The arrangements for this were on the most extensive scale, and the undertaking proved a complete success. £13,000 had been the amount required, which seemed an enormous sum to realise, but the result far surpassed the most sanguine expectations, the nett sum remaining for the purposes of the charity being £20,051.

Fancy fair.

It may not be out of place to put on record a few of the particulars. The total amount received was £25,035. The expenses were £4984, nett £20,051.

The receipts comprised the following besides other minor items: Admissions, £5967; the Bazaar, £12,134; Flower show, £1083; Sports and pastimes, £1321. The refreshments, the whole of which were contributed gratuitously, realised £3243, and were on such a liberal scale, that a large portion had to be sold by auction subsequently.

On Monday evening a grand banquet was given by the Mayor in the Town-hall to about 300 guests. Amongst the after-dinner speakers were the High Sheriff, the Earl of Sefton and others, but it was acknowledged on all hands that the Prince spoke with an ease and grace which surpassed them all.

Southern Hospital.

On Tuesday, May 21, the new Hospital was opened by the Prince, and in the evening a fancy ball on a large scale was held in St. George's Hall. On Wednesday morning his Royal Highness took his departure, after a visit which was mutually gratifying both to the recipient and the inhabitants. The Queen subsequently, in a gracious communication to the Mayor through the Earl of Ripon, expressed her satisfaction and pleasure at the enthusiastic reception of the Prince.

Channel Fleet.

On the 22d June 1872, the Channel Fleet, under Rear Admiral Hornby, consisting of the "Minotaur," the "Northumberland," and the "Hercules," paid a visit to the Mersey; the officers and crews were received with the usual hospitality.

On August 17, the Japanese ambassadors, and on the 22d the Burmese envoy passed through the town, and were entertained at the Town-hall.

Earl Russell.

On the 28th August the veteran statesman, Earl Russell, then on a visit to the Earl of Derby at Knowsley, spent a day in the inspection of the town and port, and on October 11, the Duke of Teck, with his popular duchess (Princess Mary of Cambridge), were received with the warmest expressions of goodwill by the inhabitants. On the 21st December the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone delivered the prizes at the Liverpool College, Shaw Street, where he addressed to a crowded house a brilliant oration on modern German Rationalism, with particular reference to the writings of Strauss. His peroration was as follows:

Mr. Gladstone's address.

"Next to a Christian life, my friends, you will find your best defence against reckless novelty in speculation, in sobriety of temper, and in sound intellectual habits. Be slow to stir inquiries which you do not mean patiently to pursue to their proper end. Be not afraid to suspend your judgment long and upon many things, or to feel and admit to yourselves how narrow are the bonds of knowledge. Do not too readily assume that to us have been opened royal roads to truth, which were heretofore hidden from the whole family of man, for the opening of such roads would not be so much favour as caprice. If it is bad to yield to a blind submission to authority, it is not less an error to deny to it its reasonable weight. Eschewing a servile adherence to the past, yet regard it with reverence and gratitude, and accept its accumulations, in inward as well as outward things, as the patrimony which it is your part in life both to preserve and to improve."

A.D. 1873. Death of Mr. Graves.

Public feeling received a severe shock on the 18th January 1873 from the sudden death of Mr. S. R. Graves, M.P. for the borough.

Few men have ever so endeared themselves in the hearts of the society in which they have moved. He settled in the town a comparative stranger from New Ross in Ireland, with the intention of emigrating to America, but was persuaded by some who discerned his latent powers, to remain and try his fortune in Liverpool. In the course of very few years he had made his way to fame, fortune, and eminence of position. The secret of his success lay in natural ability combined with the most exquisite tact and engaging manners. The charm of his bearing was such that none could enter his company without feeling at

CHAP. VI. 1873. Mr. S. R. Graves.

once at ease in themselves, and drawn towards him by a powerful attraction. After entering the Council and Dock Board he was elected mayor in 1860, and in 1865 he was chosen member for the borough in place of Mr. Joseph C. Ewart. In every capacity he won golden opinions. Had he survived a few months longer there is little doubt he would have been called to the counsels of her Majesty on the formation of Mr. Disraeli's ministry.

His funeral, which took place on the 21st January at Toxteth Cemetery, was one of the largest demonstrations of public sympathy ever displayed on a similar occasion.

In the long roll of Liverpool worthies which may be presented for example to future generations, few names will occupy a worthier or more distinguished place than that of Samuel Robert Graves.

On the 25th January 1873 a public meeting was held, at which a subscription was entered into for the purpose of providing a commemorative monument, and founding scholarships in connection with the Seamen's Orphan Institution, in which Mr. Graves had taken a warm interest.

Election.

The election for Mr. Graves' successor in the representation was held in February. The Liberals brought out Mr. William Sproston Caine, iron merchant; the Conservatives Mr. John Torr, a retired merchant, late of the firm of T. and H. Littledale and Co.

The usual round of public meetings and addresses proceeded, spiced with squibs, a few of which were somewhat above the average.

Mr. Caine was an advocate of the Permissive Bill, which brought down upon him all the sarcasm to be extracted from innuendoes against teetotalism. Mr. Torr, in an ambiguous passage of a speech, was held to have asserted that he had no less than six grandfathers interred in one churchyard. I give the following as average specimens of the wit on each side.

There was supposed to be a split or strike in the Tory camp, and a probability of a secession of the ultra-Protestant party; hence the following:

"THE SONG OF THE STRIKE."

Come sing up now the Tory row,
The Orangemen are sacking 'em,
Be this the cry for every boy,
We've got a *Cane* for whacking 'em.

Now do not blink, and don't you think
The case is very serious,
No trimming now will stop the row,
No twaddle do to weary us.

Oh verdant White,[1] to show such fight,
And shut up a *Tor*-nado,
In loving friends, the battle ends
In bosh and tall bravado.

Now Evans,[2] seek a full-grown leek,
And eat with fire and brimstone,
First, *Torr* a bite, a bit for White,
The gilded loaf for Simpson.[3]

There's comfort yet, so do not fret
For this unlucky quarrel,
The Orange strike you may not like,
Go in upon the Barrel.

So sing up now, the Tory row,
The Orangemen are sacking 'em,
Be this the cry for every boy,
We've got the *Cane* for whacking 'em.

On the other side we have the following :—

WILLIE SPROSTON'S MANIFESTO.

O, I am the representative,
Who is the quietus going to give,
To all the tyrants that breathe and live,
In the radical days that are coming.

We used to be proud of Waterloo,
And British endurance staunch and true.
But we'll change all that with our common-place crew,
In the practical times that are coming.

There's a church co-extensive with the land,
That gives to all a friendly hand,
I'll crush it with my sectarian band,
In the levelling days that are coming.

---

[1] Rev. Dr. White, member of the School Board.

[2] A member of the Orange party.

[3] Possible working men's candidate. The insinuation is that he was bought off.

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And education I'll deprive
Of all that keeps the soul alive,
Pounds, shillings, and pence alone shall thrive
In the practical times that are coming.

For ginger beer shall be our tap,
And tea the Briton's vital sap,
And hearts of oak be nourished on pap,
In the motherly times that are coming.

Good souls whose beer is ever so small,
And folks that never get fuddled at all,
"Wine bibbers and gluttonous men" we'll call,
In the self-righteous days that are coming.

Poll.

The polling came off on February 7th. A new era had arrived in political manipulation. The open nomination, with its uproar and licence, had passed away for ever. Even open voting, that peculiar English institution as it was supposed, had given way to the outlandish and vilified process of the ballot, yet with every change true as the needle to the pole, the instincts of the Liverpool electors point unmistakeably in the Conservative direction.

The numbers stood at the close:

Torr	18,702
Caine	16,790
Majority	1912

On May 9th and 10th the King of the Belgians paid a visit to the town and neighbourhood, and partook of the civic hospitality.

Shah of Persia.

In June of this year public curiosity was greatly excited by the visit of the great eastern potentate, the Shah of Persia. The marvellous stories of his diamonds and gems, of his despotic habits, and the general mystery surrounding him, had wound up the public mind to a high pitch of anticipation, and when he arrived on Thursday, June 26th, he was received by thousands of eager spectators, all anxious to catch a glimpse of the occupant of one of the most ancient thrones in the world. He was taken to St. George's Hall, where an address was presented and an organ performance given, thence to the Town-hall, where luncheon

was served; afterwards he took a cruise on the river and returned in the evening to Trentham Hall, the seat of the Duke of Sutherland.

The following is the account given by the Shah himself of his visit:—

Shah of Persia.

"Coming out from the terminus we mounted a carriage. The governor, with other officials and magnates of the city, was in front of the terminus. The governor mounted a carriage and preceded. . . . The crowds along our road, on each side, were innumerable, and the streets having been made narrow, there was no getting along with the carriages. From the windows, roofs, and roadsides, such vociferations of hurrahs were there, that one's ears were deafened. Not one old woman or child was left in the town, that did not come to see the sight. It is a city of commerce and manufactures, it has, therefore, many working people. In proportion to the inhabitants of London, many more poor people were noticed in these parts, on whose countenances were visibly stamped the signs that they obtained a living with difficulty.

"We alighted and entered a public building named St. George (St. George's Hall), on a platform of the hall of which they had arranged a throne, on which we took our seat. In the hall were crowds of men and women. The governor read an address, and commented on the friendship and concord of the two states of England and Persia. To this we made a reply, which Lāransūn (Sir Henry Rawlinson) interpreted. Tāmsūn and Diksūn were both present," etc. etc.

Municipal Banquet.

On the 16th October 1873 the mayor (Mr. Ed. Samuelson) entertained at dinner the Earl of Derby, the Lord Mayor of London (Sir Sydney Waterlow, Bart.), the High Sheriff (Sir James Ramsden), the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and a number of other chief magistrates. The example had been set by the Lord Mayor of London a few months previously in the invitation of a large number of provincial mayors to a banquet at the Mansion House.

Presentation to Major Greig.

On the 24th October 1873 a very interesting ceremony took place in the Town-hall in the presentation of a magnificent service of plate to Major Greig, the Head Constable, in recognition of his services to the town during a period of twenty-one years. The mayor, Mr. Ed. Samuelson, presided. The presentation was made by Mr. James Aikin on behalf of the subscribers. Addresses were also delivered by Mr. F. A. Clint,

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the chairman of the Watch Committee, and by Mr. Robertson Gladstone.

School Board Election.

In November 1873 the first elected School Board had run its course, and a precept was issued for the election of its successor. For some cause, which it is difficult to explain, the proceedings of the Board had not met with cordial recognition at the hands of the public. A contest was inevitable, which to the town is a serious matter, costing as it does about £1500, to be taken out of the public purse. The Roman Catholic members stood again and were re-elected, but there was an entire change in the personnel of the Protestant members, though the proportions of the establishment and nonconformists remained about the same as before.

Walker Art Gallery.

In November 1873 Mr. A. B. Walker was elected mayor, and immediately on his appointment he offered to the council to take upon himself the erection of a Gallery of Art as an adjunct to the Free Public Library and Museum. This offer was gratefully accepted and a resolution was passed to give the name of the "Walker Art Gallery" to the building. The work has since been proceeded with at a cost of £25,000.

Election.

The general election caused by the dissolution of Parliament by Mr. Gladstone was held in February 1874. The Liberals, not deterred by former defeats, again brought forward Mr. W. S. Caine in conjunction with the previous third member, Mr. W. Rathbone. The Tories brought out the sitting members, Lord Sandon and Mr. John Torr. An independent candidate came forward in the person of Mr. William Simpson, claiming especially to advocate the cause of the working men, who harangued the meetings called in his behalf with considerable ability.

When the decisive day (February 6th) arrived, the numbers at the close of the ballot stood as follows:

Sandon	20,206
Torr	19,763
Rathbone	16,706
Caine	15,801
Simpson	2,435

These results show that with the extension of the suffrage the proportion of conservative votes had actually increased.

On the 2d March the new Central Railway station in

Ranelagh Street was opened, adding considerably to the facilities for travelling.

In July 1874 the Channel Fleet again paid a visit to the Mersey. This time the squadron consisted of some of the finest ships in the navy, the "Agincourt," 6367 tons, 26 guns, "Devastation," "Northumberland," "Sultan," "Resistance," "Triumph," with others of less note. The fleet was visited by thousands, and the officers and men were hospitably entertained by the mayor, Mr. A. B. Walker. Channel Fleet.

In September of this year another of the visits of members of the Royal Family, which have always been hailed with loyal acclamation, took place.

The duke of Edinburgh, then Prince Alfred, had paid a short visit to the town in 1861, en route for America, and again in 1866, as recorded in a previous page. He was now invited to lay the first stone of the Walker Art Gallery, to open the Seamen's Orphan Institution, and to be present at the Musical Festival, again revived after an interval of nearly forty years. Visit of Duke of Edinburgh.

Preparations were made on a very extensive scale for the reception of the Royal Guest, the only regret being the inability of the duchess to accompany him.

The duke arrived at the Lime Street Station about one o'clock on Monday the 28th September. He was received by the mayor and authorities, and driven in an open carriage through the principal streets to the Town-hall, where an address was presented by the Corporation. He then proceeded to William Brown Street, where the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the new Art Gallery was performed. In the evening he was entertained at a grand banquet in the Town-hall by the mayor.

The Judges' Lodgings at Newsham Park were fitted up for the reception of the Royal Duke and his suite. On Tuesday the 29th he attended to open the Seamen's Orphan Institution. On three days he was present at the Musical Festival, at which Madame Adelina Patti was the prima donna, and in which he manifested great interest. He also visited the docks and river, and went over to Leasowe Castle, to make a call on Sir Edward Cust. On Thursday after a lunch at the Town-hall he took his departure.

The weather during the whole time was propitious, the crowds were immense but in all respects orderly and well

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1875. Moody and Sankey.

behaved, and the whole passed off without a single *contretemps* or cause for regret.

In the spring of 1875 a movement took place in the religious and social life of the town, which will ever be memorable in its annals. Messrs. Moody and Sankey, two gentlemen from the United States, came over to England in the character of religious revivalists. After visiting Glasgow, Dublin, Sheffield, Birmingham and Manchester, where they had excited a very large amount of interest and popularity, it was announced that their next ministrations would be in Liverpool.

Preparations on a very extensive scale were made for their reception. An influential committee was formed, and a large wooden hall was erected on vacant land in Victoria Street, calculated to hold 10,000 people. The expense, £5000, was readily subscribed. On Sunday, February 14th, their first public service was held, and for a month subsequent, daily services, morning, afternoon, and evening, were carried on.

The popularity acquired elsewhere was not diminished in Liverpool. An hour or an hour and a half before the time of each service the hall was besieged by vast crowds seeking admission, and on the doors being opened every available seat was immediately occupied with an overflow, which led to the opening of a neighbouring theatre and other buildings for the same purpose. Nor did this interest diminish during their prolonged stay. It rather increased up to the time of their departure, and the farewell services were probably the most popular of any.

There are many remarkable circumstances connected with this movement which deserve to be placed on record as connected with the history of the town. First may be mentioned the character of the services. Into these, music as an element was imported with wonderful effect. Mr. Sankey was a singer of no mean powers. Endowed with a splendid voice of a powerful *timbre* and melodious quality, his enunciation was admirable. His hymns, and the tunes to which they were set, are no doubt somewhat "catchy," but they were exactly suited to the popular taste, and the chorus or refrain, sung by the assembled thousands, came with a ringing effect which carried all before it. Mr. Moody's addresses were in prose what Mr. Sankey's hymns and tunes were in song. They were clear, broad expositions of gospel truths as popularly understood; not a shade of doubt or hesitation ever appeared to cross his mind. Everything was

literal, simple, and straightforward. His fluency was inexhaustible, with a vein of shrewdness and tact running through the texture of his discourse, which recommended itself to the common sense of the average mind. His main strength, however, lay in his store of anecdotes, which were graphic, enriched with local colour, and told well both on the humorous and pathetic side of the emotions. He has been accused of degrading Scripture by modernising and applying its parables and narratives to ordinary life. In this he appears to have adopted the principle so beautifully enforced by our Poet Laureate.

> "Tho' truths in manhood darkly join,
> Deep seated in our mortal frame,
> We yield all blessing to the name
> Of him who made them current coin.
>
> For Wisdom dealt with mortal powers
> Where truth in closest words shall fail,
> When truth embodied in a tale
> Shall enter in at lowly doors."

It must be stated that though some of Mr. Moody's anecdotes were questioned, and very hard and malignant remarks published in the newspapers, every statement he made was on inquiry fully verified. The same cannot be said of others who followed in his wake.

In addition to the personal qualities of the revivalists themselves, there are other concomitant facts worthy of remark. One is the cordial manner in which they were received and supported by the clergy and laity of all or nearly all the Protestant denominations. The strangers belonged to a body which in England would be dissenters and nonconformists, but coming from America, where there are no dissenters, the clergy of the Establishment fraternised with them to the fullest extent, and the platform daily displayed metaphorically speaking

> "Flowers of all hues, and without thorns the rose."

Again—some credit must be given to the business management and organisation which preceded and accompanied the movement. Had the revivalists been professors of legerdemain, there could not have been a larger amount of sensational advertising and placarding. From this and from the accounts of the proceedings in other towns, the public mind was wound up to the highest pitch of expectation, and when in the midst of a

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Moody and Sankey.

vast audience of 10,000 people the rich tones of Mr. Sankey's magnificent voice first burst upon the ear, a thrill of mesmeric influence ran through the assembled multitudes, which found vent in the refrain :

"'Hold the fort, for I am coming,'
Jesus signals still."

It must be observed that what are usually considered the concomitants of a revival—noise, uproar, groans, responses, were sternly repressed. The silence and quiet were most remarkable throughout. After a series of meetings lasting a month, ever increasing in interest, the revivalists took their departure amidst the cheers of assembled crowds. The whole movement was of so remarkable and unique a character, that it deserves a prominent place in the local history of the period.

Municipal Banquet.

On the 4th March 1875, the mayor (Mr. R. F. Steble) entertained the Lord Mayor of London, the Lord Mayors of Dublin and York, the Lord Provost of Glasgow, with many other civic magnates from all parts of the kingdom. Among the guests were the High Sheriff of Lancashire (Mr. John Pearson), and the High Sheriff of Denbighshire (Mr. William Chambres). Both of these gentlemen were members of the Liverpool town-council. The circumstance of two High Sheriffs at the same time belonging to the municipal body is unique in the history of the town.

In the radiance of this municipal glory I bring this history with its chequered panorama of commercial life to a close. To those who come after me I must leave the record of the future. It looms before us, vague, mysterious, and shadowy, but bright with the promise of success and progress.

Let us entertain the hope that this progress will not be limited to material prosperity, but that in art and science, religion and morality, refinement and taste, Liverpool may hold her own, and present to the world a testimony that the diligent pursuit of commerce is not incompatible with the cultivation of the arts which dignify and adorn humanity.

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF THE DOCK ESTATE.

ANY memorial of Liverpool without reference to the Docks would be like the plot of a drama omitting the principal character. The docks are both the cause and the consequence of the prodigious expansion of commerce on the banks of the Mersey, their progress and that of the town being indissolubly connected together. Origin of the docks.

The system of floating docks, in which the water is impounded during the reflux of the tide, enabling the largest ships to lie in safety and shelter undisturbed by the rise and fall of the water, originated in this port, whence it has extended, with few exceptions, to every great harbour in the world.

The docks of Liverpool at the present time (1872) present a continuous line of sea-wall of more than six miles. On the Liverpool side they contain a water area of 255½ acres, with quay margin 18¼ miles in length. On the Birkenhead side the water area (including the Great Float) is 165 acres, the quay margin upwards of nine miles in length, making in the whole 421 acres of water area, and twenty-eight miles of quay space. Present condition.

I propose in the present chapter briefly to trace down from the first small and tentative experiments the growth of these commercial reservoirs, which decade after decade have extended their ramifications, until they have expanded into a gigantic network of water space, which leaves the boasted canals of Venice far behind, and which in structure, capacity, and convenience exceeds any other in existence. History.

The origin of the docks is due to the peculiar nature of the site on which Liverpool was founded. The other great ports of the kingdom are either situated on navigable rivers, at a considerable distance from their mouth, like London, Glasgow, and Newcastle, or on small streams debouching into a large estuary, like Hull and Bristol. The original harbour of Liver- Nature of site.

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pool was a small creek or sea lake, fed by a feeble stream, and exposed to the winds and currents of a stormy estuary, in which the tides at the full and change rise upwards of thirty feet.

Original harbour.

There can be no doubt that at an early period some artificial means of shelter were provided for the protection of the small craft which then frequented the port, but our sources of information on the subject are very scanty. From the town's records we learn that in the year 1551 a water bailiff was appointed to prevent encroachments and obstructions in the port. I have recorded above that in 1561 the old haven was destroyed by a hurricane, and that the foundations of a new harbour were laid by Robert Corbett, mayor. This work was performed at the expense of the inhabitants, every house sending a labourer gratis. It could not, therefore, have been a very elaborate structure, and was probably nothing more than a breakwater thrown out to restrain the violence of the waves. Of its situation we know absolutely nothing, no maps or charts of the time having come down to us.

A.D. 1551.

A.D. 1561. Old and new haven.

A.D. 1565.

In 1565 Liverpool is stated to have "ever heretofore been reputed and taken for the best harbour and port from Mylforthe to Scotland, and so hath always been proved with all manner of ships, barks, owners, masters, and mariners."

A.D. 1635.

In 1635 it was ordered "that a bridge, where the sluices are, shall be made at the Pool, at the south side of the town, in some convenient place, and that a key and harbour be made there for the succour of shipping within the town."

A.D. 1611.

In 1611 "the key" was improved. The depth of water required at this early period was very shallow, the vessels employed—principally in trading with Ireland—being of small tonnage. From a return made to a requisition from the Crown by John Crosse, mayor in 1565, it appears that the number of ships belonging to the port at that date was fifteen, of the aggregate burden of 268 tons, or an average of eighteen tons each, manned by eighty seamen. The largest vessel was forty tons burden, and carried twelve men and a boy. The number of seamen appears rather out of proportion to the tonnage.

A.D. 1565. Ships.

A.D. 1660.

After the Restoration the importance of Liverpool as a port began to manifest itself more clearly. The rise of the manufactures of Lancashire and West Yorkshire required export accommodation, and towards the end of the seventeenth century a race of enterprising merchants sprang into existence—the Johnsons, Norrisses, Clevelands, Claytons, and others—who

laid the foundations of the town's prosperity broad and deep. During the last quarter of the seventeenth century every effort was made to deepen the water in the Pool, and to remove all obstructions. The only idea of extension which up to this time had presented itself was that of enlarging the Pool inwards, by an artificial cut along the line of Paradise Street. Edward Moore, in his "Rental" (1667), makes frequent allusion to this scheme. Speaking of lands eastward of Pool Lane, he says: "If ever the Pool be made navigable, the shipping will lie two parts round them. If possible, fail not to buy this close." The Corporation deliberated long and anxiously as to the best mode of accomplishing their object. The lands on the margin of the tidal stream, then called "Common Shore," were laid out for building, with a view to this special purpose. In 1701 a lease was granted to Mr. Peter Atherton of lands now forming the lower part of Atherton Street, with a stipulation that a bridge should be built over the intended canal at the expense of the town. A similar lease to Mr. Edward Ackers of lands at the bottom of Cable Street, describes it as lying "all along the intended canal." The increasing commerce of Liverpool suffered much inconvenience from the exposed nature of the roadstead. Captain Granville Collins, who drew up his *Coasting Pilot of Great Britain* about 1699, thus speaks in his report on Liverpool: "The ships lie aground before the town of Liverpool. It is bad riding afloat before the town, by reason of the strong tides that run here; therefore ships that ride afloat ride up at the Sloyne" (on the Cheshire side), "where is less tide."

A.D. 1667. Edward Moore. Canal. A.D. 1699. Roadstead.

At length, in the year 1708, a decisive move was made. On November 3 in that year the following resolution was passed by the council: "Ordered, that Sir Thomas Johnson and Richard Norris, Esq., the representatives in Parliament of the Corporation, be desired and empowered to treat with and agree for a person to come to the town and view the ground and plan of the intended dock."

A.D. 1708. Dock scheme.

The members made a fortunate selection in Mr. Thomas Steers,[1] who came down and ultimately settled in Liverpool,

Thomas Steers.

[1] Thomas Steers was a native of Kent. He seems to have been a clever and successful man of business. He designed and carried out the Old Dock, Dry Dock, (now Canning Dock) and Salthouse Dock, and was the architect of St. George's Church. He was appointed dock master, with a salary of £50 per annum, with an assistant. He also was employed

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1708. Steers's report.

where his descendants remain to the present day. His report recommended the abandonment of the canal scheme, and the conversion of the Pool into a wet dock, by impounding the water with floodgates, so as to keep the vessels floating during the recess of the tide. The idea, like that of George Stephenson's adaptation of the tramway, was not new in principle, but bold and original in its application. The floodgate is an invention of high antiquity, having, it is probable, been employed by the Assyrians and Egyptians of old time, and by the Dutch and Italians at a more modern period. Their application of the principle was in connection with inland navigation and canals for irrigation. The idea of dealing with a tidal estuary, so as to neutralise its ebbs and flows, and to afford a placid and sheltered haven at a uniform floating level, was altogether new. The memory of the inventor deserves more honour than it has hitherto obtained. The invention, or rather adaptation of the railway has deservedly handed down the name of Stephenson on the roll of fame to all future generations, but the name of the man who contrived the first floating dock, and established a principle without which the commercial marine of England could hardly have existed, is left in obscurity and almost entirely unknown.

A.D. 1709. First Dock Act.

In 1709, application was made to Parliament for authority to construct the necessary works. This did not escape opposition. The cheesemongers of London, who maintained a line of vessels which took in their cargo at the Sloyne, vigorously contended against being made to pay dock dues for accommodation which they did not require. The opposition, however, was unavailing, and the Act 8 Anne, c. 12, was passed, giving the necessary powers, and constituting the mayor, bailiffs, and common council, the trustees. The site of the dock, which belonged to the Corporation, was merged in the trust, and £500 was contributed by the town towards the cost of the works. Power was given to borrow the sum of £6000, which it was expected would complete the undertaking.

Old dock.

The old dock, though a very humble affair compared with the gigantic works of recent times, was for the period a most useful and meritorious work. The retaining walls were principally

Area.

of brick with stone copings. The water area of the floating dock

professionally to execute dock works in Ireland. He became a member of the town-council, was bailiff in 1719 and 1731, and mayor in 1739. His son, Spencer Steers, was mayor in 1755.

contained 3 acres 1890 square yards. The entrance cut, and the octagonal basin into which it opened, contained 1 acre 2897 square yards. On the north side of the octagon basin a small graving-dock was formed. Considerable difficulties presented themselves in carrying out the works. The site was soft mud, through which the walls had to be carried down a considerable depth to reach the rock. After six years' labour, and the expenditure of £11,000, instead of the original estimate A.D. 1716. of £6000, the trustees were compelled to apply to Parliament for additional powers. This resulted in the passing of the Act 3 George I. c. 1, by which they were authorised to borrow an ad- Second Act. ditional sum of £4000, but as this was not sufficient to complete the works, the land round the dock was to be leased for building, and the proceeds applied to the fund. Most of the buildings so erected have been long since removed, but one or two old warehouses still remained till recently on the south side with their quaint carved gables and large projecting pent-houses, reminding one of the quays of Amsterdam.

The dock was opened in 1715, as appears by the following extract from a diary of the time—"1715 August 31, I went to Liverpool and saw the "Mulberry," the "Bachelor," and the "Robert," all in the dock. They came in this morning, and were the first ships as ever went into it. The "Mulberry" was the first. Breakfasted at Mr. Owen's. He went with me to a smithy at the lower end of Redcross Street, where I saw an ox roasting." Two years afterwards, the works are described in the preamble of the second Act as "remaining undone and unfinished." In the year 1721, a vessel, the "Tabitha Priscilla" by name, during A.D. 1721. a very high tide was carried over the pier from the river into Dock opened. the dock.

In Chadwick's Map of 1725, a timber pier or landing-stage A.D. 1725. on piles is shown projecting into the river on the south side of the entrance to the dock. This is also shown in an excellent engraved view of Liverpool from the river in 1728, but of much A.D. 1728. greater length. We have no record or history of this construction, why it was erected or when it was removed; but from the subsequent alterations in the locality it could not have been of long duration.

The construction of the old dock gave a great impetus to the commerce of the port, but a few years' experience discovered some defects. The entrance was so narrow and the outer basin so small, that vessels could not run in for shelter. A resolution

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1737. Additions.

of the council, of January 11, 1737, states that "there is an absolute necessity for an addition to be made to the present dock or basin . . . and also for a convenient pier to be erected in the open harbour on the north side of the entrance into the present dock, towards Redcross Street, for the safety of all ships when ready to sail from the port, to lie till a fair wind happens, which very often are prevented when in the wet dock by other ships lying before at the entrance," etc. The services of Mr. Thomas Steers were again put into requisition to prepare plans for the new works, and an Act of Parliament was obtained (11 George II. c. 32, 1737), which authorised the construction of the dock and basin, and gave power to borrow £14,000, including a debt already existing of £4830. The Corporation contributed £1000 in money, besides the land or foreshore, for the site. This is stated in the Act as 7 acres, but the land actually appropriated was 18 acres 2837 yards.

Third Act.

Dry dock.

Under this Act a dry or tidal basin was built, containing a water space of 4 acres 376 yards, forming a commodious outer harbour to the old dock, with three graving docks opening on the west side. This basin with its appurtenances was reconstructed in 1813, and formed into a floating dock, to which the name of the Right Hon. George Canning, at that time one of the members for the borough, was attached.

Salthouse dock.

The wet dock, authorised by the Act of 1737, was constructed to the south of the old dock, and contained 4 acres 3665 yards of water space. It was opened in 1753, and reconstructed in 1845. It was for many years called the South Dock, but about 1784 it took the popular name of the Salthouse Dock from the salt-works immediately adjoining, which had been established by the Blackburnes of Hale about the beginning of the century. The land formed out of the foreshore on the west side of the dock was laid out as shipbuilding yards, and so continued until the construction of the Albert Dock in 1840-5.

Trade.

Before proceeding to the next stage in the history of the docks, let us glance at the extent and progress of the trade of the port. At the time of the construction of the old dock, say from 1709 to 1716, the aggregate tonnage of vessels entering and clearing the port was 18,371 tons per annum. The construction of the dock did not immediately lead to a very rapid increase, for at the period of the third dock Act of 1737, the tonnage had only risen to 19,921 tons on an average of seven years. A rapid increase, however, now set in; for in 1765

we find the septennial average had risen to 62,390 tons per annum.

1762.

In 1762, the Corporation again applied to Parliament for additional constructive powers. The preamble of the Act 2 George III. c. 86, recites that "the trade and shipping of the town and port of late years is greatly increased, and the ships and vessels are more numerous and of larger dimensions, and require a greater draught of water than heretofore. That the two wet docks and dry pier already constructed are not sufficient for the reception of the ships resorting thereto; that vessels, especially his Majesty's ships of war stationed at the port, are obliged to lie in the open harbour, exposed to the rage of tempestuous weather and of rapid tides and currents, in imminent danger of shipwreck." Power was therefore granted to the trustees to construct a dock on land given by the Corporation, lying between James and Chapel streets, containing about 17 acres, and to increase the debt to £25,000. The new dock was opened in 1771, and in honour of the reigning monarch was called George's Dock. The original water area was 3 acres 343 yards. In 1822-25 the dock was reconstructed, and the water space enlarged to 5 acres 154 yards. On the east side a noble range of warehouses, with arcades underneath, formed part of the original design, but they remained for many years in abeyance, and were not erected until 1793, when, in commemoration of the African trade, then so prosperous in Liverpool, they took the name of the "Goree"[1] warehouses. Their destruction by fire in 1802 has been described in a former chapter.

Fourth Act.

George's Dock.

A.D. 1771.

Goree warehouses.

The Act of 1762 also empowered the Corporation, as distinct from the dock trustees, to construct lighthouses where necessary for the navigation of the entrances to the port. The lapse of a century had infused a little more wisdom into the minds of the Corporation. In 1670 they had petitioned through their member, Sir Gilbert Ireland, against a scheme then brought forward for the construction of lighthouses on the coast.[2] Bidston Lighthouse was erected in 1771, on an eminence commanding the town on one side and an extensive sea view on the other. This elevated ridge was also taken advantage of for the erection

A.D. 1771.

Light-houses.

[1] The island of Goree was taken from the French in 1759. In an engraving of Liverpool from the river, dated 1772, the Goree warehouses are shown. Their insertion is an anachronism, as they were not then in existence.

[2] *Vide supra*, p. 124.

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1771. Signal flagstaffs.

of lofty flagstaffs, of which a goodly range extended at one time from the lighthouse to the old mill. Each merchant had his own signal, which was hoisted by the look-out man when the particular ship was recognised in the offing, thus giving a few hours' notice of the arrival. The old churchyard and the merchants' coffeehouse adjoining were the great resort for catching sight of the signal flags and learning the arrivals. First the establishment of a semaphore, and subsequently the electric telegraph to Holyhead and the intermediate stations, threw the old Bidston signals into desuetude. One by one the poles, neglected and rotten, crumbled and fell, and for many years not a vestige of them has remained.

A.D. 1785. Trade.

The flood tide of Liverpool commerce had now set in, and rushed on with ever increasing force. The average tonnage, which in 1765 amounted to 62,390 tons, had increased in 1786 to 151,347 tons. Increased accommodation became loudly called for, which led to the passing of the Act 25 George III. c. 15 (1785), which authorised the construction of two additional docks south of the Salthouse Dock, called respectively the King's and Queen's. A difficulty here arose from the intrusion of the Duke of Bridgewater's property into the line of the docks. That enterprising nobleman obtained his Act for the canal to Runcorn in 1759, and a few years afterwards purchased a considerable tract of land in Liverpool at the south end of the Salthouse Dock, as a terminus for the carrying trade. Here he constructed a dock and outer channel, which were opened in 1773, and to which a lofty range of warehouses was subsequently added. This necessarily threw the site of the new docks more to the southward, and effectually cut the line of intercommunication. This evil was not remedied until the construction of the Wapping Basin in 1858.

Fifth Act.

Bridgewater canal.

King's Dock.

The site of the King's Dock and quays, containing 14 acres 4356 yards, was given by the Corporation. The lands for the Queen's Dock having been previously leased, had to be repurchased out of the dock funds at an expense of £27,315. The King's Dock was the first completed, at a cost of £25,000. It was opened on October 3, 1788. The first vessel which entered was the "Three Sisters,"[1] a brigantine of 36 tons burthen, which just a century before had been one of the fleet which in 1688 raised the siege of Londonderry, carrying troops from

Opened. A.D. 1788.

[1] In Troughton's History, p. 276, this vessel is called the "Port-a-Ferry."

Whitehaven. She was not the only specimen of the longevity attaching to the old English oak-built vessels of the days of Blake and Benbow. The water area of the King's Dock is 7 acres 3896 yards. In 1852 it was reconstructed and narrowed 60 feet to make room for the adjoining Wapping Dock. The entrance-basin common to the King's and Queen's Docks contains a water space of 3 acres 3542 yards. It was originally an open tidal basin, but in 1852 it was converted into a floating dock by double gates, respectively 70 feet and 50 feet in width. The advantage of this arrangement is that ships where the draught is not excessive can be admitted at half tide, thus escaping the danger of lying in the river until the succeeding tide.

1788.

A.D. 1796. Queen's Dock.

The Queen's Dock was not opened until April 17, 1796. The first vessel which entered was the American ship "Baltimore," Captain Johnson. The cost of the construction was £35,000. The dock in its original design only extended to the bottom of Greenland Street, and contained a water space of 6 acres 2511 yards. In 1816 it was considerably enlarged and extended southward beyond the limits of the borough, the additional area being 4 acres 590 yards. Towards this enlargement the Corporation contributed the sum of £15,000. In 1856 it underwent further alteration and enlargement, and was reopened on August 4 in that year.

A.D. 1785. Manchester basin.

The Corporation in the meantime were not idle in contributing to the progress of commerce. The town improvements under the Act of 1785 have been described in a former chapter. About that date the inlet for river craft, called the Manchester basin or dock, was first constructed, at the expense of the Corporation, between George's Dock and the Canning Graving Docks. This was subsequently (about 1818) enlarged and converted into a floating dock for coasters. It contains 1 acre 595 yards of water space. Another small inlet at the west end of George's Parade was constructed about 1795, for the accommodation of the trade by the Chester and Ellesmere Canal, also at the expense of the Corporation.

A.D. 1795. Old tobacco warehouse. Tobacco trade.

In 1795 a large building was erected by the Corporation on the east side of the King's Dock, as a bonded depôt and store for tobacco. The tobacco trade, especially that from Virginia, had been from a very early period one of the great staples of Liverpool commerce. In the reign of Charles II. it had become very important, and by the end of the seventeenth century the

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Liverpool imports of the article were the largest in the kingdom. In the *Norris Papers*, the correspondence in which gives a curious insight into Liverpool trade in the early years of the eighteenth century, some of the most amusing letters are those from Sir Thomas Johnson, describing the manœuvres of himself and others to overreach the Customs officers in the matter of allowances and duties.[1] To avoid these complications and to give facilities to the trade, the warehouse in question was built. In a few years it became too small, and in 1811 the Corporation undertook the erection of a much larger warehouse on the west side of the King's Dock. This building contains an area of three acres, one rood, twenty-five perches, and cost, including the value of the land, £140,000. On the erection of the new warehouse the old one was appropriated to general merchandise, and subsequently removed to make room for the Wapping Dock.

A.D. 1811. New tobacco warehouse.

The last Dock Act to which I have called attention was passed in 1785. In 1799 the trustees again went to Parliament. The ships annually entered and cleared now amounted to 4518, with a burthen of 400,000 tons. The preamble of the Act 39 George III., c. 59 (1799), gives the usual recitals of the still continuing increase of the trade, and the want of additional accommodation. Power was taken to construct two additional docks, and to incur a debt of £120,000 on the security of the rates.

A.D. 1799. Sixth Act.

Owing to the circumstances of the times this Act remained a dead letter, no attempt having been made to carry out its provisions. The commerce of the port went on increasing, but not quite at the earlier rate. In 1808 the number of ships had risen to 5225, and the tonnage to 516,836. It was felt on all hands that farther extension was necessary. The mercantile associations took up the matter and pressed it on the attention of the town-council, which was at that time the managing body both for the Corporation and the Dock Estate. Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Gladstone, the chairman of the West India Association, took a warm interest in the subject. From a correspondence between him and the secretary of the Dock Estate, Mr. John Foster, in September 1809, we learn that Mr. John Rennie, engineer, had been consulted, and had reported on the best means of increasing the dock accommodation. It is stated in the report that the largest number of ships at any one time in the port during an average of three years had been 400 sail, of

Act not carried out.

A.D. 1808. Increase of shipping.

A.D. 1809. Correspondence.

[1] *Vide supra*, pp. 151-2.

190 to 200 tons, and 300 sloops or flats either in the docks or in the river; and that to accommodate the above number of vessels in a proper manner at least double the then existing dock space was required, without looking to any further increase. It was recommended that a dock of about seven acres should be constructed north of George's Dock, which would contain seventy sail of vessels of the average size of 200 tons, but that additional dock space could be obtained at the south end of the town, in half the time and at about two-thirds the expense. By this means and by enlarging the King's, George's, and Queen's Docks, it was proposed to give additional accommodation to the extent of twenty-four acres of water. In this report we first find allusion to the unfortunate scheme for filling up the Old Dock. No apology is made or reason stated, but the area of the dock is deducted as a set off from the proposed extensions.

Report.

Some time elapsed before the plan was matured, but in 1811 an Act was passed (50th George III., c. 143), which constituted a new era in the history of the Dock Estate. After the usual recitals of the difficulties and obstructions which the Act was intended to remove, it proceeds to enact—

A.D. 1811. Seventh Act.

1. That the south dock authorised by the previous Act, and which had been so strongly recommended by Mr. Rennie, should be abandoned, and that the new north dock should be proceeded with, for the reason, in direct opposition to the report of 1809, "that it could be made and completed in a much less space of time."

New North Dock.

2. The mayor, aldermen, and burgesses are continued as trustees of the docks, with (for the first time) a common seal; but the management was to be delegated to a committee of twenty-one, selected from the common council, whose proceedings were to be subject to the veto of the council.

Common Seal.

3. Dock rates, which had heretofore been limited to the ships, were henceforward to be levied on goods in addition.

Dock rates on goods.

4. Power was given to increase the debt to £600,000.

5. Hitherto, whatever lands had been required from the Corporation by the docks had been given without any payment; hereafter any Corporation lands taken for dock purposes were to be valued and paid for by the Dock Trust. The graving docks which had been constructed by the Corporation were transferred by this Act at a price to be settled by a jury.

Purchase of lands.

6. The preamble recites that great additional accommodation would be afforded to the port if the Old Dock were filled up,

Filling up old dock.

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and a Custom House and other commercial buildings, offices, and conveniences, dock and police offices, and an additional market thereon erected, and a street of communication made from Pool Lane to Mersey Street. The Act authorises the trustees to erect the Custom House and other offices out of the moneys raised on the rates.

In exchange for the land gained by filling up the Old Dock the Corporation agreed to pay for the land and the cost of enlarging the Queen's Dock southwards as already described.

Discussion.

This extensive scheme did not pass without much discussion and adverse criticism. In a plan issued by Matthew Gregson, the antiquary, in March 1811, and now very rare, the docks as proposed are laid down, with the market, street, and buildings on the site of the Old Dock, with the following note attached: "Ridiculous scheme, when dock room is wanted ! ! !" Gregson also shows a plan for a large extension of the docks both north and south, with a communication, long afterwards carried out, between the docks and the Leeds and Liverpool Canal.

The filling up of the Old Dock has been very generally condemned as a wilful and useless sacrifice of water space in the most central position in the town. Many years elapsed after the passing of the Act of 1811 before its provisions in this respect were carried out; but in order to complete the account of the transaction the final result may as well be stated here.

The Corporation executed their part of the bargain in the enlargement of the Queen's Dock, at an expense of £15,165 : 2 : 3, besides the value of the land, containing four acres. The intention of establishing a market on a part of the site and the formation of a street from South Castle Street to Park Lane were both abandoned. Under the directions of the Act the Custom House, Excise Office, and other public buildings were to have been erected by the dock trustees and paid for out of the dock rates, but a different arrangement was subsequently made. On condition of the Government advancing £150,000 towards the building, which was to cost £230,000, the Corporation agreed to pay the difference of £80,000, besides the value of the site, £30,000, for the erection of a Custom House, Excise, Stamp, and Post-offices, including offices for the Dock Trustees, the building to be the property of the Government.

Site of old dock.

New revenue buildings.

The Old Dock realised the proverb that "threatened men live long." Fourteen years elapsed from the passing of the Act before any steps were taken. In 1825 the council resolved to

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proceed with the works, and in September 1826 the dock was finally cleared of its shipping. In consequence of the nature of the site the foundations had to be sunk to an extraordinary depth, which occupied nearly two years longer.

The first stone was laid on August 12, 1828 (King George IV.'s birthday). The building was completed and opened in 1839.

A.D. 1816. Prince's dock. Opened.

The Prince's Dock was constructed under the Act of 1811. The first stone was laid on May 17, 1816, by Mr. (afterwards Sir George) Drinkwater. It was opened with great rejoicings on the coronation-day of King George IV., July 19, 1821. The first vessel which entered was the "May" a Liverpool-built West Indiaman. The water area of the Prince's Dock is 11 acres 1490 yards. The total cost of construction was £650,000, of which sum £121,619 was paid for the site. The Prince's was the first dock enclosed with fence-walls, a method of security which has been followed in all the newly-constructed docks. The old Fort, which had stood near the bottom of Dutton Street since 1777, was taken down, and the land absorbed into the dock.

A.D. 1816. Union Dock.

After the Queen's Dock was enlarged, in 1816, a small dock was constructed to the southward, called the Union, having regard to farther extension, containing 2 acres 3505 yards, with a large outer basin, subsequently formed into the Coburg Dock. In 1858 alterations were made uniting the two docks into one, which retained the name of the Coburg, containing about eight acres. The gates of this dock open direct into the river.

Changes.

So matters continued down to the year 1825; but a serious change was at hand. The business of the port continued increasing in a very rapid ratio. Steam was beginning to lend its powerful aid in stimulating and quickening mercantile operations.

A.D. 1824. Shipping.

In 1824 the number of vessels entering and clearing had risen to 10,001, and the tonnage to 1,180,914. More accommodation was wanted, and further powers were necessary.

Complaints.

The state of affairs at this time relating to the docks was very unsatisfactory to the mercantile community. The Dock Committee was formed out of the common council, the members of which were self-elected for life, and were practically irresponsible. Abuses had crept in. Frauds and peculations of rather a serious nature had been discovered, and more were suspected. The merchants and shipowners who paid the dock dues considered that they had a fair claim to direct representation at the Board. To prevent a parliamentary contest, Mr. William Hus-

CHAP. VII. 1824.

kisson, who had succeeded Mr. Canning in the representation of the borough, undertook to mediate between the parties, and it was finally agreed to change the constitution of the Dock Committee, so that eight out of the twenty-one members should be elected directly by the dock ratepayers outside the council. The chairman was to be elected by the council, who still were to continue as trustees, and to have a veto on the proceedings.

A.D. 1825. Eighth Act.

The Act 6th George IV., c. 187 (1825), embodied these conditions, and gave power to extend the docks both northward and southward, and to increase the debt to a million sterling.

A little before this time, in 1824, a very eminent man enters upon the scene, who has ineffaceably stamped his mark and superscription on the Docks of Liverpool. I have already mentioned Thomas Steers, the designer and first engineer of the Dock Trust. He built the Old Dock, the dry basin (now the Canning Dock), and the Salthouse Dock. Who succeeded him and designed the George's, King's, and Queen's Docks, I have not been able to learn. The name of Mr. John Foster first appears published as the general surveyor to the docks in 1813. In 1809 he was acting as secretary, and probably as surveyor also. At all events, he and his son (afterwards surveyor to the Corporation) designed and carried out the works of the Prince's Dock. On the eve of the large undertakings which were now contemplated, the assistance of an engineer of large ideas and great practical skill was desirable, and such a one was found in Jesse Hartley, whilom bridge-master for the West Riding of Yorkshire, who was appointed engineer to the docks in 1824, and for thirty-six years guided with a despotic sway the construction of some of the mightiest works of the kind ever erected. Personally he was a man of large build and powerful frame, rough in manner, and occasionally even rude, using expletives, which the angel of mercy would not like to record; sometimes capricious and tyrannical, but occasionally, where he was attached, a firm and unswerving friend. Professionally he had grand ideas, and carried them into execution with a strength, solidity, and skill which have never been exceeded. Granite was the material in which he delighted to work. His walls are built with rough Cyclopean masses, the face dressed, but otherwise shapeless as from the quarry, cemented together with hydraulic lime of a consistency as hard as the granite itself.

John Foster.

Jesse Hartley.

For a man of his undoubted mental power he was singularly slow of speech. Examination before a parliamentary committee

was his dread. He had as much difficulty in making himself intelligible as his contemporary, George Stephenson. In this respect he differed materially from his son, associated with him in the latter part of his career, who was one of the clearest professional witnesses who ever stood the fire of a cross-examination, and could baffle a counsel by retiring into a thicket of mathematics where it was impossible to follow him. Jesse Hartley.

Jesse Hartley was a man of original genius, of sterling integrity, and stern independence and self-reliance. The vast hydraulic works which he executed in Liverpool are his best memorial; but it is to be lamented that his name at least is not somewhere commemorated in connection therewith. The Victoria Tower, standing on the margin of the river at the entrance of Salisbury Dock, from the summit of which a general view is obtained of many of his finest constructions, would afford a suitable position for a simple inscription calling to mind the name of their designer.

Mr. Hartley died on August 29, 1860, and was succeeded by his son, who after a short period was compelled to resign, owing to impaired health. His Decease.

The Brunswick Dock, the first at the south end constructed by Mr. Hartley, was built under the powers of the Act of 1825, and opened on April 14, 1832. It is the third largest dock in the port, containing 12 acres 3010 yards, besides a half-tide basin of 1 acre 3388 yards. This dock was intended for the timber trade, and is formed on the east side with an inclined plane for the discharge of timber. Two large graving docks open out from its southern extremity. The site of the old tide-mill reservoirs—called Jackson's Dam, of which an account is given in a subsequent chapter—was absorbed into this dock. The lands belonging to the Corporation forming part of the sites of these docks were purchased for the sum of £96,005, by the verdict of a jury. Brunswick Dock. Opened.

The works at the north end were at the same time pushed vigorously forward, the first stone having been laid on December 5, 1826. The Clarence Dock was the first constructed, intended originally for the accommodation of steamers, and placed at some distance northward to avoid risk of fire. Immediately after the passing of the Act of 1825, steps were taken to secure the land, the principal part of which belonged to the Corporation. The quantity purchased, which comprised the site of Clarence, Waterloo, Trafalgar, and Victoria Docks, A.D. 1826. Clarence Dock. Purchase of land.

CHAP. VII. 1826.

with their basins and quays, contained about fifty-six acres, of which five acres were solid land, and the remainder strand and foreshore. The price paid by the verdict of a jury was £110,000, nearly £2000 per acre, or about eight shillings per square yard. The Clarence Dock was so called in honour of the Duke of Clarence, afterwards William IV. It was opened May 21, 1830. The water space is 6 acres 273 yards, besides the half-tide dock, 4 acres 1794 yards.

A.D. 1828. Ninth Act.

In 1828 application was again made to Parliament, which resulted in the Act 9th George IV., c. 55. The preamble recites that the purchases under the authority of the previous Act had exceeded the estimates; that the increasing trade of the port required the utmost expedition in carrying out the works. Power was therefore taken to increase the debt by the sum of £200,000. No additional powers for works were required, the previous Act covering a sufficiently large extent. The number of ships had now (1828) increased to 10,703, and the tonnage to 1,311,111. The size of the ships, too, kept steadily increasing. In 1811 the average burthen of the vessels all told was 109 tons. In 1825 it was 118 tons. In 1828 it had increased to 122 tons.

Shipping.

By the time the Clarence Dock was opened the money again ran short. The new engineer aimed at thorough good work regardless of expense, and time has shown that he was right. Whilst a very large proportion of the work at the Birkenhead Docks has either fallen to pieces or been found necessary to be taken down and renewed, not a stone of Jesse Hartley's setting has ever required to be disturbed. Nothing short of an earthquake could make the slightest impression on it.

A.D. 1830. Tenth Act.

More money being necessary, the Act 11th George IV., c. 14 (1830), was obtained, giving further powers to borrow £200,000, making the entire debt £1,400,000.

A.D. 1834. Waterloo Dock.

On August 16, 1834, the Waterloo Dock was opened, containing a water space of 5 acres 2790 yards. This dock has since undergone considerable alterations, which will be noticed hereafter. By reference to the map it will be seen that the docks of modern construction, beginning with the Waterloo, are differently placed in reference to the river from the older ones. Each dock is a parallelogram, the older ones having their longer side parallel with the river. As commerce increased it became necessary to economise space. Had the old plan been continued, the docks might have extended to Litherland, if not to Waterloo.

Mr. Hartley changed the system. The new docks designed by him are placed with their narrow ends to the river margin. The size also was reduced, the object being not so much extent of water area as lineal extension of quay space. The docks are placed side by side in as close proximity as the necessary convenience would allow. Covered sheds were provided for the protection of the goods discharged and loaded. These sheds were gradually extended round the margin of the older docks.

A.D. 1836. Victoria and Trafalgar docks.

The Victoria and Trafalgar Docks were opened in 1836, containing together a water area of 11 acres 3265 yards. In 1839 the steam trade had increased to such an extent that it became necessary to appropriate the Trafalgar Dock in addition to the Clarence for steam purposes.

The powers of construction given by the Act of 1825, were so large that, as extended by the additional borrowing power granted in the Acts of 1828 and 1830, they sufficed to keep up with the growing prosperity of the port. The Municipal Reform Act of 1835 effected no change in the constitution of the Dock Board. The old trustees, being members of the unreformed Corporation, endeavoured in 1836 to carry a bill to take the docks entirely out of the hands of the new council, but this scheme was rejected by the House of Commons.

New council.

Scheme for warehouses.

Before any further application could be made to Parliament, it became necessary to settle a question which excited the fears of a powerful interest, and led to very important changes in the docks' and town's affairs. Hitherto no provision had been made for warehousing goods adjoining the docks. A large amount of capital had been invested in private warehouses in the lines of streets contiguous to the docks, to and from which the goods had to be carted. A vested interest had thus been created of a very powerful character and influence. This subject was by no means new as now brought before the Liverpool public. From the year 1803 to 1811, the question of warehouse accommodation had been repeatedly brought before the mercantile associations of the town, and various schemes for enclosed docks, with warehouses attached, had been brought forward and successively abandoned. In 1810, which was a remarkably prosperous year, when the docks were thronged with ships, and the river itself was crowded like a dock, the mercantile interest felt the want of warehouse room, and a plan for enclosed docks and warehouses was prepared and sanctioned by the council, as trustees of the docks. When this came before Parliament the

Dock warehouses.

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plan was rejected, and the building of docks alone was sanctioned. Capital was accordingly invested by private individuals in warehouses to a large extent.

Commissioners.

After the close of the war, commissioners were appointed "to inquire into the regulations of the Customs and Excise, with a view of facilitating the despatch of business, affording accommodation to trade, and securing and improving the revenue." In 1821 these commissioners reported voluminously on the various subjects referred to them. In respect to Liverpool, they say that two of the commissioners—one of them the chairman—had visited Liverpool to make personal inquiries. In addition to the official information obtained, they had consulted with gentlemen of great mercantile eminence, among whom were Messrs. Gladstone and Ewart. These inquiries resulted in a strong recommendation to adopt the system of docks and warehouses, which Parliament a few years before had rejected. They say, "Among the ports of the United Kingdom which are enabled by the extent of their transactions and the sufficiency of their establishments to participate in the benefits of the general warehousing system, Liverpool, after London, holds the first place, and there is probably no other in which there are so many wealthy, respectable, and enterprising merchants, ready to avail themselves of any general measure calculated to extend the operation of the warehousing Acts . . . . There is, however, one point in which as compared with London, Liverpool is imperfectly prepared for such a measure. It is greatly inferior in its establishments for the deposit of bonded goods, which are neither so concentrated, nor so secure in their construction as those of London, nor in our judgment such as in a port of so great magnitude they ought to be." They, therefore, recommend the erection of "a contiguous chain of warehouses adjoining to the docks, surrounded by walls, or otherwise insulated from places of public access." This report was made public on May 1, 1821. On the 12th of the same month, a meeting of warehouse proprietors and other parties interested, was held at the "Golden Lion" to take the matter into consideration. The report was read and comments made, but the subject was considered of such importance that it would be better to call together a meeting of a more public character before coming to any resolutions. Accordingly such meeting was called at the Town-hall, under the presidency of the mayor, on Thursday, June 7. It is described in the newspapers of the

A.D. 1821.

Report.

Report on warehouses.

Meeting of warehouse owners.

day as one of the most respectable meetings ever known in Liverpool, almost every merchant in the port being present. The meeting was addressed by Mr. Alderman Hollinshead, Messrs. J. B. Yates, Moses Benson, and Thomas Booth. The Government scheme was very severely criticised, and a series of resolutions were unanimously adopted and afterwards published, stating the facts as mentioned above, and proceeding as follows: "That the recommendation, if unhappily carried into effect, would involve a complete and ruinous revolution of the warehouse property of the town, estimated to amount in aggregate value to £2,000,000 or thereabouts, which forms a most important part of the property of its inhabitants, and is, in its present extent, much more than adequate to the trade of the port, notwithstanding the unprecedented accumulation of foreign grain, cotton, spirits, and other merchandise which now exists.

A memorial grounded on the resolutions was adopted, addressed to the Lords of the Treasury, deprecating the proposed changes. This memorial averted for the time the contemplated alterations, and the matter slept for another fifteen or sixteen years. Memorial.

The reformed municipal council soon after its election took up the subject with earnestness and resolution. Many of the leading men both in and out of the council had come to the conclusion that the convenience and prosperity of the trade of the port would be greatly promoted by the construction of warehouses round the future docks. Foremost amongst these advocates was Mr. Eyre Evans, a member of the council and the dock board, a man of great ability and of very determined character. In the various meetings of the two boards, in the press and in private society, dock warehouses were his constant and unvarying theme. His enthusiasm produced its effect, and action was taken in the teeth of a violent opposition on the part of the private warehouse owners. As the town-council was at this time the governing body of the dock estate, this was the arena in which the battle had to be fought. At the same period, another question of a far different nature agitated the public mind. The reformed council had introduced into the schools supported by the Corporation, the Irish national system, which gave umbrage to many on the ground that the Bible was not employed as an ordinary school-book. This gave rise to a bitter religious controversy, which was carried into the municipal elections. It was said that the warehouse owners adroitly mixed

A.D. 1837. Action of council. Eyre Evans. Contests in council.

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up the two controversies, and promoted the election of men adverse to dock warehouses, under the pretext of zeal for the reading of the Bible. However that might be, the contest entirely changed the aspect of parties. The short reign of the Liberals, which had only lasted six years, was brought to an end, and during thirty-four years which have since elapsed, the civic honours have been monopolised with one or two exceptions by the Conservative party.

Liberal defeat.

Albert dock.

All this, however, could not long delay the progress of an improvement so much wanted. In February 1839, Mr. Hartley brought forward designs for a large dock to be constructed on the west of the Salthouse Dock, to be surrounded with warehouses on the grandest scale. After vehement opposition the plan was ultimately carried, and in 1841, the very year which saw the displacement of parties arising from this contest, the Act 4 Vic. c. 30, authorised the construction of the new works.

A.D. 1841. October 11. Eleventh Act.

The number of ships had now increased from 10,001 at the time of the last Act in 1825 to 15,998, and the tonnage from 1,180,914 to 2,445,708, having more than doubled in fifteen years. The average size also had considerably increased, being now 153 tons, including small craft. The Act gave power to increase the debt to £2,284,000.

Purchase of lands.

The amount to be paid to the Corporation for the land west of the Salthouse Dock was fixed by the Act at £221,853 : 16s., but this included several graving docks and other valuable property. The cost of the construction of the dock was £141,701 : 15 : 9., and that of the warehouses £358,181, amounting with the land to the sum of £721,736 : 11 : 9. The area of water space is 7 acres 3542 yards.

Cost.

A.D. 1845. Albert dock opened. Albert warehouses.

The Albert Dock was opened with great rejoicings by Prince Albert on July 30, 1845. The dock warehouse system thus inaugurated has been found a most valuable adjunct to the commercial facilities of the port, and has since been extended and increased. The works, for strength and durability are unsurpassable, but it is to be regretted that no attention whatever has been paid to beauty as well as strength. The enormous pile of warehouses which looms so large upon the river, and in its vastness surpasses the pyramid of Cheops, is simply a hideous pile of naked brickwork. Jesse Hartley had a sovereign contempt for the beautiful, but surely amongst the merchant princes who interested themselves in the structure, some might have been found to advocate the mere fraction of expense which

would have converted the present incarnation of ugliness into something which would have dignified the commercial by allying it with the beautiful.

Purchase of lands north.

In October 1843, an extensive purchase was made of land and foreshore at the north end from the Earl of Derby, consisting 1000 lineal yards of frontage to the river in the township of Kirkdale beyond the old boundary of the borough. For this Lord Derby was paid the sum of £17,500, and the Duchy of Lancaster agreed to make over any claims to the foreshore for the sum of £800. This was a most valuable adjunct to the dock estate, enabling the trustees to carry out a considerable extension northwards.

Purchase of lands south.

Further purchases were also made at this time at the south end. Some time before 1840 a quantity of land had been bought between the Brunswick Dock and the Herculaneum Pottery, and a company formed, called the "Harrington Dock Company," for the construction of docks and warehouses which should be independent of the general dock estate. In 1840 an Act was obtained (3 and 4 Vic., c. 121) authorising the works, and granting certain exemptions from the general port charges to vessels using these docks. A similar Act was obtained in the same session for the construction of docks on the Herculaneum Estate, which was never carried out, the property at a subsequent period having been purchased by the Dock Trust. The Harrington Company spent about £50,000 in preparing the ground and in the construction of two small inlets for river craft. On October 7, 1843, a proposition was submitted to the Dock Committee for the purchase of this property by the trustees. The project was strongly denounced at the time as a job, the scheme having been brought forward by a quondam chairman of the Company, who, however, had retired therefrom and disposed of his interest. The purchase was confirmed, at the price of thirty-one shillings and sixpence per square yard, amounting to £253,000.

A.D. 1844. October 12. Twelfth Act.

These arrangements north and south were ratified by the Act of (7 and 8 Vic., c. 80) 1844, the preamble of which states that the works hitherto authorised were on the point of completion, and that the increasing commerce of the town required additional docks, basins, and works. The number of ships entered now amounted to 18,411, and the tonnage to 2,632,712. The additional sum of a million and a half was allowed to be borrowed.

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The works authorised by this Act embraced docks on the Harrington site, which have not been constructed, and several new docks at the north end, including a communication with the Leeds and Liverpool Canal, by means of a canal and locks, to which the Canal Company contributed £50,000.

Before noticing the works constructed under this Act I must call attention to a series of transactions which, from the first fatal error, have led to a frightful amount of litigation, and have ultimately revolutionised if not seriously impoverished the entire Dock Estate.

A.D. 1843. Wallasey Pool.

The small creek or pool which served as the original harbour of Liverpool was not the only inlet of the kind. A much larger one existed nearly opposite Liverpool, being the outlet of a tract of low-lying land originally a marsh, extending from the Mersey across the peninsula of Wirrall to the sea. The portion of high land seawards separated by this marsh was called Walla's-ey or island; hence the creek took the name of, Wallasey Pool. As the increasing importance of the Mersey in a commercial point of view made itself manifest, Wallasey Pool attracted attention as a probable adjunct to the facilities for shipping, and various ideas were broached as to the plans for its utilisation. A ship canal was proposed, to cross the peninsula, so as to avoid the intricate channels and banks at the mouth of the river; and at one time Mr. Thomas Telford was retained to prepare plans for docks on the Pool. The times, however, were not ripe, and nothing of a practical nature was adopted. When Birkenhead began to develope, from 1818 to 1824, several gentlemen of speculative tendencies made large purchases on the margin of the Pool, and proclaimed their intention to construct docks. Prominent amongst these were Sir John Tobin, Kt., a member of the Corporation, and mayor in 1819; Mr. William Laird, the founder of Birkenhead; and Mr. John Askew, harbour-master of the port. The town-council, who were the trustees of the docks, took alarm, and negotiated for the purchase of the lands in question. The result was a purchase by the Corporation of 206 acres, three roods, ten perches, at a cost of £180,264 : 12 : 4. This took place in 1828, and at the close of that year the Corporation gave notice for a bill to give power to construct docks on the Pool. To this the Dock Committee objected, considering that the dock accommodation provided and to be provided by the pending works would be ample, and the bill was accordingly withdrawn.

Proposal for docks.

Purchase by Corporation.

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No further action was taken until 1843. Birkenhead now had assumed a position of some importance, and many gentlemen interested in its prosperity revived the idea of making it a commercial emporium. Having obtained the countenance of several eminent capitalists, amongst others Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Bailey and Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmidt, they formed a company, and retained the services of Mr. Rendel, C.E., who prepared plans on an extensive scale for the construction of docks on the Pool. These proceedings were kept a secret, although known to many individuals. Application was then made in the name of several private persons to purchase from the Corporation the lands on the water's edge, and a memorable discussion on the subject took place in the council on October 30, 1843. The innocence and simplicity displayed by the council on this occasion would have done credit to the celebrated wise men of Gotham. The discussion is really quite as well worth preserving as many of the harangues given by Thucydides and Livy.

Dock scheme.

Discussion in council.

The chairman of the Finance Committee, Mr. G. H. Lawrence, expatiated on the propriety of the course proposed by the committee in selling the land. He said "the Corporation had expended, including interest, £360,000 on land in Cheshire; that it was a matter of importance to reduce the annual charges to the burgesses; that the sales which had been, and which were proposed to be made, would benefit the funds to the extent of £7200 per annum, and that there would be still left 725,400 square yards of land." The object for which the land was originally bought seems to have been entirely lost sight of, nor does there appear to have been any inquiry as to what the purchasers of so large a tract of land were going to do with it. Two or three members only were found to lift up their voices against the proposal. Mr. Isaac Holmes expressed his sorrow that this property was to be alienated from the Corporation. He said a dock might have been made for £60,000, which would have relieved Liverpool to the extent of two docks at least.

Eyre Evans.

Mr. Eyre Evans strongly opposed the sale, on the ground that the Pool might be made useful as subsidiary to the Liverpool Docks, by embanking it across the mouth and converting it into a float for vessels lying up; a timber-pond, shipbuilding yards, and a variety of other purposes. He said no inquiry had been made or report of the surveyor sent in. Nothing had been gone into; but with a legislation worthy of a grocer at the

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1843. Discussion in council.

corner shop of a small street, they had proceeded displaying only an anxiety to obtain a few thousands a-year. He concluded by saying they had hurried into destruction one of the most brilliant properties the Corporation ever had.

John Stewart.

Mr. John Stewart said if he were the owner of the land, and had during the short space of six weeks since the land was offered received tenders to take up 200,000 square yards of land, he would have strongly suspected there was a great desire to obtain it, and would have held back, sure of obtaining a higher price.

The discussion was very short, and on a division the sale was confirmed by 31 to 25 votes.

All this time there does not appear to have been the slightest suspicion on the part of any of the members or officers of the Corporation of what was about to take place. The Government officers and the Admiralty had been consulted, the surveys and plans had been prepared, submitted, and approved; and the Liverpool Corporation and Dock Committee slumbered on in a condition of guileless simplicity which almost deserves to be called fatuity. That I am not overcharging the picture will appear from what took place at a meeting of the Birkenhead Commissioners on November 7, just a week after the council meeting.

Birkenhead Commissioners.

At this meeting Mr. William Jackson (afterwards Sir William Jackson, Bart.) brought forward the dock scheme. He said plans had been prepared, sections, levels and notices, ready to proceed to Parliament. The assent of the Admiralty had been obtained to the enclosure of the whole space from Woodside Slip to Seacombe, 340 acres. The plans had been submitted to the Admiralty, and their consent obtained to a tidal basin of thirty acres; and by damming up the Pool they would have dock space of 120 acres. "This might take the public by surprise; and if it did, and they taxed them with moving so privately, he could only say that prudence induced them to keep their own counsel until such time as their plans were ripe and they received the assent of the authorities."

Mr. John Nelson Wood, one of the commissioners, and also a member of the Liverpool Corporation, said he was much astonished in hearing this proposition. He believed the Corporation would not have sold the land at so cheap a rate had they known the intentions of the commissioners.

The sales amounted to 200,000 square yards, at the price

of £120,000 on lease for seventy-five years. The lessees covenanted to build walls fronting the land, with a view to render the Pool ultimately fit for docks or other commercial purposes. They had also permission to construct docks within the limits of their own land, it being intended to keep the Pool open for the scouring purposes of the estuary.

1843. Birkenhead Docks.

No sooner were these documents signed than the bombardment began. The mask was thrown off, and the company marched out into publicity. Parliamentary notices were issued and a bill introduced into Parliament for the conversion of the Pool into docks. The corporation were completely outwitted. They had, so to speak, attempted to gather wool by the sales which they had made, and certainly came home shorn. They opposed the bill in Parliament, but were put to shame by the gross apparent inconsistency of selling land at a high price without restriction, and then opposing the only way in which it could be utilised. The bill passed triumphantly into a law (7 and 8 Vic., c. 79, 1844).

A.D. 1844. Parliamentary contest.

Thus commenced a contest between the two shores of the Mersey which raged for twelve years with much bitterness, and which has led to an extravagant and useless waste of capital almost unparalleled.

Birkenhead Docks.

The Birkenhead dock system was an exotic forced into existence by artificial means, not arising out of the legitimate progress of events. Most of the parties connected with the scheme were extensive land speculators, and looked principally to this source for the benefit to be derived. In their parliamentary contests they were backed by very powerful influence. The Cheshire nobility and landed gentry, probably the most aristocratic and feudal in their ideas of any in the kingdom, rallied round Birkenhead to a man, with all their extensive connections. Manchester and the manufacturing districts, always jealous of Liverpool, imagined that their interests would be served by a rival port, and thus an amount of opposition was engendered, which after a time acted fatally on the progress of dock works on the Liverpool side. The object of the Birkenhead advocates has always been to make it appear that Birkenhead could offer better facilities for shipping than Liverpool, and to urge Parliament to limit the permission to carry out works in Liverpool, and to extend the powers for carrying them out at Birkenhead, alleging that if Birkenhead had only fair play, a large portion of the trade of the port would settle on the Cheshire side. To

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1844.

Lamentable results.

such an extent have these tactics succeeded, that whilst borrowing powers in Liverpool have been repeatedly refused by Parliament, and when granted have been grudgingly given on a very limited scale, there actually exists no limit to the borrowing powers on the Cheshire side. In spite of all this the results have been most lamentable. The wind bloweth where it listeth, and ships will go where there is trade for them. In thirty years the amount of capital expended on the Birkenhead dock property has been £5,406,012 : 3 : 8. The returns from this immense outlay do little more than pay the working expenses; the difference has to be made up from the revenue on the Liverpool side; so that in consequence of this unfortunate rivalry the merchants and shipowners are taxed to the extent of £200,000 annually more than would have been the case had the docks been limited to Liverpool.

Birkenhead Docks.

I will now resume the thread of my narrative. Immediately on the Birkenhead bill being passed contracts were entered into,

Commenced.

and the first stone of the works was laid with great *éclat* by Sir Philip Egerton on October 23, 1844. In the following session a more extensive scheme was sanctioned by Parliament (8 and 9 Vic., c. 4). The capital for these dock works was provided by the issue of bonds similar to those of the Liverpool Dock Trust. These bonds could only receive the rate of interest at which they might be issued. In order, therefore, to partake of the golden harvest which was expected to be reaped, another company was formed, called the "Birkenhead Dock Company," for the construction of docks and warehouses, in which the shareholders' interest would be as unlimited as the profits.

Birkenhead Dock Company.

Rendel.

Mr. C. E. Rendel, the engineer of the Birkenhead Docks, was a wonderfully clever and specious man, with a fine presence and an attractive manner, the very man to impress a committee, to turn the corner of a difficulty, and make the best of his cause. In this respect there could not be a greater contrast than that between the dock engineers of Liverpool and Birkenhead; but there is this important difference also, that whilst Jesse Hartley's work is calculated to stand till the "crack of doom," nearly the whole of the work of his more showy competitor has had to be taken down and replaced by the son of his rival.

A.D. 1847. Docks opened.

The works at Birkenhead were pushed on with such vigour, that on April 25, 1847, the Morpeth and Egerton Docks were opened by Viscount Morpeth (afterwards Earl of Carlisle).

The brilliant *éclat* with which this celebration took place

turned out to be but a hollow sham. Instead of £400,000, at which the works had been estimated on the parliamentary inquiry, it was found that at least a million would be required. The enthusiasm had begun to cool; the land of promise produced little or no fruit, and a general collapse took place. In December 1847, a meeting of the shareholders of the Birkenhead Dock Company was held, when, in view of the gloomy prospect of the future, it was determined to dissolve the company and wind up its affairs. The company, however, was rehabilitated; and in the following session, under the authority of an Act of Parliament (11 and 12 Vict. c. 42, 1848), they agreed to purchase the Herculaneum Dock Estate, on the Liverpool side.

Collapse.

In the same month an offer was made by the Birkenhead Commissioners to the Liverpool Dock Committee to make over the whole of their undertaking at cost price, but declined.

Leaving Birkenhead for the present to its romantic vicissitudes, let us now turn our attention to the progress of the works at Liverpool.

The docks authorised by the Act of 1844 constitute some of the finest works of their able engineer. The land on which they stand, as far as the boundary at Beacon's Gutter, belonged to the corporation, and was taken by the Dock Trust under the provisions of the Act. The quantity was seventy-one acres 2400 yards, at the price of £250,879, or about 8s. 9d. per square yard.

Liverpool Docks.

Purchase of land, north end.

When the Old Fort was taken down, to build the Prince's Dock, a piece of land north of the Clarence Dock was appropriated for the same purpose, and a battery erected by the Government. This being included in the site of the new docks, it had to be repurchased by the corporation, at the expense of £27,850.

Battery.

The five new docks first completed were the Salisbury, Collingwood, Stanley, Nelson, and Bramley-Moore. These were opened on August 4, 1848, by Mr. John Bramley-Moore, the chairman of the Dock Committee. The arrangement is admirable for intercommunication, convenience, and commercial facilities. Space is economised on the same principle as that of Mr. Hartley's earlier works, but further carried out.

New Docks opened, 1848.

It was long thought that in a rough tidal estuary like the Mersey large outer basins were essential, to enable ships to run into calm water before docking. The facilities which steam

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1848. New North Docks.

affords have to a great extent removed these difficulties. Instead of an outer tidal basin, the Salisbury Dock, with two entrances from the river, gives opportunities for docking and departing long before and after full flood tide, to the five docks with which it is in connection. The united water area of these docks is 33 acres 722 square yards, with a lineal quay space of nearly two miles (3450 yards). The Stanley Dock is situated to the east of Regent Road, extending thence to Great Howard Street, being thus out of the range of the other docks. The warehouse system has here been adopted: the north and south quays being occupied by lofty ranges of warehouses of deposit. The other four sister-docks have the quays covered by sheds for goods in transit. Between the Stanley Dock and the Leeds and Liverpool Canal a communication is opened, consisting of five basins connected by locks.

Stanley Dock warehouses.

A.D. 1847. Landing stage.

In 1847 the landing stage off St. George's Pier was constructed by the Dock Board at an expense of £60,000, and thrown open on June 1. The stage was 500 feet long, 80 feet wide, supported on iron pontoons. Mr. L. Cubitt was the engineer.

A.D. 1849. Wellington Dock.

The Wellington Dock and Half-Tide Basin, the last of the group authorised by the Act of 1844 were opened in 1849. They contain together a water area of 11 acres 93 yards, with a length of quay space of 1220 yards.

A.D. 1846. Shipping.

In 1846 the exigencies of trade demanded a further increase of accommodation. In 1845 the number of ships had increased to 20,521, and the tonnage to 3,016,531. It will be seen that the tonnage has always increased more rapidly than the number of ships, the burden of the vessels employed constantly advancing. At this time the average burden, including small craft, was within a fraction of 150 tons.

On January 19, 1846, a plan prepared by the engineer for further dock extension was brought before the committee by Mr. John Bramley-Moore, the chairman. I have already alluded to the inconvenient interception of the line of the docks by the intrusion of the Duke's Dock for the reception of river craft. The scheme then propounded proposed to remedy this defect and to provide additional accommodation by enlarging the Salthouse Dock eastwards, by the construction of a new dock to be called the Wapping Dock to the east of the King's Dock, and by connecting the Salthouse and Wapping Docks by a cut or basin behind the Duke's Dock, having a connection therewith.

Wapping Dock.

For this purpose a large quantity of valuable property had to be taken down, and the street called Wapping to be removed considerably eastward.

The cost of these works was estimated at £531,386—

Being for works	£154,386
And for the purchase of property . .	377,000
	£531,386

The sum to be paid to the corporation for property taken under this Act amounted to £139,064, but out of this the corporation contributed about £30,000 towards increasing the width of New Wapping from 16 yards to 24 yards.

Thirteenth Act.

These arrangements were embodied in the Act 9 and 10 Vict. c. 109, which also enlarged the borrowing powers to the extent of £1,000,000, making the entire bonded debt at that time £4,784,000.

The improvements under this Act took a long time to complete. The Wapping Dock with its fine range of warehouses was not occupied until 1858. It contains a water area of 5 acres 500 square yards.

Power was taken under this Act to construct a new entrance basin between George's and Canning Docks, but this was never carried out.

Land from Lord Derby.

In the latter part of 1847 an arrangement was made with the Earl of Derby by which a very large tract of foreshore passed into the possession of the dock trust. This contract, which was mutually beneficial to each party, was due to the foresight, enterprise, and tact of Mr. John Bramley-Moore, at that time chairman of the dock committee. Under the terms of this arrangement, the whole of the foreshore to the extremity of the township (now the borough) of Bootle was conveyed to the dock trustees. In the first instance, no money was to be paid, but the spoil from the dock excavations was to be used in embanking and bringing to the proper level certain portions of other land belonging to the Earl. It was subsequently found more advantageous to purchase these lands, being 270,000 square yards, for the sum of £90,000, but this arrangement was not carried into effect until some years afterwards, as will be hereafter noticed.

A.D. 1849. Fourteenth Act.

The Act 11 and 12 Vict. c. 10, 1849, authorises this contract in part only, and gives further powers to erect warehouses

CHAP. VII. 1849.

on the dock quays, and to construct additional docks. At this time the number of ships had increased to 20,889 with an aggregate tonnage of 3,351,539 tons. The average tonnage of the ships had risen to 160 tons.

Sandon Dock.

The next dock constructed was the Sandon, containing 10 acres 100 yards, which was opened in 1851 and named after Lord Sandon (afterwards Earl of Harrowby), who represented Liverpool in Parliament from 1831 to 1842.

A.D. 1851. Change in Dock Board.

In 1851 an important change was made in the administration of the dock estate. Disputes had arisen, to which I shall again refer, respecting the liability of the docks and of the corporate property to local taxation. In the course of these differences it was thought by some that the corporate influence was used adversely to the docks, and that a change in the constitution of the governing body was desirable. A Bill to effect this object was introduced into Parliament at the instance of the American Chamber of Commerce. It was proposed in this Bill that the dock committee should still consist of twenty-one members, but that the corporation as trustees should only nominate five, instead of thirteen as heretofore; fifteen to be elected by the dock ratepayers; the chairman to be chosen by the committee out of the ratepayers. When the Bill was before the Committee of the House of Commons, after hearing the evidence, they passed a resolution recommending a compromise, which was adopted and embodied in the Act 14 and 15 Vict. c. 64. Thenceforward the committee was to consist of twenty-four, twelve nominated by the council out of their own body, and twelve elected by the ratepayers; the chairman to be elected by the committee out of the council members; the council to retain the veto as before. Under this constitution the dock affairs were managed for about seven years.

Fifteenth Act.

A.D. 1852. Huskisson Dock.

The Huskisson Dock was completed and opened in 1852. It was originally intended to be used to a great extent by the timber trade, but has since been appropriated to the largest class of sea-going steamers. Its water area was originally 14 acres 3451 yards. In 1860 it was enlarged by a new cut extending eastward, containing additional water space of 7 acres 572 yards. In 1854 a new fort and barracks were erected at the north-west corner of the Huskisson Dock by the Government in place of the one taken down at Hogs Hey Nook on the site of Collingwood Dock. It is built of red ashlar stone, the barracks forming three sides of a quadrangle, the fourth side

A.D. 1854. Fort and barracks.

open to the river, with an embattled parapet having ten embrasures, and two port-holes for heavy guns, so placed at an oblique angle as to enfilade the entrance to the port.

Shipping.

No application was made to Parliament for further powers until the session of 1855. The number of vessels had not increased since 1847, being in fact rather fewer in number,—20,024, against 20,889 in the former year; but the tonnage had reached 4,096,100, being an increase of 744,561 tons, showing the much larger size of ships employed, and requiring special accommodation. An Act was accordingly applied for to give power to borrow the large sum of £3,500,000 to be expended in the construction of docks, and £1,000,000 in the construction of warehouses on the dock quays. This was the signal for an opposition of the fiercest description. The Birkenhead Dock Trust and Birkenhead Dock Company had also introduced Bills to facilitate their operations, and the group was referred to a select committee of which Mr. Labouchere was chairman. The object of the Birkenhead promoters and their friends was to prove to the committee that if the Birkenhead Docks were encouraged there was no need of further extension in Liverpool, that Birkenhead had not had fair play, being crushed and prevented from developing by the jealousy of Liverpool; another object was to get rid of the town's dues, a subject to which I will shortly revert. This phalanx of opposition was so strong, that the Liverpool Bill failed in its main object and intention. Instead of four and a half millions which the dock trust wished to have power to expend, they were limited to the comparatively insignificant amount of £850,000. The great scheme of extending the property of the docks along the foreshore of the Mersey as far as the extremity of Bootle, by arrangement with the Earl of Derby, was finally confirmed to the great advantage of the dock estate.

Contest in Parliament.

Sixteenth Act.

Sale of Birkenhead Docks.

In the same session an Act was passed (18 and 19 Vict. c. 171) by which the undertakings of the Birkenhead Dock Company and of the trustees of the Birkenhead Docks were transferred to the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the Borough of Liverpool. The Birkenhead dock affairs were in a hopeless state of insolvency without any prospect of recovery, but desperate efforts were made to lighten their burdens by getting rid of the payment of the charges called "Town's dues," which were levied on all goods entering or leaving the port, on both sides of the river, for the benefit of the town of Liverpool alone. Under

CHAP. VII. 1855.

these circumstances it was thought desirable by the leading members of the Liverpool corporation to neutralise the opposition so far as might be, by the repurchase of the Birkenhead property which twelve years before they had so foolishly parted with. After some negotiations, the bondholders agreed to take a composition of about 13s. in the pound on their claims. The purchase money amounted to £1,143,000, for which the corporate estate as well as the Birkenhead Dock property became liable.

We have now arrived at the most critical period in the history of the Liverpool Dock and Corporation affairs. During a period of a hundred and fifty years, the corporation had been identified with the construction and management of the docks, but the time had come when it seemed to the legislature fitting that this connection should be dissolved. Before giving the particulars of the Act by which this severance was effected, it may be desirable briefly to review the circumstances which led to this result.

Royal dues.

When King John founded the town and port of Liverpool, he reserved to the Crown certain fee-farm rents and tolls, *jura regalia*, which were sometimes collected for the Crown, and at other times leased to individuals, reverting back after a term to the grantor. These royalties were made appurtenant to the palatine duchy of Lancaster and finally reverted to the Crown on the accession of Henry IV. In 1628 these duties were sold by Charles I. to certain merchants of London, by them to the Molyneux family, and, finally, to the corporation of Liverpool by lease in 1672, and by sale of the reversion in 1777. The

Town dues.

duties on goods landed and shipped, at first trifling, amounted at length to a considerable sum, and formed a large proportion of the corporate revenue, out of which, however, payments were made for purposes connected with the port.

Title of Corporation.

Down to 1830 the title of the corporation remained undisputed. In that year a number of the Liverpool merchants, amongst whom Mr. Thomas Bolton (mayor in 1840) took the

Trial.

lead, refused to pay the dues, and defied the corporation to prove their title to receive them. After a protracted litigation, the cause was tried before Chief Justice Denman in May 1833, and decided in favour of the corporation. The litigation was continued by the tender of a bill of exceptions by the defendants, but ultimately it was withdrawn and the title left unimpeached. At the same time much dissatisfaction was expressed in the

manufacturing districts at what was considered an unjust exaction, and the Birkenhead Dock trustees gladly co-operated in the attainment of the common object of getting rid of the impost. This feeling was increased by a very general opinion, though entirely unfounded, that the dock dues in some mysterious way contributed to the coffers of the corporation. In response to this general feeling, a royal commission was issued on March 19, 1853, to inquire into all local charges on shipping and goods in the ports and harbours of the United Kingdom. The commissioners were Mr. Cardwell, once Member for Liverpool, but then sitting for Oxford, President; the Hon. Manners Sutton; Captain Bethune, R.N.; and Colin Blackburn, Esq., since one of the Justices of the Queen's Bench. The commissioners visited Liverpool and other ports, and held an inquiry in each; after which they prepared their report, in which they recommended that a new body should be appointed to take charge of the docks and harbour, to which all the property and the dues should be transferred; and that the town dues should no longer be applied in payment of interest of any debts not contracted for strictly harbour purposes; and that such corporate debts should be in future a charge upon the inhabitants.

Royal Commission.

Report.

In accordance with these views, the Government in the early part of the Session of 1856 introduced a Bill into the House of Commons, embodying the recommendations. This Bill met with considerable opposition on the second reading, and after a single night's debate, it was withdrawn.

Government Bill.

Immediately afterwards, on March 14, 1856, a Select Committee was appointed by the House "to inquire into and report upon the several matters referred to the commissioners" previously "appointed by Her Majesty." Mr. Robert Lowe was appointed chairman. The names comprised Mr. Milner Gibson, Mr. Cardwell, Mr. Cobden, and other men of eminence on both sides.

A.D. 1856. Select Committee.

After sitting three months, and collecting a large mass of evidence, a draft report was submitted by Mr. Headlam, the conclusion of which was "that the committee do not find that there is sufficient reason to disturb the settlement of the question made by the Municipal Reform Bill." On a division, the numbers being equal, the report was negatived by the casting-vote of the chairman, and the committee reported the evidence to the House without note or comment. Encouraged by these demonstrations, the opponents of the then existing state of things, in

Report.

CHAP. VII. 1857.

Bill to transfer town dues.

the commencement of the session of 1857, introduced a Bill into the House of Commons for the transfer of the dock estate to an entirely new body of trustees and managers, and to take away the town dues from the corporation. The ostensible promoters of the Bill were the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, the Manchester Commercial Association, and the Great Western Railway Company.

The Bill was referred to a Select Committee, of which Sir James Graham, on the part of the Government, was appointed chairman. The contest was long, bitter, and expensive.

On June 26, the chairman announced the decision of the committee in substance as follows:

1. The preamble was declared proved.

2. The dock trustees in future to be twenty-eight in number, of whom three were to be Government nominees, the remainder to be elected by the dock ratepayers. The chairman to be elected out of the general body.

3. The town dues to be taken from the corporation and made over to the dock trustees.

4. The Birkenhead Dock Estate to be made over to the new trustees, charged with the then existing debt of £1,400,000.

5. The bonded debt of the corporation at this time amounted to about £1,150,000. Of this sum it was proposed that £600,000, being the amount supposed to have been expended on harbour purposes, should be transferred to the dock trust; the remaining £550,000 to be a charge on the borough fund or provided for out of local taxation.

There were some minor arrangements respecting what were called the reserve lands at Birkenhead, which it is not necessary to quote as they did not affect the principles of the Bill.

Bill in the Lords.

The Bill after passing the Commons was sent up to the Lords and committed; but in this calmer region a more conservative instinct prevailed. Their Lordships hesitated in adopting a course which had the appearance, at least, of confiscation, and came to a resolution that no transfer would be sanctioned which did not provide reasonable compensation for the revenues abstracted. Ultimately an arrangement was come to and embodied in the bill, by which the sum of £1,500,000 was agreed to be paid in compensation for the transfer of the town dues. The other provisions of the Bill were in the main left intact.

Compromise.

Under this constitution the amalgamated docks of the Port

of Liverpool have since remained, doubtless to the advantage of all parties concerned. A corporate body representing a capital of fifteen millions sterling, with a revenue of nearly a million per annum, must be an important and influential board. The vigour, energy, and prudence, with which the vast and complicated affairs under their control are managed, place the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board in the first rank of administrators in the country.

New Constitution.

Provision was made at the same time for the conservancy of the river and estuary, which had hitherto been in the hands of the Dock Trustees. The upper and lower reaches of the river were in future to be placed under the charge of different bodies, the estuary being left with the Dock and Harbour Board, and the upper portion placed in the hands of a new trust representing the different interests concerned. The conservator appointed was Rear-Admiral George Evans, an officer who had served with distinction, and who was in command of the "Rhadamanthus" at the time of the disturbances in Jamaica in 1833, for his services in which he received a vote of thanks from the Jamaica House of Assembly.

Birkenhead Docks.

One of the first objects to which the attention of the new board had to be directed was the completion of the works at Birkenhead. To this they have been stimulated not only by the natural desire to render the large outlay to some extent remunerative, but by the jealous watchfulness of those interested in Birkenhead, who, when application has been made during successive sessions in Parliament to obtain powers to extend the docks in Liverpool, have buckled on their armour, and, aided by the Cheshire landed interest and the union of the Railway companies, have warned back their adversaries from the promised land of improvement. At the time of the transfer in 1857, the bonded debt of Birkenhead Docks was £1,400,000. On July 1, 1874, it amounted to £5,406,012, being an outlay on the Birkenhead Docks in seventeen years of £4,006,012. A considerable portion of this expenditure has been incurred by having almost entirely to reconstruct the works executed by Mr. Rendel, and in deepening the Great Float. The constructions at Birkenhead are now amongst the finest works of the kind in the kingdom. The hydraulic machinery, executed by Sir William Armstrong, for the purpose of sluicing the great low-water basin, was a marvel of scientific skill, and was carried out at a vast expense. Instead, however, of being conservative, its

CHAP. VII. 1857.

operations after a single trial were found to be so destructive that the whole scheme had to be abandoned, and the low-water basin converted into a floating dock. The warehouses for corn and other produce afford convenience of the highest description, and yet with all these advantages, the Birkenhead Docks, in a pecuniary point of view, have hitherto proved anything but a success. The interest on the bonded debt amounts annually to £233,180, towards which scarcely anything is contributed from the earnings of the docks and float. The balance has of course to be made up from the earnings on the Liverpool side. This would have been an intolerable burden but for the profits derived from the investment in the town's dues. The sum paid to the corporation for the purchase in 1857 was £1,500,000, representing at the average rate of interest paid £66,750 per annum. The proceeds of these dues for the year ending July 1, 1874, was £250,163, leaving a balance to assist in making good the deficiencies of Birkenhead of £183,413.

Cost and returns.

The dock works at Liverpool have not proceeded with the same rapidity since the amalgamation with Birkenhead.

Landing stage.

On September 1, 1857, the new landing stage opposite the Prince's Pier was completed and opened. It was erected by the corporation from the designs of Mr. T. Cubitt, at the cost of £120,000. It was 1002 feet in length, and 81 feet wide, connected with the land by three bridges rising and falling with the tide.

Timber trade.

The timber trade of Liverpool was originally located at the south end, the Queen's having been the original timber dock, to which succeeded the Brunswick, constructed with a special view to that object. As the timber trade increased, additional accommodation was required. This it was at first designed to give by extending the docks southward, with which view the Harrington dock estate was purchased in 1844. It was ultimately found that the space for storage at the south end was limited and expensive, and that difficulties existed with reference to the docking of ships in special conditions of the tide and weather. It was therefore determined to construct a timber dock at the north end, and to transfer to that locality the bulk of the trade. The result was the construction of the Canada Dock, which was opened on September 16, 1859, the Cunard steamship "Asia," Captain Lott, being the first vessel which entered. It contains a water area of 17 acres 4043 yards, with a lineal quay space of 1272 yards. Large provision

Canada Dock.

CHAP. VII. 1859.

was made for the timber trade, by a wide landing quay on the east side communicating with extensive timber yards extending from the quay back to Regent Road, where they are in connection with the line of railway. Extensive as has been the provision for the timber trade, it has not been commensurate with the growing wants of the port. A half-tide basin has been constructed north of the Canada Dock, locking down by three sets of gates on the west side into the outer tidal basin. On the east side, two cuts or docks have been formed extending to Regent Road. These were originally intended for the carriers on the river, but the exigencies of the timber trade have been such that the larger one is almost exclusively used for landing timber, having extensive storage ground beyond. The half-tide dock has been extended northwards, giving an additional timber quay 900 feet in length.

Basin.

A considerable part of the timber trade migrated from the s[illegible] to the north in 1859-62, but a portion by no means [illegible]erable still remains rooted to its original locality.

Herculaneum Dock.

At the extreme south end the Herculaneum estate, which had been laid out for the construction of docks and warehouses by a joint-stock company, passed into the hands of the Dock Trust about 1848. It lay for many years dormant, but at length a small dock and two extensive graving docks were constructed. These were opened in 1864. The floating dock called the "Herculaneum" contains about 3½ acres, opening directly from the river by two pair of entrance gates.

A.D. 1864.

Graving Docks.

I may here mention that the graving docks in Liverpool number eighteen, with an aggregate length of floor of 10,136 feet, and with entrances varying in width from 32 to 100 feet. In Birkenhead there are three, with a length of floor of 1968 feet, and others are in course of construction.

A.D. 1867.

In 1867 extensive alterations were made at the Waterloo Dock. The dock was reconstructed in two portions. The inner one is surrounded on three sides by lofty vaulted corn warehouses replete with every convenience for raising, storing, turning, ventilating, and discharging grain by means of the most improved machinery.

Waterloo corn warehouses.

In 1873-4 additional warehouses have been constructed at Birkenhead on a large scale.

Notwithstanding the magnificent works which have been carried out from time to time, it was found in the year 1872 that the accommodation halted far behind the wants of the port.

CHAP. VII. 1872.

A committee was appointed by the Dock Board, on the 11th January 1872, "to consider and report on the capabilities of the Mersey Dock Estate to meet the probable requirements of the great and increasing commerce of the port," etc.

In conformity with the report of this committee, a plan was prepared by Mr. Lyster, the engineer to the Trust, for a series of works far exceeding in extent and cost anything which had yet been propounded. The times were propitious. The normal opposition of the Birkenhead interest, which had so often succeeded in frustrating at the eleventh hour the cherished schemes for extension in Liverpool, was checkmated by the fulfilment of every claim which the Cheshire side could possibly make. Commerce was flourishing and clamorous for a wider scope; and thus the most gigantic scheme ever put forward in a Dock Bill was passed without a show of opposition.

The wisdom and foresight which, under the auspices of Mr. Bramley-Moore, had in 1847, in spite of prejudice and [illegible] tion, secured the foreshore along the river as far as [illegible] Brook, were now manifest. The Dock Estate had [illegible] ...ge enough for the construction own confines docks at the north, and two at the south, con- of seven 10 acres of water area, with room to spare for farther extension.

The cost sanctioned by Parliament was £4,100,000.

I will again allude to these works in describing the locality.

By the same Act power was given to extend the works at Birkenhead by the conversion of the great low-water basin into a wet dock, with sheds and warehouses on the margin, at an expense of £300,000. An alteration in the Birkenhead landing stages was also sanctioned at the cost of £37,000, also an additional graving dock and approaches at an outlay of £130,000.

I have thus brought down the history of these really marvellous constructions to the present time. I propose to have a few parting words before finally taking leave, but before doing so, I must refer to a subject connected with them, which long agitated the town, and which has only been settled at a period comparatively recent; I mean the liability of the dock property to local taxation.

Rating of Docks.

In the original Dock Act of 1709, it was directed that the revenue received from the docks was to be expended for the purposes of the Act, "and for no other use or purpose whatever."

I have no means of ascertaining whether in the first instance this clause was held to exempt the docks from the payment of parish and other local rates, but at the commencement of the present century I believe they did so pay. In 1806 a decision of Lord Kenyon's in the case of "Rex *v.* the Commissioners of Salter's Load Sluice," established the principle of exemption in a parallel instance. In 1825 the case of the liability of the Liverpool Docks was tried before Lord Tenterden in the Queen's Bench. The decision, which was given in 1827, was in favour of the exemption, based on the previous dictum of Lord Kenyon. This was not called in question until 1841, when the Bill for erecting warehouses on the dock quays was before Parliament. Clauses were introduced at the instance of the parochial authorities, rendering the warehouses to be erected liable to local taxation, and were adopted as part of the Act.

In 1848 the subject was revived and discussed with great earnestness, both as regarded the docks and the corporate property. The case is stated very clearly in the brief for the corporation on the Bill of 1857, summing up the history of the controversy: "It was argued that the decisions of the courts of law against the liability to rates where no beneficial interest or occupation existed, was grounded only upon the wording of the Acts of Parliament relating to the making of such rates, and that abstractedly, and as a general proposition, all property of every description and however held, should be liable to contribution for rates. The corporate estate, until the passing of the Municipal Act, was liable and did contribute to the rates, and in consequence of the decision of the Court of Queen's Bench that after the passing of the Act municipal property was not liable, the legislature had interposed, and passed an Act (4 and 5 Vict. c. 48) for the express purpose of making corporate property liable to rates in certain cases, though inoperative in Liverpool. As to the Dock Estate, it was urged, that no reason or principle existed why that property should not be rated; that all other docks in the country were liable because held by companies; that part of the Liverpool dock estate, the warehouses, were by express provision declared liable although held without beneficial interest; that in the course of the extension and improvement of the docks, large masses of property had been purchased and removed, which previously contributed to the rates, and thus property liable to rates being withdrawn from contribution, a heavier rate was necessarily imposed on

CHAP. VII.

1857. Rating of Docks.

that which remained; and that for all these causes, application ought to be made to Parliament to make both the corporate and dock property liable to rates." It was urged on the other hand, "that it was inexpedient to propose to rate the Liverpool Docks, inasmuch as such rate would be a tax upon the commerce of the port; that the prosperity of the town depends upon the prosperity of the docks, and their prosperity upon cheapness; and that the corporation was in actual receipt of £100,000 per annum, arising from town dues and anchorage, and that to this extent the ratepayers of the borough were relieved from rates."

A.D. 1848. Committee of council.

In March 1848, on the motion of Mr. William Earle, a special committee was appointed by the council to consider and report on the law applicable to rating, and on August 7 they brought up their report, which stated amongst other recommendations, "That in the opinion of the committee all property vested in the trustees of the Liverpool Docks, or used, or occupied by them, should be rated to and pay local rates," and that application should be made to Parliament for a Bill to carry out this recommendation.

On this report being submitted to the council, it was rejected by eighteen votes to sixteen; but at a subsequent meeting this decision was reversed, and in November 1848, the parish authorities gave notices for Bills to rate the property both of the corporation and of the dock trustees. A majority of the dock committee was opposed to the measure, and a petition against the Bill in the name of the dock *trustees* was prepared. To this petition, the dock chairman refused to affix the common seal without the consent of the council, who were legally the trustees. Much angry discussion ensued. The Bills so introduced, for some unexplained reason, were dropped before the second reading.

Rating Bill.

A.D. 1852. Rating of Docks. Birkenhead.

In 1852 the Birkenhead Docks were rated by the overseers to the poor rate. The trustees claimed exemption under the previously decided cases, and after appeal brought the case before Lord Campbell, then Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, who notwithstanding the ruling of his predecessor on the subject of no beneficial interest, confirmed the rate.

A.D. 1857. Controversy.

In 1857 the subject was revived in Liverpool, and a somewhat excited controversy was carried on in the newspapers, in which Mr. Eyre Evans took a prominent part against the rating, denouncing his opponents as actuated by unprincipled selfishness,

paltry avarice, hypocrisy, and other good set terms of compliment.

1858. Rating Bill.

A Rating Bill was in the same year introduced into Parliament at the instance of the parish, but without success. After the separation of the docks from the corporation, a Consolidation Act was passed in 1858. Into this the parish endeavoured to insert rating clauses, but failed to do so. In the same session a select committee was appointed by the House of Commons to consider the subject of local rating and the exemptions from it. Before this committee evidence was given from Liverpool as to the injustice of the exemption enjoyed by the docks. The committee reported against the exemptions and in favour of rating all property. A public Bill founded on the report of this committee was introduced in 1859, but subsequently withdrawn. Another Bill applicable to Liverpool only was brought forward, but lost on the motion for second reading, March 1.

Select Committee.

Undeterred by these repeated disappointments, the parish authorities still persevered. In 1858 the docks were charged with the poor rate, and refusing to pay, a summons was taken out and distraint followed. Two courses were then open to the Dock Board. By the ordinary mode they would have appealed to the Quarter Sessions, and thence on the point of law to the Court of Queen's Bench. The course actually adopted is a memorable instance of legal astuteness overreaching itself. Had the case been carried to the Queen's Bench, Lord Campbell would have been the presiding genius, and looking at his previous decision in the Birkenhead case there was great fear that he would overrule Lord Tenterden's dictum and pronounce against the exemption. This might or might not have been the case. It is more probable that he would have upheld the law as laid down by his predecessor, finding some subtle distinction between the two cases. In that event the decision would have been final and binding until dealt with by Act of Parliament. In order, however, to steer clear of Lord Campbell, the legal advisers of the Dock Board proceeded by an action of replevin in the Court of Common Pleas, which opened the whole question of right. The difference between the two proceedings was this: that whilst the decision of the Queen's Bench on the law of the case would have been final, the proceeding by action could be carried from court to court up to the highest tribunal in the kingdom, the House of Lords. So it actually happened.

Docks rated.

Appeal.

Action of replevin.

The Court of Common Pleas acting on the recorded deci-

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1858. Rating of Docks.

A.D. 1864.

sions, decided against the parish. Thence the case was carried by a writ of error to the Exchequer Chamber, where the previous decision was supported. At length, after six weary years, the cause reached the House of Lords, where, after four days' argument by counsel, in February 1864 certain questions were submitted by their Lordships to the judges, bearing on the liability. On July 7 the judges presented their replies deciding in favour of the liability to rating by a majority of six to one.

A.D. 1865. Docks rateable.

The final judgment reversing the previous decisions and establishing the liability of the docks to local rates was pronounced on June 22, 1865.

It is curious to remark, after the long controversy between the docks and the town, extending over many years, how nearly the final result came to a drawn battle. The dock board gained the town dues but lost the exemption from rating. They were saddled at the same time with the Birkenhead estate, which may or may not hereafter become profitable, as it is now useful.

View of Docks.

Before quitting the docks, I will ask the courteous reader to accompany me in a rapid survey of the general aspect of their everyday existence, and for this purpose we will commence at the extreme north.

Rimrose Brook.

The dock estate commences at Rimrose Brook, which is the northern boundary of Bootle, a few years since a petty hamlet, now a chartered municipal borough, with parliamentary possibilities in the future. This boundary is about three and a half miles from the Exchange, which is the commercial centre.

The dock property first shows itself in the shape of a long granite sea-wall far advanced from the original coast-line into deep water, the land behind rough and to a great extent unformed, but ready for farther dock extension when the fates shall be propitious, and the guardian angel of Birkenhead caught napping.

Canada Dock.

Timber trade.

The Canada is the most northern floating-dock. Let us approach it on the eastern side where the timber is discharged. The first thing which strikes a stranger is the gigantic scale on which everything is laid out—the quays, the timber yards, the storing ground, the size of the ships, everything wears a Brobdignagian aspect. It will be observed that the square timber here and elsewhere in Liverpool is piled up on shore. At most other ports it is kept floating in large basins or ponds. When the Canada Dock was first projected ponds of this description

were proposed. Whether expense, want of space, or the prejudices of the trade, prevented their being carried out, I am not able to say.

Canada Dock.

The tidal gates and locks are worthy of special examination for their completeness and the excellence of their arrangements. At the time of the construction of this dock great complaints were made that the large ocean paddle-steamers had to lie in the river although paying dock rates, the entrances being too narrow to admit them. To remedy this defect, two of the gates to the Canada and Huskisson docks were made 80 feet wide, and the one before us 100 feet. Strange, however, are the vicissitudes of fashion in commerce as in other things. No sooner were these conveniences provided than they were no longer required. The screw was found so much more economical and advantageous, that for ocean purposes the paddle has become a thing of the past. The tendency is towards excessive length, with a narrow midship section. Steamers are now built of the length of 350 or 400 feet, with a breadth of 35 to 40 feet, and many of the ships built a few years ago are being cut in the middle and lengthened 40 or 50 feet. The large gates and bridges are opened and closed by hydraulic machinery, constructed by Sir William Armstrong of Newcastle. For the purpose of accumulating the power several towers have been built along the line of docks. The one before us is a lofty structure in grey granite with some subordinate attached buildings in a sort of castellated style. Whatever may have been the merits of Mr. Jesse Hartley as an engineer —and they are undoubtedly great—a feeling for the beautiful was certainly not one of them. This tower is double, having a broad and a narrow side surmounted by an immense machicolated parapet, with a large circular hole in the broad face, probably intended for a clock. The general effect is that of an eight-day clock case of gigantic proportions. The upper part is decorated with spears, axes, and swords, cut in intaglio on the face of the granite, with what meaning or intention it would be hard to say.

Gates.

Long steamers.

Hydraulics.

In 1872 an extension was made northward by the construction of the Canada half-tide dock principally for the use of the timber trade. This contains 11 acres 1010 yards. Opening eastwards from this are two carriers' docks containing nearly 5 acres.

The scheme for which parliamentary sanction was obtained in 1873 comprises seven additional docks north of the Canada

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half-tide dock, with an aggregate water space of 81 acres and 4 lineal miles of quay space. There will be two additional graving docks each 950 feet in length. Provision is also made for hydraulic lift docks on the principles laid down by Mr. Edwin Clark, by which ships 500 feet long can be raised bodily above the water, examined and repaired with ease and rapidity.

Huskisson Dock.

The Huskisson Dock, which we now approach, is generally occupied by screw steamers and ships of the largest size. Although 500 yards in length, three ships end to end not unfrequently occupy the entire space.

Two points are remarkable in the shipping of the present day. The first is the great increase in size and especially in

Size of ships.

length. It is not so many years since a ship of 300 tons burden was considered a large vessel. Now 1500 or 2000 tons is thought a size of very moderate proportion. The "Great Liverpool," built by Sir John Tobin in 1838, 1150 tons burden, was considered at the time so large and unwieldy as to be almost useless, whilst only seven years later, in 1845, the "Great Britain" was launched of 3500 tons burden. The other point

Iron ships.

is the almost exclusive employment of iron for the material of shipbuilding. The "Richard Cobden," the first iron sea-going ship from Liverpool, was built about 1840, but the adoption of the principle was very slow, until all at once, as by common consent, timber was abandoned and iron almost universally adopted. One effect of this in Liverpool has been the almost entire disappearance of American ships from the docks. Time was when the trim American "liners" were the pride of the port, and on July 4, the spread of the stars and stripes in honour of American independence was something marvellous. Now, the "liners" are all iron steamers built in Great Britain; the "Cunard," the "Inman," the "Guion," the "National," the "Allan," and other lines, all own allegiance to Old England. Another great change

Steam ships.

is the gradual supersession of sailing ships by steamers. The rapidity and certainty of the voyage and the great improvements in the application of the screw will account for this. The number of ships entering the port in the year ending July 1, 1874, was 19,186, of which 11,548 were sailing vessels, and 7638 steamers. The tonnage amounted to 6,710,093, of which 2,617,207 tons were sailing ships and 4,092,886 tons steamers. The average burden of the sailing vessels was 244 tons, and of the steamers 536 tons. There can be no doubt that, before

long, the great bulk of the commerce of the country will be carried in steam bottoms.

Discharging.

The facilities for discharging cargo are worthy of notice. It is not an unusual thing for a steam ship of the largest size to enter the dock and discharge her cargo in twenty-four hours. Steam is the powerful agent for the accomplishment of this. Many of the vessels have steam cranes; some have "donkey" engines on board, or if not, they can be hired temporarily, and thus, with a rapidity heretofore unexampled, a cargo of 2000 tons is landed under the covered sheds or discharged into the warehouses in a few hours.

Sandon Basin.

The Sandon Basin, which we next approach, is one of the few open tidal basins remaining. It is the central point of access to five docks. As we approach the pier we find a first-class sea-going ship about leaving the dock. In the olden time, when a ship of very moderate dimensions had to be hauled out into the river, it was a very serious undertaking. Many seniors may remember the bawling, uproar, and gesticulation, not to mention the decidedly unparliamentary language, which was frequently indulged in; the dock-master strutting about with an enormous speaking-trumpet under his arm, which he sometimes applied to his lips with the tremendous effect of Stentor summoning the Grecian host; the limbs and eyes of the laggard sailors being occasionally consigned to the inferior regions. Now all is changed; warp lines are carried out at the bow and stern to fixed points on the pier. The "donkey" is set to work; the capstan flies merrily round; a word or two in a mild tone or a wave of the hand from the dock-master, indicates the course of the movements. Slowly the huge mass projects her bows into the narrow entrance. A steam-tug in waiting backs in within reach; a hawser is carried on board and made fast. "Turn ahead slow!" is the word of command, and majestically the leviathan makes her way into the river to wait the favouring gale which is to carry her to distant climes. Scarcely a word is spoken above the breath, and yet the power and precision of the whole arrangements are admirable.

Docking.

Hauling out.

In this and in several of the other entrances from the river the great height of many of the large ships above the water has rendered it necessary to raise the masonry of the piers several feet above their original level.

Marine Parades.

All along the lines of the docks marine parades are carried between the enclosing walls and the water, with stairs at inter-

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vals down to the river. These parades are very little frequented, but they are well worthy of a visit for the splendid views of the river and shipping they afford, and for the health-inspiring breezes which usually prevail.

To those who wish to study the lines of naval architecture, the graving docks, of which there are six opening from Sandon Dock, besides the lock which is also so used, offer to notice many very fine specimens.

The Wellington, Bramley-Moore, and Nelson Docks, closely resemble each other. They are connected together and surrounded by sheds, protecting the merchandise whilst discharging and loading. Along the east side of the Wellington and Bramley-Moore Docks there runs a high level railway, a branch from the Lancashire and Yorkshire line, for the shipment of coals, completed in 1855. This system, which prevails all over the northern and eastern coal ports, has not been developed here as might have been expected from its great convenience. In the construction of any future docks it is not likely to be overlooked.

Wellington Dock, etc.

Salisbury, etc.

The Salisbury, Collingwood, and Stanley, are three docks *en suite*, extending from west to east, connected by the tidal lock gates. The Stanley Dock lying eastward of Regent Road is the only inland dock since the filling up of the Old Dock. The warehouses on its quays worked by hydraulic power give great facilities for imports.

Two long double graving docks are inserted between the Collingwood and Clarence Docks, and the small basin giving access has what is called a "gridiron," being a strong wooden frame on which ships can be placed for the examination of their bottoms without going into the graving dock.

Clarence, etc.

Waterloo.

Passing the Clarence, Trafalgar, and Victoria Docks, which offer nothing special to our notice, we arrive at the Waterloo, which within the last few years has been reconstructed with an outer and inner dock, the latter surrounded on three sides with warehouses for storing grain. The design of these buildings is a great improvement on the massive ugliness of the Albert warehouses. The ground floor is an open arcade supported by granite piers and arches with five vaulted floors above. The openings in each storey are double lights, with semicircular heads in brick, and rough stone string-courses. The building is surmounted by a bold cornice partly corbelled out in brick with stone brackets or cantilevers. The hoisting machinery is fixed in turrets rising above the general line of the structure. On

the whole, the design though simple is characteristic and effective, showing evidence of thought and power of adaptability. The Prince's Basin adjoining was remodelled at the same time with the Waterloo, and converted into a half-tide dock with three outer entrances. A tower is built for the accumulating hydraulic power, on the north entrance pier, which, though less pretentious, is much superior in design to the granite tower at Canada Dock. The present one is brick, octagon in plan, standing on a bold spreading base, simple in design, having a clock in the upper part on four of the faces. It is crowned by a deep machicolated battlement, surmounted by a slated conical roof with dormers and iron cresting. The site of this tower was formerly occupied by the Liverpool Observatory, erected by the Corporation of Liverpool in 1844, and furnished with instruments of the most modern character. When the improvements in the Waterloo Dock were contemplated a new observatory was erected on the summit of Bidston Hill near the Lighthouse, which was completed in 1867. As we pass, here is a steamer lying alongside the quay, occupying nearly the entire length of the basin, which is more than 400 feet long. Crossing the lock gates we approach the Prince's Parade. When the Prince's Dock was first constructed, this parade being easily accessible, the town extending a very little way beyond it to the north, it was a favourite resort, especially on Sunday afternoons and evenings, serving the same purpose of flirtation and gossip as the neighbouring ladies' walk had done to the mothers and grandmothers of the then generation. All is now changed; the parade has been widened and converted into a cart-road to the great landing-stage, which down beneath us

Prince's.

Observatory.

Parade.

Prince's landing-stage.

> Prone on the flood extended long and large
> Lies floating many a rood; in bulk as huge
> As whom the fables name, of monstrous size,
> Titanian, or Earth-born, that warr'd on Jove.

About this part of the stage the sea-going steamers, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, principally congregate and take their departure. On a fine spring or summer day, the scene is an animated one; bands of music enlivening the air, steamers floating in the wind, touters enticing the unwary passengers to their respective boats; bands of cheap trippers from Bolton or Chowbent, strong in the vernacular of the county palatine; hand-bell ringers from Manchester on a visit to the Isle of Man. A little farther the steamers for

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Prince's landing-stage.

Mostyn, Rhyl, or Beaumaris, display on the fore-deck a gathering of blue cloaks with the sputtering gutturals of the ancient British tongue in their sharpest accents. Paddy and Sawney have also their representatives in the swift and strong boats which ply regularly to the various ports of the northern and western kingdoms.

But the scene is altogether changed when

> . . . the autumn night
> Has a wondrous sight
> And a step both bold and free.

The arrival of a crowded steamer after a rough passage—say from the Isle of Man—is a pitiable spectacle. The deplorable woe-begone looks and feeble steps of the victims as they once more scramble on *terra firma*, resolved never again to tempt the dangers of the seas, present a sight more deserving of sympathy than is usually accorded. A few hours spent on the great landing-stage in the height of the season, with the varied aspects of society passing under review, and the splendid outlook of the moving panorama on the waters, will amply repay any one of a reflective turn of mind.

George's Basin.

George's Dock Basin as it formerly existed, was the centre of the line of docks and afforded the only fine glimpse of the river and estuary to be obtained. The view from St. Nicholas's Churchyard presented as picturesque and animated a marine prospect as could anywhere be seen, whilst the view of the town from the river, combining the noble steeple and lantern of St. Nicholas, the telegraph tower and neighbouring buildings with the shipping in the foreground, has formed the subject of many a painter's pencil.

Alterations.

These are all memories of the past. The basin has been converted into solid ground, forming an extensive esplanade, with the low level approach to the landing-stage in the middle enclosed on each side by granite parapets and balustrades.

Landing-stage.

The landing-stage itself was reconstructed under the powers of an Act of Parliament in 1873-4. The two separate portions were united by a new construction, and the entire floating platform now extends 2063 feet in length by 80 feet in average width, the like of which is not to be found at any port in the world. The cost of the whole has been from first to last, with the approaches, about £373,000.

This grand fabric had just been completed, and was waiting

for the visit of the Duke of Edinburgh to be inaugurated with the *éclat* which it merited, when, on Tuesday, July 28th, 1874, it came to destruction in a most unexpected and extraordinary manner. By an accident arising from the operations of some gasfitters underneath the plank flooring, the woodwork caught fire. Owing to the peculiar cellular construction of the deck, and the fact that the timber had been impregnated with creasote for protection from the weather, the flames spread with almost unexampled rapidity. As soon as the alarm was given, all the engines in the town, with an immense body of police and firemen, were in attendance, and used the most strenuous efforts to subdue the flames, but all in vain. As the shades of evening descended, a sight presented itself never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it. It seemed a perfect saturnalia of the Fire King. The fire ran along the hollow portion under the deck, where it was impossible to reach, and through any holes in the hot planks there was visible an ocean of flame seething underneath, and conveying by the deadly intensity of its glare the notion of a measureless pandemonium of destructive power. Here and there it burst out, and rose into magnificent columns of flame, roaring, writhing, and rushing along with impetuous force, licking up into its destructive maw everything combustible within its reach. This continued with unabated force, illuminating the river with a lurid and ghastly glare, until the whole of the timber work of the stage, except a small portion at the north end, was consumed. The expense of reinstatement was estimated at about a quarter of a million. Some temporary inconvenience to the ferry traffic was sustained, but prompt measures were taken to provide access to the boats during the time of repair.

Conflagration.

The avenues, the pier, and the stage, present a moving panorama of the rush and whirl of human life such as is rarely to be met with. The "Railway Station" as illustrated in Mr. Frith's celebrated picture, presents the same sort of aspect, but more fitful and spasmodic. Here the tide of human life sets in with a steady intensity which never flags from morn to night. The ferry is a great leveller; rich and poor, high and low, gentle and simple, must all take the same course and mix irrespective of rank. Like the river of death, which every pilgrim must pass for himself, here all distinctions cease. It is strange that with a seaboard of six miles, all the transit across the river should be concentrated on a single point, but so it is. Attempts have been made at various times to establish ferries higher up

Landing-stage.

CHAP. VII.

the river, but always without success, and it is probable that the present arrangement will permanently continue.

Baths.

The baths on George's Pier were erected by the Corporation in 1826 in lieu of baths which formerly stood in Bath Street, and which were absorbed into the enclosure of the Prince's Dock. They were opened in 1829. The design was from the pencil of Mr. John Foster junior, at that time surveyor to the Corporation. The building is low and somewhat mean looking; in the style of pseudo-Greek so much in vogue at the period of its erection. The narrowness of the strip left between the baths and the edge of the quay is a serious defect which is quite inexcusable, as there was ample room and verge enough behind for any reasonable depth of margin.

The land on the west of George's Dock was originally occupied by timber yards; subsequently a battery was erected on a portion of the space. The two inlets were constructed for the use of the ferry-boats which formerly were the only means of communication with the Cheshire side of the river. After the introduction of steam, the mode of access to the steamboats was by a number of narrow steep stairs of the most dangerous character. The frequent occurrence of accidents at length forced the attention of the authorities to the subject, and a wide granite stair was constructed, which to some extent obviated the evil, but was far too circumscribed to meet the ever-increasing demand. The steamers also were liable to be grounded at low tide, to remedy which a sort of sliding telescope stage was constructed, running up into a tunnel as the tide rose. The enormous increase of traffic soon rendered this scheme altogether insufficient, and an advertisement was issued and premiums offered for the best design for a landing-stage. A number of plans were sent in, but none of them were considered adapted to meet the requirements, and ultimately Mr. Lewis Cubitt, C.E., was instructed to take up the subject and prepare a plan, which resulted in the construction of the present stage, which was opened in 1847. It has answered the purpose very well; but the bridges of communication with the pier are so steep when the tide is low as to render them useless for carriages.

Ferries.

Proposed Landing-stage.

Ellesmere Basin.

South of George's Pier we arrive at the Chester and Ellesmere Basin and the Manchester Dock, principally used for the coasting and carrying trade on the river, for which purpose they were constructed soon after the completion of George's Dock. The streets hereby take the name of Mann's Island and Nova

Scotia. The warehouses and buildings are (for Liverpool) of ancient date. They originally belonged to the Corporation, but under the Act 9 and 10 Vict. c. 109, the property was sold to the Dock Board in 1851 for the sum of £112,584. Mann's Island.

The Canning Dock which we now approach was originally the tidal basin leading to the Old Dock. Its form and capacity have not been much changed, but an exterior half-tide dock has been formed giving access both to the Canning and Albert Docks. The land on the east side of the Canning Dock and the western part of the Old Dock was formerly a labyrinth of narrrow dark crowded lanes, of which Strand Street and Wapping were the eastern margin. Some of the streets, especially Bridge Street and Bromfield Street, were notorious for houses of ill-fame, frequented by sailors. In the days of impressment, it was no uncommon occurrence for the press-gang to enter these houses and kidnap the seamen they found there. On such occasions, the graving dock bells were converted into tocsins to sound the alarm, when seamen and ship carpenters rushed to the rescue, and frightful scenes of riot and sometimes bloodshed took place. One of the most serious of these riots, arising, however, from a somewhat different cause, occurred in August 1775. Canning Dock. Bridge Street, etc.

Owing to the depression of trade, an attempt had been made to lower the wages of the seamen on board a slave-ship or Guineaman—the "Derby," Captain Yates. This was resisted, and led to altercations and disputes breaking out into open violence. The sailors rose in a body and cut away the rigging of the ship, with that of others also preparing for sea. Some of the rioters being secured and lodged in the Old Tower in Water Street, a mob of about two thousand men assembled and attacked the gaol, which surrendered at discretion, and the prisoners were carried off in triumph. They then paraded the streets and levied contributions on the houses of the principal inhabitants. In the course of these proceedings they visited the house of Mr. William Leece in Water street, a little above Tower Garden, where they only found to confront them a young lady, Miss Leece, and the female servants. She courageously stepped to the front and quietly asked their business. Whatever Jack's faults may be, insensibility to female charms is not one of them. The leader immediately stepped back, took off his hat, and in the most gentle manner stated his case and solicited a contribution, which having received, he made his bow and retired with Sailors' riots.

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Sailors' riots.

his myrmidons.[1] The gunsmiths' shops were broken open, and a violent attack made upon the Town-hall. Firearms were used in its defence, and two or three persons killed. It is said that several pieces of ordnance were brought up by the rioters and pointed at the building. In the afternoon of the following day a detachment of the 1st Dragoons arrived from Manchester, at the sight of whom the mob took to flight and dispersed. Many of them were caught and impressed into the naval service.

Salt House.

The Salt House or Salt Works belonging to Mr. Blackburne, after which the dock was called, stood on the east side between Salthouse Lane and Campbell Street. The new line of Wapping runs over the site.

Albert Dock.

The Albert Dock is well worth a visit from the completeness of its arrangements and the vast stores of merchandise laid up in its fireproof floors. The site of this dock was formerly the great shipbuilding district. The Rathbones, Graysons, Fishers, and Earles, here had their establishments at the time when "Hearts of Oak were our Ships," long before the Age of Iron dawned upon the world. This neighbourhood underwent a complete transformation under the authority of the Act 9 and 10 Vict. c. 109 (1847). The Duke's Dock for river craft was thrown into the shade by the advancement of the general docks to the eastward and the formation of Wapping Dock and warehouses.

Wapping Dock.

The interconnection of these docks and the convenience of the arrangements for facilitating commercial business are admirable. The east side of Wapping Dock is lined with warehouses, the lower storey being an open quay. On the west side the whole space between the Wapping and King's is covered by a magnificent open roof, giving ample room for the departure and arrival of produce to any extent. The west side of the King's Dock is occupied by the Queen's bonded tobacco warehouses, where all the tobacco imported is required to be stored.

Tobacco warehouse.

In the midst of this stands the Queen's tobacco-pipe, probably the largest in the world, the stem being about 100 feet in length, with a bowl of corresponding size. This is the furnace and chimney in which the damaged tobacco not allowed to be manufactured is consumed.

Queen's Basin.

The Queen's Dock Basin has been converted into a half-tide dock from which two graving docks branch southward. Westward of these extending from Baffin Street to the river the land is occupied by shipbuilding yards, where the clink of the wooden

[1] Miss Leece afterwards married Mr. James Drinkwater, mayor in 1810, and was the mother of Sir George, mayor in 1829.

mallet has been superseded by the harsh clatter of the rivetting hammer. Baffin Street takes its name from the whalefishery which flourished in Liverpool for a considerable number of years and had one of its depôts in this locality.

Greenland Fisheries.

Liverpool appears to have taken part in the Greenland fisheries in the early part of the last century. In 1749, proposals were issued by Messrs. Goore and Bulkeley for a joint-stock company to purchase the ship "Golden Lion" and fit her out for the Greenland trade. This vessel had been a French prize, converted into a merchantman. The experiment proved successful; the ship long continued in the trade, and had a special berth assigned to her in the Old Dock. The list of subscribers contains many of the old Liverpool names. In 1764 three vessels were engaged in the trade. In the year 1775, the first whaler built in Liverpool was launched from Mr. Sutton's yard in Mersey Street. The trade went on increasing until it reached its culminating point in 1788, in which year twenty-one ships of the average burden of about 310 tons—large ships at that period—were employed. The next year the trade received a shock. Out of seventeen vessels sent out from Liverpool four were lost. From this time the whaling enterprise from Liverpool gradually diminished, until in 1823, only one ship, the "Baffin," commanded by Captain William Scoresby, sailed from the port, and with this the Greenland trade came to an end. Captain Scoresby was an eminent man in his day. Born at Whitby in 1789, descended from a race of hardy mariners, he very early in life accompanied his father to the Arctic seas, and acquired those habits of sagacious observation, the results of which he afterwards embodied in his published *Account of the Arctic Regions*. Besides being an excellent seaman, he was something far beyond this, being a man of scientific attainments and literary capacity. After his retirement from the command of a whaler, he entered the church, and was for some years the chaplain of the floating church for mariners, which he quitted on being presented with a living in the south of England. He was subsequently vicar of Bradford. He was the author of several works and of contributions to scientific societies. He died at Torquay in 1857.

Captain Scoresby.

The River Craft Dock immediately adjoining Baffin Street belongs to the Corporation, and is found convenient for letting to private firms which require water frontages for river and coasting vessels.

River Craft Dock.

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Coburg.

The Coburg Dock was originally the tidal basin giving access to the south end of the Queen's Dock, and was subsequently converted into a floating dock. Its ready access direct from the river makes it very convenient for the steam trade.

Dockyard.

On the south side of the Coburg Dock, with a small inlet and a river frontage, stands the dockyard and engineering establishment of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board. It acquired its eminence under the management of the Hartleys, father and son, and since the accession of their present successor, Mr. Lyster, it has certainly not lost any of its prestige. Heart of oak is none the less sound and strong from having some of the protuberances dressed down, and by the acquisition of a little polish.

Brunswick.

The Brunswick Dock which we now approach is the great south timber depôt. The broad eastern quay, sloping down to the water's edge for the convenience of discharging the timber, allows the bulk and height of the ships to display themselves in all their huge proportions.

Increase of timber trade.

The increase of trade in the port may be gathered from the fact that only a very few years ago the Brunswick Dock and its appurtenances furnished sufficient accommodation for the timber trade of the port. Since the bulk of the trade was removed in 1859 to the Canada Dock, the imports at the south have so far recovered as to seem pretty nearly equal to what they were before the transfer. The west side of the dock is devoted to merchandise other than timber, though there are extensive storing grounds adjacent.

Graving Docks.

The south end of the Brunswick Dock has two attached graving docks, and west from these there is a settlement of manufactories and yards. These were all originally shipbuilding yards, but from some cause or another the building of ships does not appear indigenous in the Mersey to the same extent as on the Clyde. No better work is turned out than that from the building yards on the Mersey. The establishment of Messrs. Laird has built some of the finest ships in her Majesty's navy, but price is an important element in commercial affairs; and it is possible that the northern ports, having labour cheaper and iron close at hand, may render it very difficult for the builders on the Mersey to compete with them.

A little south of Brunswick Dock there is a small inlet furnished with tidal gates called the Toxteth Dock, the precincts of which are surrounded by walls on three sides, shutting it out

from the bustle of the outer world. This little enclosure is quite a curiosity in its way, being an oasis of quiet in the midst of the surging roar of commerce outside. It is the only spot in the long line of the Liverpool Docks where the grass grows on the quays, but here there is a plentiful crop. It is, nevertheless, not a private establishment, but a veritable public dock, occupied principally for the purposes of the Dock Board. The last time I paid a visit to the locality, I was strongly reminded of the description of Salem U.S. in the introduction to Nathaniel Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter." There were lying afloat one of the light-ships with an attendant barge; a river flat, and a three-masted ship, but all quiet and silent, without a sign of life on board. On the grass-grown quay stood a man and a boy lazily watching a pitchpot under which a fire was burning. Two or three seamen were idly lounging about with their hands in their pockets, but of trade or work going forward there was not the slightest sign. The existence of a little tranquil nook like this where the rapid current of life gets into an eddy and ceases to flow, is positively refreshing by its marked contrast with the hurry-skurry on every side.

Toxteth Dock.

We are now nearly opposite the Brunswick Railway Station, the terminus of the Midland, the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire, and the Great Northern Systems, the line of which is carried by a tunnel to the new terminus in Ranelagh Street. A little to the south commences the railway or tramroad which extends along the entire line of the docks, with branches to the respective railway goods stations, and communications with the various dock warehouses and sheds. The convenience and saving of labour by means of this line are incalculable. It is no uncommon thing for produce from abroad sold to customers in various parts of the country previous to its arrival, to be broken up into parcels, delivered from the vessel at once into the railway waggons, and sent north, south, east, and west, direct to its destination, thus avoiding the expense of brokerage, cartage, forwarding, agency, and other expenses.

Brunswick Station.

Tramway.

The tramway is also used for omnibuses which traverse the whole length of the docks, preceding each other at intervals of about ten minutes.

Beyond the Toxteth Dock we come to the unformed land formerly the estate of the Harrington Dock Company. Two small inlets have been constructed with tidal gates, used for coasters and river barges. Nearly in front floats the south ferry

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South Ferry.

stage, waiting patiently in calm solitude for the far-off future which shall bring the obdurate public to appreciate the advantages of a southern ferry. A little farther south, the Bridgwater trustees have a small dock and yard for river traffic. There is room enough at the south end for the extension of the dock system should circumstances ever require it, but with the vast expanse of Birkenhead yet unproductive the time appears somewhat distant.

Herculaneum Dock.

We here enter upon the precincts of the old Herculaneum Pottery Estate. The works stood upon a promontory nearly at the foot of Wellington Road, a little south of Egerton Dock, and with their smoking chimneys and groups of buildings backed by the high steep green fields to the east, they formed a conspicuous object from the river. Their work is done, their day is over; their busy industry has given place to activity of another kind, which may hereafter, in its turn, yield to other influences as the world runs its course and fulfils

The promise of the golden hours.

The Herculaneum Dock is but small in extent and seems devoted to nothing in particular. It gives access to two noble graving docks, where the largest ships and the longest steamers can be accommodated. Shipbuilding is carried on to some extent in the immediate vicinity. With the southern extremity of the graving docks the dock estate abruptly terminates.

Park Hill House.

The remaining space to Dingle Lane, the only sea margin in the municipality not belonging to the Dock Board, is occupied by the grounds of Park Hill House, which looks tranquilly from its pleasaunce on the bustle of commerce which has advanced to its very border.

Great changes are in prospect in this quarter. The southern district, which has been too long allowed to stagnate, is about to be stimulated into life by the works authorised under the Act of 1873.

By the construction of two new docks, and the extension of the existing ones, additional water space of 28½ acres will be obtained, with nearly 4000 lineal yards of quay space. The quaint little Toxteth Dock will be absorbed, and a new graving dock 1900 feet long will be built.

We have now completed our walk of six miles from Rimrose Brook to Dingle Point. It would be difficult to find on the face of the earth a line of equal distance containing hydraulic

works of equal magnitude and grandeur of construction, or exhibiting more decided marks of commercial progress and prosperity.

Eulogy of Erskine.

The eulogy of Erskine in his speech in a celebrated cause connected with the town in the year 1792 has often been quoted. It is at the present day far more true than at the time when he pronounced it, and I cannot do better than employ his eloquent words to bring this chapter to a close. He says, "I had before and often been at the principal seaports in this island, and believing that having seen Bristol and those other towns that justly pass for great ones, I had seen everything in this great nation of navigators on which a subject should pride himself, I own I was astonished and astounded when, after passing a distant ferry and ascending a hill, I was told by my guide, 'All you see spread out beneath you—that immense place which stands like another Venice upon the waters—which is intersected by those numerous docks—which glitters with those cheerful habitations of well-protected men—which is the busy seat of trade, and the gay scene of elegant amusements growing out of its prosperity—where there is the most cheerful face of industry—where there are riches overflowing and everything which can delight a man who wishes to see the prosperity of a great community and a great empire;—all this has been executed by the industry and well-disciplined management of a small number of men since you were a boy.' I must have been a stock or a stone not to have been affected by such a picture."

END OF VOL. I.

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